
T H E
TURKISH
HISTORY.

WITH
Sir PAUL RICAUT's CONTINUATION.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE

Turkish Empire,

From the YEAR 1623, to the YEAR 1677.

CONTAINING THE

REIGNS

Of the Three last

EMPERORS,

VIZ.

SULTAN MORAT.

OR

AMURAT IV.

SULTAN IBRAHIM.

AND

Sultan MAHOMET IV, his Son,
The Thirteenth EMPEROR, now Reigning.

By Sir PAUL RYCAUT,
Late CONSUL of Smyrna.

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The Epistle Dedicatory to the KING.

May it please Your most Excellent Majesty:

I Cannot, without some despondency of Mind; and awful fear of the Greatness of Your Majesty, make an Offering at Your Sacred Feet of so small an Esteem and inconsiderable Value, as these following Histories. For having travelled long in remote Countries, and resided no less than eighteen Years in *Turky*, the World may reasonably expect some rich Returns unto Your Majesty in Persian Silks, and Tyrian Purples, or in the finest Carpets, and other Gayeties, in which the softness and luxury of the *Lesser Asia* did anciently abound; and may now judge me a Bankrupt, or ill Husband of my Talent, when they see me at Home trembling in Your Royal Presence, with a Gift no more worthy than a few Sheets of Paper, which being a Sacrifice inferior and beneath the acceptance of so Great a Monarch, I might reasonably fear, that they would take fire at the heat of Your just displeasure, were they not with all humility and reverence consecrated to the Royal Clemency. For in this glorious Title and Attribute, Your Majesty (as is notorious to the World) exceeding all the most Serene and most Clement Emperors that ever were, expects not from me, either Gold or Jewels, but rather a true Account of my Time, how I have spent it in the Service of God, and of your Majesty: and how I have administered that Publick Trust and Interest which was committed to my Management. Accept therefore, *GREAT SIR*, these following Discourses, to discharge part of the Account of my Time; with other Treatises which have been the Employment to fill up my vacant Intervals: the remaining account of my Hours are not to be justified by my own Report; but by the Testimony of others, whose Wildom and Goodness will be as ready to own my Industry and Faithfulness in their Concernments, as they will be so excuse and pardon my Infirmitities.

Ever since the time of Your Majesty's happy Restauration, my Lot hath fallen to live and act within the Dominions of the Turk, and there to move in a Publick Capacity; which though it was in an Administration of one of the lowest Note and Degree, yet the great Influence which the flourishing Estate of that Trade hath on the common Good of *England*, nourished in me a secret Pride and Satisfaction in that Employment; which called and raised up all my Endeavours to acquit my self therein with Prudence, Faithfulness, and Industry; there being the same Regularity required in the Stars of the lower, as in those of higher Magnitude.

This hath been the first, and indeed the only Affair I ever managed for the Publick: for before Your Majesty's blessed Return, the Character noted on my Family of being Loyal, as it made them at first active and zealous in the Service of Your Glorious Father, so afterwards it famed them for their Sufferings, and rendered them and me incapable of Office. But Your Majesty returning like the Sun, to animate and cherish all living Creatures, with an equality proportioned to their several Capacities, hath been pleased also to bestow a Ray of Your benign Influence on my self; whereby having received Comfort and Refreshment, I do with all sense of my Duty, and with entire Devotion, pray unto the King of Kings for the Happines, long Life, and immortal Glory of Your Majesty, and with all reverence and humble submission, devote and consecrate my self, for ever to remain,

Your Majesty's most Humble, most Dutiful,
and most Obedient Servant,

PAUL RYCAUT.

TO THE
READER.

READER,

THE Reign of Sultan Amurat, or Morat, being imperfectly wrote in Knolls his History, consisting for the most part of abrupt Collections; I have thought fit, for the better compleating of the Reign of that Sultan, and the whole Body of our Turkish History, to deliver all the particular Transactions thereof with my own Pen: whereunto also I have added the Reign of Sultan Ibrahim, never before published in the English Tongue; the particular Occurrences of which being acted before my time, were for the most part extracted from Venejan Writers, who by reason of their Vicinity to the Turk, have been always most curious, and concerned to note and observe the Affairs of that Empire.

But the other part of this History beginning from the Year 1660, and continued to the Year 1677, is the Product of my own Observations, being Matters transacted in my time, which being part seen by my self, and in part received from good and probable Advices, I call by the Name of my MEMOIRS, in regard that I am little obliged to other Writers for those Collections; and therefore, by God's Assistance, assume the chief Merit of that Work to my self: which I desire and heartily wish, good Reader, might, for thy satisfaction, and the benefit of the World, be still continued, and the Thread of History drawn out unto future Ages: as also that those Errors and Mistakes, of which I have been guilty herein, might be corrected and amended. Farewel.

THE



*My Brothers folly, and my want of years
Let loose the reigns of Rule to Mutiniers;
But as wth time my strength, and wit improve,
I all reforme wth feare, and not by love.
By mighty force I Babylon subdue,
From whence a peace with Persia doth ensue,
And when gainst Christiā foes, I do designe
To turn my armes, dye with excise of wine.*

THE
REIGN
OF
Sultan M O R A T,
OR
AMURAT IV.
The Eleventh EMPEROR,
AND
Twenty first MONARCH
OF THE
TURKS.

THE weak Understanding of Sultan *Mustapha*, and his insubility for Rule, caused the Affairs of State, both at Home and Abroad, to move disorderly and irregular. *Where Violence and Injustice prevail, there is so little distance between the most eminent Heights of Grandure, and the lowest Abyss of Misery, that a Prince may in a moment step from one unto the other.* The Janisaries and Military Officers commanded more now than the Civil, all things being guided by the Air and Fancy of the Souldiery, who placed and displaced with that wind of Favour and Displeasure, which is agreeable to the Humour of a Multitude, and the Licentiousness of Arms. For at the same time there were three Emperors, seven Great Viziers, two Captain-Pashas, five Aga's of the Janisaries, three Treasurers, six Pashas of *Cairo*; and in proportion, the Charges and Alterations were as many in all the Provinces of the Empire. All this Confusion evidently proceeding from the weak and almost senseless Understanding of *Mustapha*; the Ministers and People concurred, as it were, in an universal Consent to dethrone him a second time, and exalt into his Place Sultan *Murat* Brother to *Osman*, who was murdered the Year before. The Principal Actors in this Contrivance, were *Kiosim* the Mother of *Murat*, and the Mufti. But in the execution hereof, three Difficulties occurred: The first was *Chufais* Pasha the Great Vizier; who by reason of the Injustices of *Mustapha*, being become absolute Lord and Sovereign of all, would be unwilling to assent unto that Proposition, which might degrade him of his Dignity,

and divest him of his Power. A second Obstacle was the Fancy and Humour of the Souldiery, who having with much Zeal and Passion exalted *Mustapha* to the Throne, it might be doubted, that in maintenance of the same Humour, they would with equal obstinacy persevere in their Election. A third was the Poverty or low Ebb of the Exchequer, which at that time was in no capacity to supply that Donative to the Souldiery, which was usual and customary at the Inauguration of every Sultan. To forward and hasten this Change, and ripen this Plot, the News of the Rebellion of *Abassa* did much contribute; who with a Body of fifteen thousand Horse, roved over all the Plains of *Kara-bislar*, calling himself Avenger of Sultan *Osman's* Murder, and Enemy of the Janisaries; by whose Mutiny and Conspiracy he was put to Death: in satisfaction for which, he not only killed all Janisaries which fell into his hands; but their Wives, Children, and those allied to them, he destroyed with implacable Malice and bloody Rage. Upon this Advice, the Janisaries at *Constantinople* being moved with equal Fury and desire of Revenge, applied themselves to their Aga, proposing a speedy Union with the Spahees, for suppressing this Rebellion before Time gave it greater growth, and made the Humour more stubborn and difficult to be purged. At the same time also came Letters from *Cicada* Pasha (who was dispatched into *Asha* with a strong Party, to give a stop to the farther Progress and Advance of *Abassa*) advising that upon his near approach to the Enemy, to general a Fear possessed his Souldiery, that most of them disbanded

* Ayack
is Turkish
signifies a
Foot.

Amurat
is killed.

1623.
Which is a
dispensing
of Mutton
to the Poor.

3

1624.

* The chief City of the Krim Tatar.

† Ghercy
the Name of
the Family1625-
0001

1625. Government, saying, That they had sent an Ambalador to thank the Tartar for not seizing their whole Fleet, and acknowledged their Obligation to him for the Blows and Wounds he had given their Army. The Tartars also gloried in this submission, and took the boldness to vaunt of their Lhage and Defect to be more Ancient and Noble than that of the Ottoman Family; and that in this time of decay and degenerate procedure of that Monarchy, it appeared to the Greatness of the Tartars to stir up the Fire and snuff the Lamp, that the Splendor of that Empire might become more bright and shining than in former Ages. And so little respect did they now make to the Port, that they surprised two Ambassadors sent from the Moscow in their way to Constantinople, robbed and killed them, and also the Turkish Chians that was with them, left his Testimony should be brought in for an evidence against them.

1626. During these Troubles, the Cossacks taking advantage of the Captain-Pasha's absence in Tartary, entered the Bosphorus with about an hundred and fifty Sail of Saicks and Boats; these Boats and Vessels which the Cossacks use, are built long and light, with ten Oars of a side, and two Men to an Oar; the Head and Stern are not unlike, so that they hang the Rudder sometimes at one end, and sometimes at the other, being not obliged to turn their Vessel, but without loss of time to proceed with that end which happens to be foremost. Each Boat carries fifty select Men armed with Fire-arms and Cimeter, in the management of which they are very expert; and are a People fierce, enduring Labour and hard Diet; and so speedy in their motions, that they forestall the Advices, and commonly strike before they threaten. With these Boats and People (as we have said) they entered the Bosphorus, where they burnt several Villages and Houses of Pleasure; on the Grecian side they burnt *Byncedari* and *Temelioi*, on the Asian side *Stenia*. The appearance of this Enemy to near the Imperial City, caused a general Consternation, not unlike that at *London*, when the Dutch entered the River of *Chatham*. To oppose this Force, there was not one Gally in readiness, so that Saicks, Chimbers, and small Boats were armed, to the number of four or five hundred, and man'd with such people as the present haste and expedition offered; the great Chain was then brought forth to cross the Bosphorus, which the Grecian Emperors used at the Siege of *Constantinople*; and Ten thousand Men were issued from the City to defend the Shore from depredation and further mischief. The Turkish Fleet faced the Cossacks to give them a stop, whilst they hovered about the middle of the Channel in form of a Half-Moon, and so continued the whole day until Sun-set; when with the night they returned into the Sea, carrying with them, besides their Booty, Glory sufficient to have entered the Channel, and without blows or opposition, to have braved the Capital Seat of the Ottoman Monarchy, and the most formidable City of the whole World. Not many days after they returned again with a greater Force than before, which put the City into the like consternation; and having hovered about three or four days at the Mouth of the Black Sea, they burnt the Pharos or Lantern with certain Villages thereabouts, and being laden with Spoils and Glory, they again returned into their own Country. Thus we may observe, how bold Enemies are made with the weakness of a State: a Horse is soon sensible of his Rider, when backed by a faint Hand, and an unaccustomed

Lightness, but a stiff Rein and a close Knee makes him obedient to his Ruler. All people having discovered the imbecility of the Government, made head against it: and the young Sultan had those for his Enemies in the time of his Nonage, which in his strong and fiercer years became the most submissive and Fawning Slaves in the World.

And though at this time the Turkish Ministers were corrupt and rebellious, and the Soldiery mutinous; yet *Behlem Gabor* Prince of *Transylvania*, a Christian, was observant to the Port, demanding Licence to wage War against the Emperor, which was easily granted, and upon payment of the usual Tribute of Ten thousand Hungars, the Ambassador, with thirteen of his followers, received Coffins or Vells of Honour, and a promise of Succour and Protection, as the Condition of his Affairs should require. Thus we see, that whilst the Turks themselves endeavoured to rent in pieces their own Monarchy, to which one would have thought, that the Christians had most reason to contribute; yet such was the unhappy Fate of Christendom, that *Gabor* was the only Person at that time to court the Turks; and that for no other Reason, than that he might be supported and abetted in a War against the Emperor and other Christian Princes of Germany.

The Army of *Behlem Gabor* consisted of above Thirty thousand Men, with which he marched over all Hungary, having taken most Towns of consideration, unless *Presburg*, alias *Pestum*, *Rab*, and *Komorra*. But if we penetrate into the depth and foundation of this War, we shall find that it had a deeper reason than that of *Gabor*, and had its Original from the ancient Civil War of Germany. For the House of *Austria* being at that time in a condition to render it self formidable, and in a posture to create a jealousy in all the Princes subjected to it, did under colour of subduing the Palatine of the *Rhine*, oppress also the Liberty of the Empire, and of the several States which composed it. For after the Emperor, against the Constitutions of the Golden Seal, and the Sense of the Electoral College, had divested the Palatine and his Children of their Estates and Dignity, not so much by Force of Arms, as by Deceit and Breach of Promise; instead of disbanding the Army, which was to have been performed according to Agreement, new Troops were added; and though the Protestant League was dissolved, yet the Catholic Combination, with all its Adherents, remained armed and immovable to compel the Protestants to a restitution of the Ecclesiastical Revenue, notwithstanding the Articles of Peace to the contrary: so that the Princes and Towns of the Lower Saxony entering into a new League, raised an Army under the Command of *Christian of Brunswick*, Bishop of *Alverstadt*. *Behlem Gabor* having his Interest adjoined to this Party, entertained the false Desires and Intentions, to suppress the Greatness of the Emperor; and having the just complaint to allege of wanting his annual Pension of Fifty thousand Crowns, as was agreed by the Treaty of *Nikolsburg*, he resolved to force it by Arms, and take part with the Princes of the Protestant Religion which he professed: but because his Strength and Power was not sufficient, without the assistance of the Turk, he not only obtained their permission and approbation of this War, as we have said before, but by payment of three hundred Dollars presented to the first Vizier, and of Forty thousand by way of annual Tribute, he procured an Auxiliary

Behlem Gabor
first ally
then enemy
of the Emperor.

1626.

Auxiliary Force of Fifty thousand Turks and Tartars; with part of which, commanded by *Sudan*, he made an Irruption into the Lower *Asia*; and with the other, *Behlem* himself, about the beginning of *October*, entered into *Moravia*, defeated the Regiment of *Tiffenbach*, retook the Town of *Turnova*, and routed the Count of *Montenegro* General for his Imperial Majesty before the Town of *Gleding* on the Frontier of *Moravia*, which he afterwards beleaguered and laid besieged until the scale of *November*, when *Stanislaus Turzo* a Hungarian Palatine became Mediator of the Peace, and at length obtained a Truce: the principal Articles of which were as followeth.

1. That on both parts Arms be laid down for ten months, and all Acts of Hostility cease; that on neither side any attempt should be made either by force or fraud to take any Cattle, Forts, Cities, or places of Defence during this time; and that both Germans, Hungarians, and Turks should be alike comprehended.
2. That if the Emperor were desirous to treat and conclude a final Peace with the Grand Signior, he should use *Behlem Gabor* as Mediator, and do nothing therein without his privacy.
3. That all Places and Forts taken by the Prince of *Transylvania* in his late Expedition, and that all Cities and Castles now in possession of either, should remain without any alteration.
4. That all Passages should be open for free Trade of Merchants, and all other the Subjects and Friends of either side.

A Truce being thus concluded, the Turks in their return made great havoc, carrying with them great numbers of poor Christians into Slavery, which *Gabor* out of compassion seemed willing to redeem with a low price at his own charge; which the Turks refusing, caused those miserable Wretches into Captivity. The Count *Eberharts* Governor of *Nemshaus* for the Emperor, being highly incensed at this treacherous Action, contrary to the Truce so lately concluded, having drawn out a sufficient Force from the neighbouring Garisons, fell on the Rear of the Turks in their March towards *Buda*, and charged them so home on the Banks of the River *Nier*, that he killed five hundred of them on the place, took all their Baggage, with divers Prisoners, and gave liberty to many Christian Slaves. The next day but one after he charged another Party of them, as they attempted to pass a Bridge, which the night before he had caused to be broken down; so of which having killed a great number, the rest saved themselves by swimming; however many Christians procured their liberty thereby, and a considerable Booty was made of Horfes, Camels, Waggonns, and all Provisions. The other Troops consisting of greater numbers were worse treated than the former; for *Eberharts* having received a Recruit of Horfe from *Reiffenberg* Governor of *Komorra*, and *Bremer* of *Jarwarin* or *Rab*, he proceeded boldly to meet the Turks, and joining Battle with them, he slew twelve hundred on the place, gave liberty to fourteen hundred Christians, took divers of their principal Commanders, with all their Bag and Baggage, besides a considerable quantity of Gold and Silver, in Plate and Money. Nor were *Reiffenberg* and *Bremer* less successful over those who passed through their Quarters to join with the Garisons of *Alba Regalis* and *Cassila*, having killed seven hundred of them, and taken all their Baggage. Moreover Count *Serini* in his Journey towards *Vienna*, defeated six hundred of them, and presented their Colours to the Empe-

1626. rour: and *Eberharts* in like manner after his several Exploits, offered thirty Cornets at his Feet, with six Prisoners of Quality, one of which was Kinman of *Behlem Gabor*.

These Rebuffs cooled the courage of the Turks a little, and altered the resolution of the Council for carrying forward the War on the side of *Germany*, as was intended, had the Success answered expectation: For these Misfortunes abroad, and intestine Troubles at home, with Pestilence and Famine, which at the same time greatly afflicted the parts of *Constantinople* (whereby an hundred thousand People died) abated the Mettle of the Turks, and caused them to review new Measures in all their Determinations: and for that reason Ambassadors were sent both to *Vienna* and into *Poland* to renew the Articles of Peace, and so to confirm the League, that whilst the Sultan was employed in his Wars with *Perfia* and the Eastern Countries, nothing should intervene from the Western Parts to trouble or obstruct his Progress, or recall him from his Enterprize. For now the Rebellion of *Abdalla*, joined with *Behler* Pasha of *Bagdad*, growing daily more considerable, and his strength increasing to that condition, that he was able to keep the Field in despite of the Grand Signiors Forces, he adventured to quarter within five days March of *Constantinople*: and at the same time Letters coming from *Hafsa* Pasha General of the Army in the Province of *Bagdad*, that the King of *Perfia* was entered into the Dominions of the Turk with a powerful Army, a general Consternation seized the whole Turkish Court, the wisest and stoutest having occasion to call up for all their Wisdom and Courage to assist at a Time when the Government was assailed on all sides, both at home and abroad. Various were the Counsels and Proposals in what manner to proceed in Times of such emergency. First it was resolved to proclaim a War both against the King of *Perfia*, and the Rebels in *Asia*, and that whosoever took of the Grand Signior Pay, from one Ajier day to higher value, should be in readiness to serve in the War, upon penalty of losing his Estate, of being accounted a Rebel, and his Wife and Children sold for Slaves. But the more sober and moderate sort judged it policy to take off *Abdalla*, by sending him a general Pardon, with a concession of all his Demands, upon condition, that he should turn his Arms upon the King of *Perfia*, who was the common Enemy of their Country and Religion: but the Janizaries would by no means assent to this Agreement, with a Person to whom they bore a more inveterate hatred, than to the Persian himself, as he did also to the Janizaries. For that he might better justify his pretence of Revenge, he declared, That being one day in a Mosque at his Prayers, the murdered *Osman* appeared to him, and taking him by the hand, said, My faithful *Muslimans*, since thou art the most generous of all my Slaves, I command thee to revenge my Death, with the Blood of sixty thousand Janizaries and Spahes; good Fortune shall accompany thy Arms, and Victory shall crown thy Labours. During these Intrigues and Difficulties of Reconciliation, *Abdalla*, spoiled the Lesser *Asia*, and the Persian King conquered the City and Province of *Bagdad*, or *Babylon*, took *Kur Afan* Pasha, an old Soldiery Prisoner, possessed himself of *Musul* and *Leks* on the Persian Sea; and meeting no considerable opposition, he divided his Army into four parts. The first was dispatched into *Mesopotamia*, commanded by the King himself. The second made Incursions into *Palatine*. The third infected the

1626. Coast of the Black Sea: and the fourth marched towards *Adria*, with hope and design of flaring all the parts of the Eastern Empire.

At *Palha*, who opposed the King in *Mesopotamia*, was slain, and his Army wholly defeated, so that the Province became a Prey to the Enemy: the success in *Palestine* was equally fortunate by the revolt of *Danaus*, a place of great Riches and Importance; the Coast of the Black Sea was grievously infested, and a Port taken near to *Tropaeum*; and little opposition being made at *Bulgar*, the Town was taken by that Army in their March towards *Adria* and the parts of the Red Sea, where they rendered themselves Masters of *Medina*, the City of their Prophet *Mahomet*.

To repair these losses, and to encounter numbers so strong and valiant in all parts, the Vizier was dispeided with a powerful Force, the Town of *Bagdad*, but by reason of Mutinies and Tumults amongst the Souldiery, Matters found not the success expected: and the Garison making valiant and vigorous sallies against the impetuosity of the Turkish Souldiery, which were always most obstinate and stout to oppose their own Commanders, obtained an advantage in every Attempt; by which discouragement many forsaking their Colours, the Siege was raised with dishonour, and the interest of the Turk impaired, and almost irreparably lost in those Provinces. This News arrived at *Constantinople*, that the Camp was risen and fled by Night, that they were forced to burn their Tents and Provisions, and to break their great Artillery and cast them into the *Euphrates*: that the Miseries in the Army had been such by Famine and Pestilence, and want of all Provisions and Ammunition, that the like was never known: that the Vizier had been headed three of his Palhas, that so he might cast the whole blame upon them; and that now retreating with his Army into the Turkish Dominions, the Persians pursued them in the Rear, and for ten days did execution on them, making the best use they could of their Victory; which Relation filled the Hearts of all People with sadness, and disordered the Councils with confusion.

The Cause of which ill Success, according to custom, being imputed to the General, he was deprived of his Office, and sacrificed to the Fury of the Janizaries.

These Troubles were increased at *Constantinople*, by the Addresses which the Prince of *Transylvania* made unto the Port by his Kapl-Kahya or Agent, representing to the Grand Signior, that he wanting Heirs Male to succeed him in his Principality; the States at a Diet had, with common consent, elected his Lady for his Successor; and therefore desired confirmation from the Port. In excuse of her Sex, he alleged the urgent Necessity of the present Times, which perswaded rather to admit of the Government of a Woman, than that his Principality should, for want of an Heir, fall into the hands of the powerful Family of *Austria*. To make good this Demand, Duke *John of Weymar*, and Count *Mansfeld*, arrived in *Silistria*, to whom the Prince of *Transylvania* joined his Troops; and *Mortez* Palha of *Buda* wrote to the Port, that he was marching towards *Vatz* to meet the Prince, and confer with him concerning these Designs. The Emperor's Resident at *Constantinople* greatly exclaiming against these Proceedings, which nothing troubled the Councils of the Turks, who in that Conjunction were unwilling to give beginnings to a new War; so that besides fair Words, they promised to write such Letters to

the Palha of *Buda*, as should give a stop to the Involution of the Prince. But, as they truly, the Instructions given were in such ambiguous terms, that they in effect left the whole Matter to the Discretion of *Mortez* to act, as he judged most agreeable to the State of Affairs on the Frontiers, and security of the present Peace.

Thus did the Turkish Court seek to ward off the blow of a War with *Germany*, and yet secretly nourished and encouraged it, by giving Orders to the Palha of *Buda* to take up his Winter-quarters with the Prince of *Transylvania*, and to follow his Directions; but yet so to govern Matters with Caution, as not to engage too far on uncertain Grounds or doubtful Hazard, but to embrace Propositions of Peace, if offered with Honour and Security. In prosecution of these Rules, *Mortez* observing, that *Weymar* and *Mansfeld* having united their Forces with *Gabor*, had formed a considerable Army, and were able to fight with *Walfesin* General of the Imperialists; joined also his Forces to theirs, judging it a prudent and politic Design to wage a War at the Blood and Expence of others. With these Encouragements, and with the favour of a good Opportunity, the Confederates fell upon the Army of *Walfesin* near the River *Car*; who not being able to withstand their Force and Fury, was routed, and pursued in the Rear with great laughter and endeavouring to pass the River on two Bridges of Boats, were closely followed by the Prince's Forces, who gaining the Pass, put the whole Army into great amazement, and resolved to pursue them to the Gates of *Presburg*, or *Vienna*.

Notwithstanding this Success, the Prince of *Transylvania* observing, that the Emperor's Allies to contribute the Succours of Men and Money which they had promised; and fearing that the unfortunate Estate of the Turkish Affairs should cause the Sultan to disown the War, dispatched a Messenger to the Emperor in the Winter-season, to excuse the Constraint upon him of taking up Arms, and to offer Terms of Accommodation and Peace. But the Emperor refused all Treaties, until such time as *Gabor* had separated himself from his Allies, and from association with the Turk: Upon which Answer, *Gabor* retired to *Calfovia*, and *Mortez* to *Pelth*. This Compliance gave beginning to a Treaty at *Komara*, where the Commissioners on part of the Emperor, of the Grand Signior, and Prince of *Transylvania*, assembled. All Parties seemed inclinable to War, and yet with equal Intentions to make Peace, being necessitated thereto by the urgency of their distinct Interests. The Emperor was urged by his Wars with the Protestants of *Germany*, and apprehension of Forces from *England* in favour of the Elector Palatine, then King of *Bohemia*. The Grand Signior was encumbered by the unfortunate condition of his Wars in *Asia*: And *Rebzel Gabor*, jealous of being disowned by the Port, deserted by his Allies, and exposed to fight and contend singly with the Emperor. In short, *Gabor* concluded a Peace with the Emperor apart, which gave some Jealousies and displeasure to the Grand Signior: Howsoever he dissembled his Discontent, and willingly interposed *Gabor* with *Adria* as a Compromise for him; who being variously disappointed, yet moved with the considerations of their common Advantage, work'd all Differences into a Composition of Peace; the Articles of which being brought to *Constantinople* by an Intermuncio from the Emperor, and delivered in presence of the two Ambassadors of *Gabor*, they were accepted

1626.
The Emperor's Army defeated.

Peace concluded between the Emperor and Gabor.

1626. accepted by the *Chimacans*, and ratified by the Grand Signior.

Articles of Peace concluded between the Emperor of Germany Ferdinand the Second, and Beiblen Gabor, in the Month of December 1626.

I. THE Prince of *Transylvania* doth promise, by the Faith of a Christian, never to use Arms, or use any Hostility against the Majesty of the Emperor, or the House of *Austria*, or their Successors, much less to enter into their Dominions with an Army; nor to aid his Enemies, or keep a Correspondence with them: Not to plot any Innovation in the Kingdom of Hungary, or other Christian Countries: Nor to stir up, or provoke the Turks, Tartars, or others, to invade them: Not to entertain or assist in any evil Counsel against his Majesty, nor to give ear to the Requests and Desires of his Enemies; but rather to reveal all their Conspiracies and Wickendnesses, which shall be made known unto him; and by all means to demonstrate and show a sincere mind truly desirous of Peace, and solicitous of the Common Good.

II. That the Prince shall instantly depart with his whole Army, out of the Territories and Cities of the Emperor; and that he shall restore as well all Goods belonging to the Imperial Treasures, as those of his faithful Subjects.

III. That he shall remove from him the Rebel Mansfeld, and all other his Followers and Adherents, desirous to invade the Dominions of the Emperor: And that he shall not aid any Stranger whatsoever, who at his Instance hath entered into the Territories of his Majesty with Count Mansfeld; to whom Letters of Public Safety shall be given, that they may return by twenty or thirty in a Troop, conditionally, that in no place of their Retreat they shall join with the Enemies of the Emperor.

IV. That seeing it is fit, for Establishment of the Peace, that the Inhabitants of Countries and Cities belonging to the Prince, by consent of the Emperor, should remain, during his Life, in Obedience and Fidelity to him; and that those Inhabitants should do Homage to the Emperor, (serving their corporal Oath to the Prince) to keep inviolate these Articles. That they should have leave, by Letters of Full Authority and Power, granted them by the Prince in their first Assemblies and Conventions, to make such Oath of Homage.

V. That at the same time of performing the Homage and Oath, besides the Oath before the last War, they shall take a new Oath according to the Agreement between the Prince and the Commissioners of the Emperor.

VI. The Prince shall procure, that all Ple-

ces upon the Confines, which were taken by the Turks in the last War, be restored; and that all Captives, taken Prisoners, shall be set at liberty: And that the Prince shall procure the freedom of all such the Emperor's Subjects as shall be in the Turkish Captivity.

VII. That all the Subjects of the Emperor, lately incited and drawn to the Service of the Prince, shall be free from their Oath: and that the Prince hath any of their Writings Obligatory in his Hands, that he shall restore them: And that these Conditions being confirmed, all other things formerly treated, shall remain in their former State and Vigour.

VIII. That if any other Difficulties arise, they shall be accommodated with Fidelity and Quietness, by Commissioners on both Parts: And that all those who in the last Commotions have served the Prince, shall be absolved according to the Treaty and Agreement at *Vienna*.

IX. That all the Inhabitants of Cities and Countries, which have served the Prince, shall be absolved; only those excepted, who have voluntarily taken up Arms against the Emperor; for whom the Prince only shall intercede, excusing always private Men, who have done private Wrongs; for they shall, according to Law and Custom, seek their Restoration by Civil Action.

X. That all other Articles of Peace concluded at *Nicholsburg* and *Vienna*, shall remain in their former Vigour and Force: And that all Goods of the Emperor's Clergy, possessed by the Prince from the Year 1619, to this present Day, shall be restored; except the Abbies of *Replana* belonging to the Seminaries of *Strigonium*, for which the Prince shall pay yearly to the Emperor five hundred *Rlorens*.

These Articles being thus agreed, and signed, and approved by the Sultan, in the Month of September following 1627, the Articles between the Emperor and the Grand Signior were also agreed at *Komara*; the which are as follow, translated out of the Turkish word for word.

THAT seeing the Peace established formerly at *Zitwar*, *Vienna*, *Komara*, and *Chiaman*, hath remained in the same State, and in the same Articles, without any alteration, it shall not be violated by any new occasion of Contention.

That the Differences of *Vatz*, whereof is made mention at the present, shall rest in the same State that the Commissioners on both sides shall agree.

That the new Forts built upon the Confines of *Croatia*, contrary to the Peace, shall be demolished. To which purpose our said Deputy *Mehmet*, and our Vizier *Mortez* Palha, shall meet upon the Frontiers of *Buda* with

The Siege raised at Bagdad, by the Turkish violence.

Duty of Weymar and Count Mansfeld, join with the Prince of Transylvania.

1626. your Deputies, at the Time appointed by the Treaty; and thereupon the places on both sides shall cause to be demolished the Forts built contrary to the Peace: Wherein if they find any Impediment, they shall chuse able and valiant Men to perform and execute the said Service.

That after the Approbation of this happy Peace, your great Ambassador shall come to Komara, and ours shall repair with our Imperial Letters to Strigoniom: and there one of them advising the other, yours shall set forward to your happy Port, and ours shall advance to you. For so it is agreed by our Imperial Order, both carrying with them the new Imperial Capitulations.

That all Complaints of Villages (subject to both parts, shall be laid aside, and no Violences, Taxes, or Contribution, contrary to our former Convention, shall be exacted. And all Forts built in the common Confines, shall be raised. And reciprocally it shall be made known, according to the ancient Treaty, what great Men do dwell amongst our Tributaries. And for the execution of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Articles of the Peace of Zitwa, the Tenth of Vienna, and the Fourth of Komara and Chiarmar (for such was then the Agreement) two Capig-Pashas of our high Port shall be deputed and dispatched, the one to this side, and the other to that side of the Danube. And upon your part you shall send two such qualified Persons to the same places: who being met together with the Deputies of Morcla Pasha, and the Palatine of Hungary, shall rectify all Disorders, and see that good Justice be done on both Parties; for so it is our most High Pleasure.

That the Slaves which have been taken during this our Treaty, shall be freed and set at liberty without any Ranfom: And those who were taken before the said Treaty, shall be exchanged and Redeemed, according to their Qualities and Estates, by the interposition of Morcla Pasha, and the Palatine of Hungary deputed for that purpose.

For the Good of poor People on both sides, the Commissioners have thought fit to conclude this renewed Peace for Twenty five Years, from 1627. Whereunto we have given our Imperial Assent.

That all Merchants, and other our Subjects on both parts, shall have safe passage and conduct through both our Dominions: And we have given command to our Pashas, Beglerbeghs, Generals, Beghs, and Captains, upon our Confines, to apprehend, bring into Justice, and punish all such as shall any way disturb or molest them contrary to the Peace. As likewise the Palatine of Hungary, and other your Ministers shall do on your part, if they find any such Offenders.

That our Beglerbeghs, Sanzacks, Captains, and Governors; and your Generals, Commanders, and Captains, shall upon occasion employ all such Persons as are lovers of the Peace and Common Good.

1626. That there shall be no Damage or Hurt done to any of our Subjects in any of your Kingdoms or Dominions, neither by Sea nor Land; as there shall none be done to yours in our Dominions.

That all by-past Wrongs, Enmities, and Unkindnesses, on both parts, shall be forgotten and laid asleep: and that this happy Peace shall be sincerely and firmly continued and kept inviolate.

Upon Condition that the Emperor perform and observe all the aforesaid Articles, and that there follow no Action from any Ministers, contrary to the said Peace: We promise and swear, by God our Creator, who made the whole World of Nothing; and by the Honour which we bear to our most high Prophet Mahomet Mustafa, That there shall not be done, during the whole Term of the said Peace, the least Hurt or Damage to the Subjects, Countries, Kingdoms, Castles, or Forts of the said Emperor, by any of our Ministers or Armies, nor to any Christian Slaves subject to our happy Port.

By these Articles we may observe, that both Parties were desirous of a present Peace, rather than one which was durable; for things are so flubber'd over to serve the present Occasion, that they leave all Disputes undecided, till Time should happen more proper to interpret them with the Sword, than with the Pen: like Sores obstructed by an unskillful Chirurgeon, which festering within, must be again opened before they are cured: howsoever they served the turn of Gabor, whose Interest it was to maintain an ill Correspondence between the two Emperors.

Peace being thus concluded between Ferdinand the Second and Sultan Morat, gave some reputation to the Affairs of the Turks: so that notwithstanding the late success of the Persian in their War, by raising the Siege of Bagdad, and overthrow of the Turkish Army; yet that King finding himself now engaged alone, and singly to contend with the Ottoman Power, feared the Possiance of that Empire, left being roused and heated with the sensible Pinches of the late Disgrace, they should call up and invigorate all their Forces to a Revenge, which might at length tend to a ruin and destruction of Persia, unless Fortune, which attended the first auspicious beginnings with Success, did also continue constant, and still accompany their Arms, which could hardly be expected.

Wherefore on these Considerations becoming more faint in prosecution of the War, the Persian dispatched an Ambassador to Constantinople, furnished with various Proposals and Projects for a Peace; but still Matters driving so as to reverse the City and Province of Bagdad, or Babylon, in the hands of the Persian, the Treaty became ineffectual, in regard the Vizier (who was then called Halil Pasha) judged it a high and an irrecoverable disparagement to the Empire, to be dismembered of so principal a part of it. Wherefore the Ambassador being dispatched away with some neglect, the Turks armed with that diligence and heat, that they entered Persia with an Army of an hundred and fifty thousand Men; with which appearance the people being dismayed, suffered Tauri to be taken without much opposition. From hence marching to Bagdad, they found

1626.

1627. found the City well provided and defended with a numerous Garison, from whence many Gallies were made with variety of Fortune, till at length the Turkish Souldiers being wearied and tired with incessant labour and watchings, any of them from their Colours; and with fast diminutions, the Army being much abated in its Numbers, the Vizier withdrew them from the Persian Dominions.

Some Months after the Turkish Army being reinforced, the Vizier entering again into Persia, overthrew the Trucemen who opposed him in his March, and destroyed the Gregorians, who were Friends to the Persian, with a very great slaughter; took Morra their General, and cut off his Head: And adding to these Victories, the report of having taken some few inconsiderable Towns, his Expedition ended without other Advantages, or Progress of their Arms. This ill Success much troubled the Councils at Constantinople; for they considered that they had now waged an expensive, laborious War, for the Space of three Years, without any Effect agreeing to the Blood and Charge which maintained it, but rather to the Loss and Damage of the Empire. The Souldiers abhorred the length and tediousness of the Way, and the misery of the March, being to pass over vast Countries and Deserts, where there was nothing besides Rocks, Sands, and Barrenness. Many Horses, Camels, and other Beasts of Burden, perished for want of Nourishment; and where Provision were to be had, the Price was so excessive, that the Timariots and other Souldiers had not a Purse to defray their Charges. The Enemy likewise was very strong, for the Sofi was at the Head of forty thousand brave Horses, which daily infested the Ottoman Camp, beat their Convoys, and cut off their Provisions, and so obstructed them that they could not advance.

The Vizier Halil then General, being discouraged by these Disasters, was inclinable to accept of the Proposition made by the Persian, viz. That Babylon should remain to his eldest Son in Fee, and to his Heirs and Successors, acknowledging to the Grand Signior a Tribute as great as the yearly Revenue which proceeded from it, at the time when it was in the Hands of the Sultan. But this middle Way seemed an Expedient dishonourable to the Greatness of this Empire, and the Vizier which argued pusillanimity and want of courage in the Government, and therefore was rejected by the Council of State, as well as by the Military Men: Howsoever the Persians taking their Measures by the disposition they discovered in the Vizier thereunto, adventured to dispatch an Ambassador to Constantinople with tender of the same Project; but as he was coldly and faintly received, so he was in a few days discharged with few words, and little respect, as if he had been sent as a Spy to discover the State and Condition of the City, and the Inclination of the Prince, rather than to obtain any Benefit by the Treaty. For now Amurat growing into Years, increased in Spirit, and discovered a Martial Courage; he began to leave his Delights, and Walks in Gardens, and the society with his Mother and Women, and to assume thoughts of War and government: such as entertained him in softness and luxurious Pastimes were reproved by the Ministers about him, and by them periwaded to buckle on his Armour, and to delight in Martial Exercises: So that now new Measures were taken in all Affairs: And in the first place, Halil the Great Vizier was recalled from being General in Persia, and the Pasha

Author's
position in
Persia.

Proposition
made by the
Persian for
a Peace.

Expelled by
the Turk.

of Darbiquier put into his Place; and though he was Brother-in-Law to the Grand Signior, yet being esteemed at Court as a Person who had amassed great Riches in his Employment, he was forced to disgorge five hundred thousand Crowns as an esse of his Burden: and an Attemperment to pacify the Sultan for the Fault of his Misfortunes and ill Success.

In these Times of Licentiousness and Revolt, the Pirates of Algier and Tunis, began also to cast off their Respect and Reverence to the Ottoman Empire; for being become Rich by the Prizes they had taken on Christian Vessels, they resolved to fit up for themselves, and to esteem the Peace which Christian Princes had made with the Grand Signior, not to concern them; but as if their Governments had been independent, demanded a particular Treaty, and distinct Articles with themselves: So that now daring to do any thing, six Vessels of Tunis chased some Christian Ships into Rhodes, and there attacked them, notwithstanding that the Caille flot at them. They afterwards took a Dutch Ship, which had laden at Alexandria: and entering the Port of Salines in Cyprus, they engaged with two Venetians; the lesser ship made a good resistance, but having no help, he was thrice fired, and at last burnt: the other being a Ship of eight hundred Tons, was cowardly lit on fire by the Mariners, and abandoned, escaping ashore with their Boats. Then they sailed for Scanderoon, where finding a Dutch Ship and a Polacca, they took both, and then landed at the Aga of the Scale, with all the Inhabitants, fled; so that finding no opposition, they ranfacked and robbed all the Ware-houses, and afterwards set them on fire: The greatest Loss fell upon the English and Dutch, the first loit about ten thousand Dollars, and the latter about thirty thousand.

Of these Losses, and breach of Peace, the Christian Ambassadors lamented; and complained, that if some Remedy were not applied thereto, all Trade must be given over, no Security being to be expected in the Articles and Faith of the Grand Signior: To which, though the Vizier and Great Men did seem to yield a favourable Ear, and promise Redress: Yet being corrupted with some share of the Spoils, and sweetened with part of the Robbery, they began to reject the Memorials of the Ambassadors, and to allow the Pleas of the Pirates, as grounded on some solid Foundation of Reason and Religion: suffering them to publish Discourses, that the Turks were obliged to maintain a perpetual War with the Christians, as Enemies to their Law and Alchoran; and though Policy may suggest some Conveniences by Peace with them, yet those Considerations are Matters of Sin rather than of Reason.

To make all this good, the Divan of Tunis sent two Deputies to remonstrate the great Benefit and Advantage the Port received by the Depredations and hostile Acts which they committed on the Christians: And to incaluate this Argument the better, they declared, That they had lately taken two Gallies of Malta, out of the Spoils of which, they presented unto the Sultan two Stirrups of Gold, with divers Slaves; two of which were Cavaliers, one of the Roman, and the other of the French Nation: those which were Youths, and comely in shape and feature, were entered into the Service of the Seraglio; and the more strong and robustous, were committed to the Service of the Gallies; so that the Turks were inwardly pleased with these Piracies, howsoever gave good words to the Christian Ambassadors.

1627.

The Pirates
of Tunis
and Algier
trouble the
Sea.

1627. Ambassadors, promised much, and effected nothing.

At that time Trade flourished greatly in those Parts, and had done much more, had it not been interrupted by the Piracies of *Barbary*; and the Trade was especially so great with *Rome*, that a Turkish Merchant called *Kodol Aga*, whose whole Negotiation and Dealing was for that place, died worth a Million of Soltaunes; of which, for want of Children, the Grand Signior became the sole Heir.

But one Accident happened about this Time on the Seas, worthy to be recounted: The Seas (as we have said) swarming then with Pirates, the General of *Constantinople*, with three Gallies, coming on the Seas for defence and protection of Merchant-Ships, arrived in the Port of *Andros*; from whence espying a Gally plying close under the Shore, and believing her to be a Corsaire, or Pirate, made up to her; and because it was about the middle of the Evening, so that she could not be well known or distinguished, the General rashly charged her; and meeting a stout resistance, many were killed before it was known that the Gally belonged to the *Archipelago*, commanded by *Dervis Bei*, one of the Grand Signior's Captains: but so soon as the Mistake was discovered, the Candiot General demanded of the Turk a thousand Excuses, returned him his Gally and Shaves again, and whatsoever was taken from him, bestowing with them an Infinity of Compliments, supposing that thereby the Spirit of the Turk being somewhat appeased and mollified, he would repent this Encounter with the more favourable Terms and Advantage at the Port. Notwithstanding which Offices of Kindness, *Dervis Bei*, without farther Loss of time called up to *Constantinople*, bringing his Gally in without Lantern, from the barge, he treated, and flattered, signing himself also to be wounded; related, that he had lost forty four Levants, and seventy seven Slaves which were killed; and that all the Haratch or Tribute-Money, which was collected for the Grand Signior's Service from the several Islands, was robbed and embezzled by these Candiot. His Complaints were aggravated by many Circumstances, and being allied with the Clamours of other Bays or Captains of Gallies; the Noise and Dispute was exceeding high in the Divan, urging, that the Venetians were obliged to make good a Loss, which they had caused rather out of Malice than Mistake.

At that time *Georgio Justiniano* resided at *Constantinople* for the most Serene Republick; who to oppose the high Clamours of these Complaints, shewed Courtesy and accompanied his Answers with Prudence and Resolution, which are often very convincing in the Turkish Court. They alleged, that the Peace was broken. He answered, That it would not be the first time; and that they ought not to yield entire Credit to the Relation of Persons passionate and partial in their own Cause: that such Accidents as these, were as ordinary and common in the World as Cold and Heat, as fair and foul Weather; and that so soon as the Error was discovered, and the Gally known not to belong to *Barbary*, but to the Grand Signior, it was punctually and entirely restored, with all the Excuses imaginable.

In short, this Business which had so bad an Aspect at the first, by the dexterity of this Minister, and giving something to *Dervis Bei*, whereby to stop his Mouth, the Complaint ceased, and all farther Proceedings were superseded.

The Wars in *Persia* being unsuccessful, it was proposed in Council, that a Peace should be made, if possible, with *Abassa* Pasha; that his Demands, whatsoever they were, should be granted, and promises given him of Honours and Preferment: But the inveterate Enmity and Hate which the Janissaries bore him, and the difficulty there was to persuade *Abassa*, that the Ventures made him were free and candid, and not mixed with Treachery and Design, were Obstructions not to be obviated or overcome. Wherefore *Abassa* keeping mutual Intelligence with the Persians, and receiving assistance and succours from them, was become very formidable and strong, and the Town of *Erehrum* well fortified with Works and a numerous Garrison. However the Janissaries, his mortal Enemies, pressing him to proceed against him, at length obliged him to besiege the Place; which having done, and closely begirt it, the most forward and brave amongst the Janissaries, were the first to scale the Walls, but were repulsed by the valour of stout and resolute Souldiers; for they knowing that there was no other safety but in their Arms, and no other Mercy than an ignominious Death, being the just Reward of their Rebellion, refused to give or receive Quarter: Wherefore they made frequent sallies on the Enemy, and as many Janissaries of them as they took Prisoners, they immediately hanged about the Walls, as a spectacle of Horror to their Associates. This Resolution and Cruelty, deterred the Turks from their frequent Assaults and Storms made upon the Town; and the many Barriers and Fortifications, rendered the Place almost impregnable; so that there seemed no other hopes to remain, but to overcome them by a long Siege and Famine: But *Abassa* had so well provided against this Danger, with such plenty of Provisions, that the Turkish Army began to be more afraid for want of Sustainance than the Besieged: so that becoming weary and discouraged amidst so many Difficulties, they raised the Siege with quick disorder and haste, they left several Pieces of Cannon behind them; and retiring with some confusion, were charged in the Rear, so that many Janissaries fell a Sacrifice to the hate and revenge of the Enemy.

The News of this Success coming to *Constantinople*, was ill received; but the Disaster thereof, according to the usual Custom, was attributed to the Vizier who was General; for which Cause he was deprived of his Office, and the Selick Aga (who carries the Sword before the Grand Signior) was put into his place, a Person of a fierce, bloody, and cruel Disposition.

These new troubles were added out of *Tartary*. For *Mahomet*, the King of that Country, exalted to the Princely Dignity (as we have already declared) by the Favour and Election of that People, though contrary to the Sense and pleasure of the Ports, was now fallen from the good esteem which they conceived for him, because he gave some hindrance to their usual Injuries on the Polishians and Collocks, out of memory and gratitude to the assistance they had contributed towards his Election; for which reason being, as it were, furnished for want of their usual Depredations, they refused to obey his Commands; and then openly threw off their Obedience to him as their Prince. The Turks, who always envied this Dignity to *Mahomet*, rejoiced to see this Discord between him and his People, and therefore thought it time to make use of this occasion to re-inflate *Gheray* the elder Brother

Erehrum besieged.

The Siege raised.

New Troubles from Tartary.

1627. Brother into the possession of his Kingdom; whom the Turks, for his better security, having placed at *Rhodes*, the usual Retirement of the Tartarian Princes, dispatched a Squadron of Gallies to fetch him from thence to *Constantinople*; where being arrived, he was received with a magnificent and Princely Entertainment by the Sultan: that to the Fame thereof forerunning his arrival in *Tartary*, the people might be better prepared to comply with the Port in their acceptance of him for their King. He was afterwards conducted to *Caffa*, the Grand Signior's Town in *Tartary*, with a strong Fleet of fifty Gallies, where at his first landing he was received by *Cann-Emir*, a rich and powerful Tartar, and Chief of the Turkish Faction, and by many others with great honour and solemnity, with whom also a considerable Party met willingly engaged. But the Collocks of *Poland* and *Circassians*, Friends to *Mahomet* the Brother, joining their Troops to his Forces, became too strong for the Turks; for giving them Battle near the Inclosures of the *Danube*, at a place called *Bundet*, they defeated them, and killed three or four thousand of their Men, putting all to Fire and Swoad round about; and entering on the Seas with their Fleet of Boats, took five of the Turkish Gallies: with which ill Success, the Tartars, which took part with *Cann-Emir*, being discouraged, abandoned their Colours and fled; so that *Cann-Emir* was forced to take Sanctuary in *Caffa*, which being a Town belonging to the Grand Signior, it was hoped, that the reverence they owed to that Name, would cause them to refrain all Violence thenceforth. But the Tartars, provoked by this late effusion of Blood, all most respect to that Government; so that besieging the Town, they assaulted and took it, and therein the Son of *Cann-Emir* whom they cut in pieces, the Father escaping in a disguise from the City.

The News hereof arriving at *Constantinople* was greatly displeasing, and caused many serious Debates and Consultations thereupon; the wisest and most sober of the Council was for diminishing the Matter, and with their usual dexterity to suffer what they could not remedy: for that it was by no means advisable in the present conjuncture of Affairs, to proceed unto an open Rupture with the Tartars, fearing lest the Christians, Persians, and other Enemies should make a benefit of this Occasion, and joining with a Nation so strong in Horie, should dangerously press upon the Empire, and force them to the ultimate extremity of Affairs. Wherefore an Envoy Extraordinary was sent to the Tartars, who covering the inward sentiments of Regret and Anger, which the Sultan conceived for the late Dilgrace, seemed to wonder at the Cause and Reason of the late Engagement, as if it had been acted without the knowledge or order of the Grand Signior; and thus with gentle Terms insinuating, that the Surrender of *Caffa* would be very acceptable to the Port, and that which would atone for all miscarriages, and be such an offering of Pacification, as would reconcile all past Differences, and restore a perfect Correspondence between the Sultan and them: the Tartars readily assented to the Demand, upon condition, that the Turks should make no other King upon them than him, whom by general consent they had elected for their Prince.

Though Differences were thus concluded with the Tartars, yet the Collocks continued still their Enmities, entering the Black Sea with eighty Saicks, which they so infested, that the Turks

could for that Year avail themselves little of their Navigation in those Seas; so that the Turks, to curb these Infidelities, gave Orders to build two Forts at the Mouth of the Black Sea: the Polish Ambassador made Complaint hereof, and protested against it, as an Act contrary to the Capitulations of Peace; but the Turks esteem little of the Air of Bravadoes, whilst they are not accompanied with something else more solid than their own Levies.

But the Grand Concerment which busied the Thoughts of the Turks, was the Rebellion of *Abassa*, and the War in *Persia*, the management of which was the charge and care of the Selick Aga lately made Vizier, called *Sercher* Pasha: His Head-quarters were at the beginning of this Year taken up at *Iscionium*, called by the Turks *Chios*; and *Abassa* was intrenched at *Kallaria*, against whom the Vizier marched; and being nearly approached, the Janissaries earnestly urged, that Battle might be given the Enemy; but the Vizier having received Instructions not to engage, if possible, but rather to enter into a Treaty, and to propose Terms of Accommodation, delayed the Time, and with various Excuses, eluded the present preures of the Janissaries; at which they became so angry, that they flew into an open Mutiny, cutting off the Corps of his Tents, flogging him, and wounding him in the Head: by which open Violence, the Vizier being compelled to make known his Orders, he assembled the chief Commanders of the Spahes and Janissaries, giving them to understand, that the Grand Signior's Pleasure was, to make up the Difference with *Abassa*, as the only means to conclude an intestine and unnatural War, and to be able to withstand the Persians, and regain the Country and Reputation which the Turks had lost. This Proposition seemed plausible to the Commanders at the General Assembly, and more especially, because it was the Pleasure and Injunction of the Grand Signior; but more difficult it was to incline the rough and obstinate minds of the Janissaries to a resolution so different to their Natures, and so contrary to that Revenge which they had deeply rooted in their Hearts, and sworn to execute: however the persuasions which the Officers used to their inferior Souldiers, putting them in memory of the Blood of their Companions, and how destructive the continuance of such a War must necessarily prove for the future by those large effusions of Blood which they must expect further to make, were so prevalent upon them, that at length they consented to a Treaty, and to receive *Abassa* for a Friend and a Fellow-Souldier. *Abassa* at first suspecting some Treachery, refused to give a private meeting to the Vizier; but the Vizier giving his Brother the Beglerbeg of *Caranania*, and the Pasha of *Anatolia* for Hostages, the Day and Place for a Conference was appointed; where both Parties meeting, Articles were agreed. That *Abassa* should still continue to be Pasha of *Erehrum*, his Son Pasha of *Bofra*, his Cahya, or Lieutenant, to be Pasha of *Marasch*, (all which were Places on the Confines of *Persia*) a general Act of Pardon and Amnestie was to be given to *Abassa* and his whole Army, and the Articles sworn unto in the most solemn manner by the Vizier, and confirmed in the public Chap of the Janissaries, who also promised to maintain this Word and Promise of the Vizier; to all which the Grand Signior gave his Hand, and affixed his Royal Signature.

A Reconciliation being in this manner completed, the City of *Erehrum* resigned it self to

Abassa remained to the Grand Signior.

the

A Fight at Sea in my Play.

The Janissaries meeting.

They refused to meet with Abassa.

14

The Reign of Sultan Morat, or Amurat IV.

1629. with singular affection and contentment, and was partly rewarded on this occasion, to take a Journey to *Wardan*, one of the principal Fortresses and Places of confideration in that whole Province, and was there received by *Stephen* the Ambaffador, Governor of the Citadel, with firing all the Cannon, and with the common Joy and Festivity of the whole City. But in the midst of this Mirth, an unexpected Messenger arrived with News, that the States had with common consent elected another Prince, which was *Stephen Beshlem*, Father of the Ambaffador, and Author of this Counsel.

Ragotski was strangely surpris'd with this Intelligence, and the Ambassadors were put to the blush to see their Negotiations under such a shameful defeat: Howsoever resolving to continue constant to their first Election, and to renounce the Interest of their own Family, they still maintained the same obsequious Offices of Honour and Reverence towards *Ragotski* as formerly.

And notwithstanding the Orders received from the States to abstain from any other demonstrations of Honour to *Ragotski*, than what were ordinary towards a private Person of his Quality and Riches; and that he should retire from the Confinement of *Transylvania* to his own Castle: yet they still persisted to execute their first Commission, and so to attract People to his Party; that the number thereof daily increasing, it was at length agreed, that the first Election not being fair, the Point in Controversy should be determined at *Saxberg*, a City of Saxony.

The States General being assembled, *Ragotski* accompanied his Pretensions; and with a large sum of Gold, the most powerful and most convincing Argument imaginable: to which he added, That he had no design to affect the Principality, had not the same been first offered to him from *Stephen Gaber* the Father by the Hand of his Son: That it was very improper for that Person to offer a Dignity to another, which he affected for himself: that it was in the power of the *Transylvanians*; nor to have offered him the Principality; but having once chosen him to it, they could not, without his disparagement and prejudice, retract from their Election.

In short, these Considerations, assisted by the Interest of the Prince's Dowager, so far prevailed, that *Stephen Beshlem* was put aside, and *Ragotski*, who attended the success of this Matter at *Wardan*, was with common consent elected Prince, from whence being with great Acclamations, and a general concourse of the People, conducted to *Alba Julia*; he there took the usual Oath with much Solemnity and Magnificence: and with Princely Magnificence, entertained and treated the two Ambassadors, *Stephen* and *Solomon*, and dispensed freely his Money unto divers, who before being Enemies, were now reconciled, and became his Friends and Admirers. Liberty in a Prince, is the most replenishing Gem in all his Crown, and is a Light so forcible, that it dazzles Envy it self, and puts out all the Eyes of Suspicion and Jealousy.

By this time the Great Vizier was far advanced with his Army into *Persia*, having been encouraged to proceed by the feigned Flight, or rather Retreat of the Enemy, who burned, destroyed, and laid waste all round them, as they retired; which put the Turks to such insurmountable Difficulties, that in two months March, they had all the Inconveniences and Miseries to contend with, which commonly attend Armies in

strange Countries; the Plains through which they travelled were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and void of Provisions; the Mountains were covered with Snow and comfortable; and what was worst, the Persians kept all the narrow Passages so strongly guarded, that the Vizier was now more in danger of Famine than of the Sword: but being a Person of great Sense and Experience in Military Affairs, he prudently disengaged himself from the intricacy of these Danger; and encompassing his Army in the Plain of *Amidan*, he so provoked the hot Spirits of the Persians, that they resolve to assault him on that side of his Camp, which they judged to be the most weakly defended: of which having some advertisement, he secretly laid an Ambuscade in the way; which so happily succeeded, that he killed eight thousand Persians on the place: but however the Victory cost so dear, and was so bloody, by the loss of the choicest Janissaries, and the bravest of the Souldiery, that the News thereof made little noise or rejoicing at *Constantinople*.

With this Intelligence the Vizier demanded new Recruits; for that besides the abatement of his Numbers by the last Engagement, the Multitudes of the Enemy increased, and his own Souldiers fled from their Colours; of which many being observed to enter the Persians, notwithstanding the severe Decrees of Martial Law published against them, put the Grand Signior into a high Choler and Indignation. And being desirous to reinforce the Vizier's Army with all the Recruits that he was able, Proclamations were made, that all the Militia at *Constantinople* should immediately pass over unto *Scutari* under their respective Commanders; and that whoever received one Asper of Pay from the Grand Signior in quality of a Souldier, should immediately pass the Chanel into *Asia*, and follow their Leaders to the War. But so great was the abhorrence which the Souldiers had to this March into *Persia*, calling it the Sepulchre and Cemetery of the Turks, that few or none would obey, every one flying, hiding, and shifting for himself as well as he could: During which Fears and Troubles, the Ways from *Persia* were so obstructed by the *Curdas*, that in the space of three or four Months, no News arrived at *Constantinople* from the Army; which caused as great apprehensions and affrightments there, as if the Empire had been reduced to the utmost extremity. Nor did the Sultan want Jealousies and Fears of receiving Affronts from the Emperor, and King of *Poland*, the first of which was an opportunity presented of regaining all *Transylvania*, especially at a time when that Country was divided by two several Factions: but more pressing and troublesome were the Collacks, who daily infested the Black Sea; and to the great reproach of the Imperial City, perpetually disturbed it with Alarms, passing up almost in sight of *Constantinople*. Of which Complaints being made to the Polonian Ambaffador, he answered with some indignation. That the Collacks had reason for what they acted; for that since the Tartars had, by Orders from the Grand Signior, made their late irruption into that Country, as they could well prove from the Commission taken amongst the Baggage of the Prince of *Tartary* in the last Defeat, the Collacks might with all justice assume to themselves a method of Revenge.

But the Grand Signior not being able to support this Affront, or to see himself braved on the very Banks of his Imperial Seat, and his Villages

A Victory
gained by the
Turks over the
Persians

The difficulty
of finding
Men into
Persia.

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Villages and Towns round about burnt and pillaged by a crew of Free-booters and Pirates, cast all the blame on the Chimecham; to whom, in his rage, he gave such a blow with his Fist on the Face, that Blood issued from his Nose; and had not the Queen-Mother interceded for him, he had been delivered into the Hand of the Executioner to take away his Life: Nor was the Captain-Pasha in less danger at his return; because, that upon his assurance, that the Collacks would not for that Year make any attempt in the Chanel of *Constantinople*, the Grand Signior had allotted, that the Fleet of Gallies should that Summer make a Voyage into the *Archipelago*: Which Mistake having been the cause of all this Affront, the Captain-Pasha was to share in the blame, and had likewise in the punishment, had not good Friends interposed between him and Danger.

Nor were the Collacks satisfied with their late Plunder, but speedily made another return with two hundred Boats; and though the whole Fleet of Gallies were then in Port, yet they had the boldness to proceed as far as *Pompey's Pillar*, and thereby to hinder all Provisions from passing to *Constantinople* by way of the Black-Sea. And what gave greater fear than all this, was the News which came at the same time, that the Poles were on the Frontiers with thirty thousand Horle; to whom immediately a Chaus, or Envoy was dispatched with Propositions very advantageous to the Crown of *Poland*, conditionally, that the continual Irruptions made by the Collacks should be stopped, and they restrained within the due Terms of Peace and Moderation.

The Chaus found a civil Reception from the Poles, and promises of Compliance, in regard that the King had some Intentions of making War upon the Muscovite.

But whilst these things were in agitation, and that the Chaus was ready to return, behold, on a sudden News came, that ten thousand Tartars were broken into *Fadolia*; which put all things back again, and so changed the File of Affairs, that instead of Articles of Peace, the Chaus was again returned with the Menaces of War, and with Reproaches for the last perfidious Action.

Notwithstanding all these Troubles abroad, the puissance of the Ottoman Empire might have been able to have struggled with greater Difficulties, had not its own Inclination Dilatations rendered all things dangerous, and of a malevolent Aspect.

The Government was at that time chiefly in the hands of the four Brothers-in-Law, who had married four Sisters of the Grand Signior; and for that reason were powerful, and employed in the principal Offices of State, and commonly drew contrary to the Opinions of the Musli and Chimecham; which two last were not well accorded between themselves; for that the latter encroached on the Office of the Musli, to the great scandal and discontent of all the Religious and Literate Men in the whole City; howsoever they both joined in consultation by what means they might best secure themselves and the Government from the Lufts and evil Designs of this quadruple Fraternity; but their Wildom and Interests were too weak to contrive Remedies against such high Oppressions; for besides the Violences daily practised by the Brothers, the extravagant Humors in the Sultan himself, added to the Disorders of State, and increased the Discontent and Dissatisfactions of the People: For though *Morat* was naturally endowed with a

good Wit and Parts, was stout, and of a good Courage: yet as his perpetual Debauchery in Wine rendered him in appearance but of a weak Understanding, mixed with much Levity, so it caused his Accessions of the Falling-fickness (to which he was subject) to return often, whereby the strength of his Brain was daily weakened and impaired. He was negligent also in the performance of those Ceremonies which his Ancestors were accustomed to observe; nor did he live with that gravity and regular Court which is agreeable to the Grandeur of so great a Prince: for sometimes he would go out of his Seraglio with no other Attendance than of three or four Men, which were for the most part Buffoons, players upon the Gittern, and Eunuchs; and with no better an Equipage would he sometimes be seen on Horle-back, or in his Boat rowed on the *Bosphorus* with six Oars only: by which Actions, and other follies of Youth, he created such a contempt towards his Person, that evil-Men grew factious and weary, and entered into Conspiracies against his Life, whilst the good Men feared and prefiged the ruin and downfall of the Empire: for neither Justice, nor Order, nor Obedience, prevailed; no Offices were conferred for Merit, but by Money, or some other unlawful Means: there remained no Counsellors of true Faith and Integrity, or Souldiers almost, either of experience for Sea or Land-adventures. The People, being burdened by double Taxes and Imposts, were mutinous, and ready to take the least Fire of Rebellion; the Souldiery were disorderly for want of Discipline and their constant Pay: the Pasha's of remote Provinces grew insolent, taking upon themselves rather an absolute than a depending Sovereignty.

In short, all things looked with that black appearance, that nothing seemed to keep the Frame of Empire together, but only the expectation of good Success to the Army in *Persia*; the which, as it depended on uncertain Events, so the Ottoman Monarchy was then shaking, and stood tottering on its deep Foundation.

Wherefore all People being intent to hear of good News from *Persia*, were much pleased to understand, that the Vizier having, by advantage in the last Engagement, laden his Army with Plunder and Spoils, was now preparing to besiege *Bagdat*; for whose good Success, Prayers were daily made in the Moschs; and the Schoolmasters furrowed the Streets with their young Scholars, singing out Prayers with their *Amen* at every Period, according to the Custom of that Country.

The Vizier marched towards *Bagdat*, and began to besiege it about the 10th of September: In order whereunto, he amassed great abundance of all sorts of Provisions, and made his Magazine of them at *Mosul*, two thousand Camels, each laden with two Sacks of Cotton, every Sack being of about ten foot long, were carried to the Siege, for shelter of the Souldiery, and to fill the Ditches.

The Vizier having passed part of his Army over the River *Tigris*, the rest with the Cannon remaining on the hither side, he dispatched *Nasuf* Pasha of *Alleppe*, with six thousand Spahes, to take a view of the Place, and to discover the Avenues unto it. In his way thither, he met with eight thousand Persian Horle sent to reinforce the Garrison, which he valiantly engaged; but being dangerously wounded, was forced to retreat, with the loss of almost half of his Men, part killed, and part taken: tho' which were

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The Vizier
prepares to
besiege Bag-
dat.

Ragotski
chose
Prince.

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were carried Prisoners to *Bagdat*, were treated with all civility by the Governor, who gave them a view of the Garrison, which consisted of twenty thousand effective Men; shewed them their Stores and Provision; and that there was scarce an unuseful Mouth in all the City to devour them.

The Siege.

Notwithstanding this Disaster at the beginning, the Vizier nothing dismayed, proceeded on his Design, spending the whole Month of *September* in making his Approaches. In the Month of *October*, he mounted eighteen Pieces of great Cannon, which for the space of twenty five days battered continually the Curtain between the two Bastions, on which were four Pieces of Cannon not perceived by the Turks; there was also a deep and large ditch discovered by them, for that it was planked over with Boards, and covered with a green Turf, so that it appeared like plain and firm Ground: the Breach being made, and seemingly undefended, the Turks refused to make an Assault; wherefore the Vizier, on the 20th of *November*, commanded the Spahes, under the Conduct of the Beglerbei of *Anatolia*, accompanied with *Pasha's*, *Sangacks*, and other Persons of Note; as also with Janizaries, to the number of thirty thousand, to enter the Breach: which being performed, and great numbers crowding on the Turf, the weight of them pressed down the Planks; and therewith the whole Engine giving way, five or six thousand were in a moment taken, as it were, in a Pit-fall, and swallowed up without any possibility of Succour to be yielded from their Companions. After which, on an instant there appeared fifteen thousand Men on the Breach and on the Bastions; with which their Cannon, and continual Volleys of Musket shot, so galled the Spahes, that they broke their main Body, and killed the Beglerbei of *Anatolia*, with other Persons of Note and Quality, and made the whole Army to retreat.

The Siege raised.

Two days after this Disgrace, the Vizier raised the Siege, and marched towards *Adul*; and the Persians encouraged with this Success, pursued the Turks with eight thousand Horse, assailed the Rear-guard of the Enemy; and though the Conduct and Care thereof was committed to the charge of the *Pasha's* of *Aleppo* and *Damascus*, yet the Persians killed three thousand Turks, and had defeated the whole Rear of the Army, had not the Spahes turned their Horses, and withstood the shock with great Valour.

Notwithstanding this dishonourable Retreat, the Vizier lost not his Courage, or hopes of taking the Town; in order unto which, he appointed all things necessary to renew the Siege again in the Months of *September* and *October* following, for that the foregoing Months are either too rainy, or too hot in those Countries, to undertake a Siege; or Enterprize of that Nature: He fortified all the final Places in those parts round, and quartered his Soldiers in them; so that having all conveniences of living, they might be induced to continue, and not abandon their Colours: especially he took care to fortify *Ilays*, a place of about two days journey from *Bagdat*, reinforcing the Garrison with six thousand Men, under the command of three Beglerbeys, in regard that it was a very considerable Place, and the principal Magazine and Granary of Corn and other Provision.

At the same time he sent Letters to *Constantinople*, representing the state of his Affairs to be in a hopeful condition; and desiring Recruits

both of Men and Money, gave great assurances of conquering the City at the next Attempt.

In this perilous Condition of the Ottoman State, one would have imagined that Christian Princes would have seen their own Interest, and made use of their advantage; but God not having as yet fixed a Period to the Bounds of this Empire, was pleased, by his secret Providence, to divert both the Emperor and King of *Poland* from making War with the Turk, inclining them to employ their Arms on their Christian Neighbours. For though the Chaos (as we have said before) was returned from *Poland* with disdain, and an angry Meflage, yet the Chimaera, when he made *Mosley* Vayvod of *Moldavia*, charged him to perform all Offices of Mediation between the Grand Signior and the Poles, persuading them to refrain the Incursions of the Cossacks, and to send an Ambassador to the Port. In which Affair *Mosley* so well performed his Negotiation, that applying Lenitives to the Anger of the Poles, he reduced them to Articles of Peace, and to promises of restraining the Cossacks, on condition, that the Turks reciprocally forbid and withhold the Tartars from joining or affording assistance to his Enemies the Muscovites.

These Conditions being agreed, the Ambassador was sent from *Poland* to *Constantinople*, where he was received with as much joy, as he was expected with Impatience. The Cossacks and Tartars were two sorts of people which lived equally on Spoils and Booty; the first as offensive to the Turk, as the latter to the Pole; and therefore as it was an equal Benefit, so it was an Agreement of even Terms, to counterchange the Caution given reciprocally for one and the other.

But the Engagement for such wild Peoples, was more easily given than performed; which because it was a Point agreeable to both Parties, it was expressed with the most clear Words and strict Terms possible.

The Poles were weary and grieved to see their Provinces depopulated by the Tartars, who yearly carried away some thousands of Souls. The Turks on the other side were not less interested with the Cossacks, who captivated their People, burnt their Towns and Villages, and kept them in continual Alarms.

But because these People are hardly restrained from their Robberies and Pillaging, as was a Remedy, resolved to carry the Cossacks to the War against the Muscovite; and better to secure the Tartar, the Polish Ambassador was obliged to pay them twenty thousand Florins yearly, and six thousand pair of Boots, according to the ancient Articles of Peace. On which Considerations the Tartars were engaged never to enter *Poland* in a hostile manner, but to serve that King in his Wars against all Nations whatsoever, the Turks only excepted.

In this manner were the Turks this Year freed from all apprehensions of Alarm from the Cossacks, and of War with *Poland*. And the Emperor was so busied concerning the surprize of *Mantova*, and engaged in the Quarrel about that Dutchy, and with some ambitious thoughts relating to *Italy*, that the Turks hoped to have prosecuted their Wars in *Perfia* without fear of Diversion from the Western Parts. But yet the Affairs towards the parts of *Germany* were not so well secured, but that the turbulent Spirit of *Ragotski* administered subject for Diffidenc; for being lately seated (as we have said) in his Principality, he was doubtful whether it was

1630.
The Poles
and Turks
made Peace

The Cossacks
and Tartars
compacted

1631.

Troubles in
Hungary.

1630.

moist for his Interest to incline unto the Emperor, or to the Turk; and whilst both Parties courted his Friendship, and cheapened his acknowledgments, (for of necessity he must be a Vassal to one or the other) the Heydicks who were Tenants to the Lands of *Gabor*, refused to return to the Obedience of the Emperor, demanding protection from the Grand Signior. The jealousy of these ill Consequences which this Commotion might produce, alarmed all the Country; and the Emperor and *Ragotski* being hereby raised to a mutual Defiance, advanced their Troops one against the other upon the Frontiers: But all *Hungary* trembling with fear of those Calamities which ensue from War, several of those concerned, interposed so far towards an Accommodation, that Deputies were appointed to meet at *Cassovia* to treat of Peace. But in the mean time the Palatine of *Hungary* passing eight thousand Men over the River *Thibiscus*, to make seizure of a certain Fort built by *George Basta*, so alarmed and awakened *Ragotski*, that he dispatched a Gentleman to him to demand the Cause of this Motion; and not receiving an answer agreeable to his expectation, he advanced upon him with an Army of ten thousand Men, and engaging him with great resolution, killed four thousand on the place, and so caused him to retire: from these beginnings all the mischiefs of a bloody War had certainly ensued, had not *Ragotski* refused to receive Succours from the Turk; but he depending on his own strength (having fifteen thousand Men in Arms for defence of his Hereditary Lands in *Hungary*) contemned all external Affiliations, as favouring too much of valour and independence: himself, so the *Pasha's* of the Frontiers assembled their Forces, and yet acted with such caution, as not to proceed to an open Rupture; for the Wars in *Perfia* being unsuccessful and pressing, required moderation and Lenitives on this side, that so the differences now on the Frontiers might be transferred to an opportunity more seasonable for dispute.

1631.
The Grand Signior
died with
Lightning.

In the month of *September* Sultan *Morat* being at his small Seraglio called *Dance Pasha*, and sleeping there one night in his Bed, he was on a sudden awakened by a terrible Lightning; which entering his Chamber, surrounded his Bed, leaving several Marks on his Sheets and Quilts; and whilst he sought some place to hide himself in, it passed under his Arm, and burnt part of his Shirt; the affrightment of which so astonished him, that he remained for some time in a swoon, which for some time did much impair the strength of his Brain: He now began to be sensible that there were other Thunder-bolts than those that proceeded from his own Throne; and like *Thierius*, learned to tremble at the Voice of God, whilst he heard him speak in the Clouds: *Nec Deum unquam nisi iratum perterritum, et turbatoris Celo fulminantem.* And so affected was the Sultan with this Accident, that afterwards he disfigured divers of his Buffoons from the Court; and particularly a Mate, whose ridiculous Gesticulations were his common Divertisement, and for some time caused him to abstain from Wine; and as a farther token of his Conversion and Thankfulness to God for this escape, he ordered five thousand Dollars to be given in Alms to the Poor, and Korban to be made of three hundred Sheep; and the Friday following, he solemnly went to the Mosque, to render Thanks unto God for having so prodigiously preserved him from the Executioner of his Vengeance.

During all this time the Great Vizier wanting Succours and Supplies of Men and Money, had

great difficulty to contain his People in their due Obedience, or within the Bounds of their Quarters; for they were apt to leave their Colours, and would readily be disbanded, had not their Spirits been daily held up with the hopes and accompaniments of Pay and Recruits.

The four Brethren-in-Law, which greatly apprehended lest their Power and Authority should be abated by the return of the Vizier, exercised all the diligence they were able to make: new Levies, the reinforcement of which might inflame new Courage into the Soldiery, and be a means to continue the Vizier in those parts; but the Mosti obstructed all Levies on the side of *Greece*, and the Frontiers of *Christendom*, alleging, That the best Soldiery being sent from those parts, would hazard the Empire, by exposing and laying it open to the Incursions of the Christians: by which contrary Opinions and Delays, the Vizier wanting the Assistance expected, the Persians recovered all the little Fortresses which they had lost the Year before, with the considerable place of *Ilays*; which being taken by Assault, and by an absolute force of Sword and Arms, the greatest part of the Garrison consisting of eight thousand Men, commanded by the three *Pasha's* before-mentioned, were cut off; which was an important loss to the Turks; not only for the slaughter of so many brave Soldiery, but also for the quantities of Provisions, being the Granary and Magazine for the whole Army. Therein were likewise taken forty Field-pieces carrying eight pounds Bullet; with a great Chain of Iron, which usually encompasses the Treasury which is carried into the Field. With this ill success the Vizier returned to *Adul*, as far as *Mardin*, from whence he redoubled his Instances for Supplies for Men and Money.

At length it was agreed, that an Army of thirty thousand Tartars should be sent thither; but *Ragotski* advising, that he was upon the point of breaking with the Emperor, it was ordered, that their number should be reduced to ten thousand: the which taking their Journey into *Perfia*, by the way of *Cavellia*, were there encountered by *Han Ghoray*, the Prince of *Tartary*, (whom we formerly mentioned to have been deposed by that People) and by him obstructed in their passage, the Van-guard of their Army being cut off by him; so that they were forced again to retreat and to embark their Men and Horse at *Cassovia*, to be transported by Sea to *Trapesond*; which as it was a matter of great trouble, so it was a course unacquainted by the Tartars. The Grand Signior being unable to render a more considerable Succour than this unto his Army, which was now reduced to the weak number of two thousand Janizaries, and three thousand Spahes, he resolved to condescend to Terms and Articles, as the only means to save his Honour, and the remainder of his Forces.

In order unto which, he released a Persian Lord from his Imprisonment in the Seven Towers, and qualified him with the Title of Ambassador, bestowing upon him an Equipage of Men and Horse agreeable to his Character; with four thousand Dollars to defray his Expence. And that the King of *Perfia* might be assured of the Sultan's real Intentions and desires of Peace, he recalled his Army in the Spring, whereby all Acts of Hostility ceased: And thus the Vizier being returned to *Constantinople*, that Pride and Rigour which he exercised towards all in the time of his prosperity, laid him low by Misfortunes

Ilays recovered
from the
Turks.

1631.

The Vizier
deposed of
his Office.

tunes in the esteem of his Enemies; who gladly embracing the opportunity to disgrace him, with all the terms of Oblivion and Detraction, deprived him at length of his Office. One of the four Brothers-in-law married to one of the Grand Signior's Sisters, and Prime of the Cabal, being constituted Vizier in his stead. Nor did the late Vizier easily escape with his Life, until he had reprieved it with an Attonement of an hundred thousand Zechins of Gold, and some choice Horfes which he presented to the Sultan; the like Example other Pashas's Companions followed in proportion to their Estates and Employments; by which Presents the empty Treasury was in a manner recruited, and the present Necessities of the Sultan relieved.

But this new Vizier enjoyed not long either his Honours, or his Life; for the first Act he performed, was to mitigate the *Valedd Sultan*, or Queen-Mother, to obtain a Hatheeriff, or Writing, under the Grand Signior's Hand for cutting off the Head of *Cafirof* Pasha, the Spies *Ishtar Agasi*; or General of the Spahees, which being executed by *Morisfa* the Commander in Chief in *Perfia*, his Head was brought and thrown at the Gates of the Divan.

1632.

Mistery of
the Spahies
joined with
the Jani-
saries.

The Spahees astonished at this Spectacle, and enraged to see that Head on the Ground which they so much esteemed and loved, forgot all the Terms of Duty and Obedience to their Superiors; and without regard to the Place wherein they were, even within the Walls of the Grand Signior's Court, they threw Stones at the Vizier, and beat him from his Horfe; which though the Grand Signior, and all the Viziers highly reſented, as the most scandalous Indignity that could be offered to the Majesty of a Supreme Ruler, and to all Government, yet their Councils rather sought Remedies to suppress the Mutiny, than to make Prosecutions executing Justice on the Offenders; for the Spahees seconded by the Janiaries, (who were glad of any cause to make a Commotion) assembled in the *Hippodrome*, from whence they sent an Arz to the Sultan, requiring the Heads of the Great Vizier, and of divers others, as well within as without the Seraglio. The Grand Signior denying positively to assent hereunto, the Souldiery was violently threatened to depose him, and place his Brother in the Throne; at which barbarous Resolution the Grand Signior being affrighted, his youthful constancy was so shaken, that he wrote to his Mother to desire her excuse, in case he assented to the death of her Son-in-law the Great Vizier; for that the Storm of the Military Fury was so great, that he could not endeavour to protect him without the loss of his Life and Crown: wherefore the Vizier being turned out of the Gates of the Seraglio, he was immediately butchered in the presence of the Sultan.

Nor did the impetuous Rage of the Souldiery end here, but they proceeded farther to demand the Head of the Janifar-Aga, or General of the Janiaries, who was reputed the chief Instrument of the Death of *Cafirof*, because he was a principal Favourite to the Grand Signior; but he wisely taking divers off with Money and Presents, fowed division between the Janiaries and Spahees; so that some Difficulty arising hereupon, the determination of his Death was deferred for a while; however they proceeded to demand, that the Mufi should be discharged of his Office, and that the Tetterdar, or Treasurer, should be delivered into their hands.

To the first the Grand Signior assented; but being willing to save the other, he pretended,

that he was escaped and fled; but when he was found, he should run the same Fate with the Vizier. But the military Sedition not being appeased with this Answer, they roved through the whole City, and *Galata*, and other parts of the Suburbs: the Spahees persistering to require the Head of the Janifar-Aga, and not finding him in his House, they plundered it, and departed; and meeting with a Youth, a Favourite of the Grand Signior's, they killed him; and returning with the like Fury to the Seraglio, they required admission to the New Vizier and Mufi. *Kege* Pasha, another of the Brothers-in-law, was then made Vizier, who with the new Mufi trembling at these Tumults, were careful to treat the Souldiery with all lenity and condescension imaginable, desiring them to declare their Grievances, and whatsoever might give them Satisfaction should be granted. The seditious Souldiers replied, That they were resolved to see the Grand Signior's Brother, for that when the present Sultan did not govern well, they might know from whence to produce another of better Abilities, and more agreeable to the Designs of the Empire.

That necessity which caused the late easiness of condescension to former demands, made way also for compliance with this; so that the young Prince being brought forth, they obliged the Sultan not to attempt any thing against his Life, and caused the Vizier and Mufi to become Cautions and Security for it.

Nor did these Concessions contribute towards a Pacification; but rather their Insolence increased thereby, renewing their Exclamations at the Gates of the Seraglio for the Heads of the Janifar-Aga and the Tetterdar; nor would they be satisfied with answer, that these men were found in the Seraglio, but still persisted in their rude Out-cries and Menaces, losing all respect and reverence to the Sultan and the Superiors; so that the Grand Signior resolved once to fall upon them with his own Guard; but trying their Temper and Resolution, he discovered most of them to be poisoned with the like Spirit of Sedition, and combining with the others as Associates in the Treason.

The Viziers, and other principal Officers, perceiving the Mutiny to increase daily, and not knowing to what degree it might arise, made it their business to search out for those prohibited by the Souldiery: at length the Aga was happily discovered by a certain Person, to whom a Reward was given of a thousand Zechins, with the Office of Zorbas or Captain; and the Aga confessing that he had conspired the Death of *Cafirof*, he was immediately executed, and his Body hanged upon a Tree to public view. The like Fate befel the Tetterdar, who being also taken, was killed and hanged up together with the Body of the Aga.

All which Persons thus inhumanly murdered by the Souldiery, were the Enemies of the present Great Vizier *Kege*; for which cause the Grand Signior suspecting that he secretly contrived and nourished their Rebellion, never after looked on him with a gracious eye. Of which the Vizier being sensible, combined with the Souldiery; and judging it almost impossible to set himself right in the Affection of his Master, he courted the Favour of the Militia, as the only means to protect his Life, and maintain his Power. But as the revenge of Princes is not like a Thunder-bolt, which wounds on a sudden, but rather like a Mite which requires time to form; and is then sprang, when it may do best

1632.

The Vizier
transferred by
Order of the
Grand Signior.

best execution: so in the same manner, the Grand Signior dissembled his hate towards the Vizier, until one Night being present with him in the Seraglio to see certain Fire-works, he called him aside, and whispered to him, that he should go into his private Lodgings; where being entered, the Door was shut upon him, and he strangled by certain Eunuchs, who were appointed to attend him for that purpose. But little benefit or riches did the Grand Signior reap by his death; for the Vizier having for some time expected this Blow, had concealed his Treasure, and conveyed it away for the use of his Posterity.

The like hatred did the Sultan conceive against the Souldiery, resolving in his mind to execute his Revenge, especially on the Janiaries, as the most turbulent Fomenters of Rebellion and Treason, and to vent his Anger, either by the Cord or Sword, or some other more expedite way, as opportunity presented; and to prevent or oppose the like Seditions for the future, he fortified the Seraglio, and brought Arms in thither by night, chusing into his Guard select Men of Courage and Faithfulness; and being sensible, that the being of his Brother attempted his Sovereignty, and drew away the Hearts and Eyes of his Souldiers and People from fixing entirely on his own Person; he therefore intended to cut him off; but the Cause and Security given by himself, and chief Ministers, to preserve his Life, diverted him from this Resolution.

In place of the deceased Vizier, *Mehmet* late Pasha of *Cairo* was constituted, and the Seal consigned to him; with whom the Grand Signior consulting of the present Emergency of Affairs, often uttered his displeasure against the late Seditions, and signified his Intention to redress them for the future; in order unto which, he caused the Heads of the most seditious Spahees to be cut off, and on various Pretences separated the Souldiery each from other into divers Parts; some numbers of Janiaries he commanded to march to the Confines of *Perfia*, and caused many others of them to be killed by Night; and by various other Means greatly weakened the Chambers, both by diminishing the Numbers, and taking off such who were the Men of best Courage and Conduct: many Bodies were found swimming in the *Bosphorus*, and known to be Spahees; great part of the Lands belonging to the Timariots was taken away, and the Pay of the Spahees was abated; and divers Offices of Profit and Honour were taken from the Militia, that so Men might be made sensible of the Indignation of their Prince, and that there is no Sport or Security in the Anger of a provoked King, who knows no other mean of his Passion, than the total evaporation of his Choler and Vengeance.

To maintain and make good these several Acts of Just Punishment, young *Moras* growing in Courage with his Years, mounted on Horfe-back, well Armed, and like a Souldier, attended with a select Party of Cavalry, passed through the most publick Streets of the City in a haughty manner, and casting a stern Eye upon the Souldiery and People as he went, making a hundred Passes through the midst of them, struck them with an awe of his Majesty, and admiration of his Warlike and Martial appearance; with which Severity and Gallantry the Souldiery being affrighted, began to consider, that they were not longer to be governed by a Woman, or a Child, but by the most brave Prince that ever swayed the Ottoman Scepter; and thereupon for the fu-

ture resolved upon an impartial Submission and Obedience unto him. To encourage them in which, and to reconcile their Spirits and Affections to him, *Moras* oftentimes alighted his Souldiery at *Akmenidan*, where he exercised with them, shooting with the Bow at Marks and with Rovers, rewarding those who shot best, with adding an After a day to their Pay; besides which, he distributed five thousand Hungars amongst them, to demonstrate that while Princes are used to mix Lenities with their Rigour.

These Mutinies and Seditions in the Capital City, encouraged Rebellious Spirits in divers other places; so that a certain Bold and Audacious Fellow, drawing a number of Micreants after him, possessed himself of the City of *Papha*: another of the same Temper, called *Elia Pasha*, made himself Master of *Magnesia*, where he committed all the Outrages which Enemies inflict on a Conquered People; and being about twenty four miles distant from *Smyrna*, so affrighted the People of that Place, who were Merchants, and such as lived by Trade, that they fled with their Wealth, and such Things as were portable, lest they should be exposed to the Robbery and Spoil of Thieves and Rebels. But the Beglerbey of *Anatolia* suffered not *Elia* to reign long in his lust, but giving him Battle in those Plains, wholly defeated him, and sent twenty of the Heads of the chief Commanders to the Sultan for a Present; and pursuing *Elia* and the rest of his Army to *Magnesia*, besieged him in that City. The Grand Signior being advised hereof, and fearing lest the Siege should take up too much time, and move other ill Humors in that Country, dispatched Orders to offer Terms and Conditions of Accommodation with *Elia*, which were secretly treated, and great Promises made him of Favour and Rewards from the Grand Signior. The crafty Fool accepted the Conditions, and embraced the Promises; and leaving his City of *Magnesia*, proceeded confidently to *Constantinople* to receive the gracious Rewards of the Sultan for his past Services. At his Entry into the Seraglio in place of the *Kaplar-Kahyasfe*, or Master of the Ceremonies, he was received by Officers with a Cord in their Hands, who bestowed on him the gracious Reward of his Masters ultimate Favour.

These Rebellions were no sooner suppressed in *Asia*, but that other Mutinies of the Janiaries, for want of Pay, began at *And in Hungary*, where they threw Stones at their Aga, and pursued him to the very Palace of the Pasha, electing another into his place. They also cut in pieces the Governour of *Pof*, and bestowed his Office upon his Lieutenant.

To remedy these Disorders, and extinguish the Mutiny, the Grand Signior sent Commissioners to examine the Matters, and to render him an account of the Grievances and Demands of the Souldiers; but they fearing to be surprised with some severe Acts of Justice, prevented or forestalled the Inquiries of the Commissioners, by acknowledging their Fault, and demanding Pardon, with surrender of four of the Ring-leaders to Punishment; declaring, That by their seducement and evil persuasions, they were debauched into that disorderly course of Proceedings: the Sultan accepted the Submission, and all things were quieted in *Hungary*.

Howsoever new Troubles arose in *Moldavia*: *Troisies in Moldavia*, for that People being oppressed over-much by their Prince *Alexander*, made an Insurrection against him, and drove him out of the Country, who for refuge fled to *Constantinople*. And the

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1632.

Rebellion in
Anatolia.Insurrection at
Buda.

1632. People desirous that one *Bernschki*, a Polishman by Nation, might be put into his Place: To obtain his Confirmation, he came to the Port, and offered himself before the Grand Signior; but *Morat* suspecting, that to obtain the Principality for himself, he had secretly infligated and nourished the late popular Commotions, caused his Head to be cut off in the Publick Theatre. *Amurat* had now born to him a seventh Daughter, by his Slave called the *Shining Star*; and though he was much troubled that he had not brought him forth a Son and Heir, yet so much was the beloved by him, that he resolved to create her Queen, had not his Mother declared against it, as a thing not usual for any Woman to be honoured with that Title before he had furnished the Inheritance by the Birth of a Male Child.

And that he might now totally extinguish the Fire of Sedition amongst the Souldiery, he caused *Ferdum Efendi* and *Salme Aga*, two prime Chiefs of the Spahes, with eight principal Janiaries, to be put to Death; after which severity, fearing another Infurrection, he passed the Water, and retired to his Seraglio at *Scutari*, where he fortified himself.

It happened about that time, that a Turkish Woman, a Slave, was found aboard a French Ship, ready to sail from *Constantinople*; which the Turks highly resented, and aggravated the Crime so much against the French Ambassador, that they imprisoned his Son then embarked, and would have confiscated the Vessel and her Lading. In those days the Christian Ambassadors resided at that Court, kept better Union and Correspondence among themselves than they do at present; so that all of them, as concerned, joined together to represent before the chief Ministers, that such a Fault merited not so grand a Forfeiture, for that it was most probable to have been committed without the privacy either of the Ambassador or Commander of the Ship. The Ambassadors then resident were *Sir Peter Wyck for England*, the *Seur Marcheville for France*, and *Pietro Foscarini for Venice*; at whose warm and urgent Instances the Turks condescended to release the Vessel, and the Goods laden upon her, with free liberty to depart. Howsoever it being represented to the Grand Signior by the Captain-Pasha (who is Admiral of the Seas) that one *Baldasar*, an Armenian by Nation, but very dextrous and Interpreter to the French Ambassador, was a principal Instrument to move the Ambassadors to unite in this Pretence; and being observed to manage the Interest of his Master with warm and earnest Solicitations, the lively Sultan grew so angry, that one of his own Slaves should presume to manage a Dispute with him, in Fury and Rage, commanded that he should be immediately empaled; and that he might be assured that his Sentence took effect, he would see him with his own Eyes on the Stake before he would pass the Water to his Seraglio at *Scutari*. The resolution was so sudden, and the Execution so speedy, that there was neither Ear lent to hear, nor Time given to mediate in his behalf; and the Act being performed, complaints would serve to redress a tyrannous Action now past Remedy, and not to be recalled: Wherefore as the Ambassadors were forced to acquiesce, and patiently endure the Affront; so if they would have refuted it, they could scarce have found one amongst their Interpreters of so bold a Spirit, who durst have opened his Mouth after so terrifying an Example. The truth is, the Dragomen, or Interpreters to Ambassadors

at *Constantinople*, are required to be Men of Learning, Courage, and Courtship; their Studies ought to endue them perfectly with the Turkish, Greek, and Arabick Languages, with some knowledge also of the Persian, and with good Elocution, and readiness of Tongue: Their constancy and preference of Mind is always necessary at their appearance before those Grandees of Great Nations who are ever proud, haughty, and arrogant in all their Expressions and ways of Treaty, in which they commonly manage towards Christian Ministers with the same respect which we use towards our Servants, or our Slaves. And therefore by reason of this and other Presidents of like nature, Dragomen have been always timorous in representing the true force of the Ambassadors and Conflicts; at least have so mixed and tempered their words, that they have lost much of that Vigour and Accent, which is necessary to inculcate perfectly a Business into the Understanding of a Turk, especially if you intend to incline him to Reason and Justice. Wherefore it would be an excellent Qualification for an Ambassador himself to understand and speak the Turkish Language, or at least to have a young Man by his side of the English Nation, educated in the Turkish Court, who should be ready to explicate those Matters which are too thorny and prickly for Subjects of that Country to handle.

Had all the foregoing Troubles, Mutinies, and Misfortunes encountered the Spirit of an ease and gentle Sultan, certainly the Fate of this *Amurat* had been the same with that of *Osman*, who retiring within his Seraglio, could never have appeased the Seditious Humor with all the Concessions he could give an unreasonable multitude: but being a resolved and bullying Prince, he at first gave some few steps backwards, as if he would yield somewhat to the impetuosity of that Torrent which he could not resist; yet it was only like a Ram, who retires, that he may butt with the greater force. Howsoever the Politicians and sober Men attributed the true cause of all these Commotions in the Souldiery, to have no other Foundation than the ill success and miseries which attended the War in *Persia*; for the way being long, and the Countries hot, barren, and for the most part void of all comfort, the Souldiers abhorred the Fatigues and March thither; and hated to confide, that they should be made a Sacrifice to the lust of voluptuous Ministers, who, to gain Estates and Riches out of those Monies which were designed to carry on the War, did not care, whilst they lived at Ease and in Delights, what Labours, Wants, and Dangers attended the Militia.

These Considerations made likewise some impression in the Sultan, who therefore inclined to hearken unto those Proposals of Peace which were brought him by an Ambassador from *Persia*; and being accompanied with very great Presents, the Peace was clapt up and concluded on a sudden. But as Things quick in their Birth and Production, are not long-lived, nor long durable; so this Peace was broken the same Year with an inconcavity equal to that inconsideration with which it was agreed and signed. For no sooner was the News hereof flown into the Eastern World, than the Great *Mogul* dispatched his Ambassador with Letters to the Grand Signior, perswading him to make War again with the Persian, promising to assist him therein, by Hoping up the Passage of *Nachivan*, which is a City in the Lesser *Armenia*, built upon the River *Araxes*, and is the common Road into the

Indies.

1633. *Indies*. The which *Mogul*, it was pleasing to *Morat*, so being accompanied with Indian Curiosities and Presents of an inestimable Value, the Ambassador was graciously received, and treated with such Feasts and Entertainments as are not usually known amongst the Turks; and encouraged again with Letters giving hopes, that he would speedily take an occasion to break with the Persian. But those who had experienced the Difficulties of a War with *Persia*, and observed, that in the present Conjunction of Affairs it might be more easily and with advantage waged on the side of *Hungary*, endeavoured, with many pregnant Arguments, to perswade the Grand Signior thereof; giving him to understand, that *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of Sweden, being victorious over the Emperor in Germany, had taken many Towns and Cities of great strength; and having overthrown him in divers Battels, had slain or taken his best Captains and most Martial Men of Valour; and that other Christians, who were desirous to abate the pride of the Austrian Family, were ready to embrace the same Conjunction; whereby they might entirely shake off the Yoke and Servitude to the Imperial Tyranny.

These Advantages being well represented, took place easily in the mind of *Morat*, so that he dispatched express Orders to the Pasha of *Buda* to assemble his Forces, and put all things in a readiness on the Frontiers: in compliance with which, though the Peace for forth his Tents, and made great appearance of a March, yet some secret Designs caused him to move slowly, and to affect a Peace rather than a War; so that receiving an Ambassador from the Emperor at *Pess*, he readily Admitted him, and gave him safe Conduct and Convey unto *Constantinople*: at which time Advice coming, that the Great *Gustavus Adolphus* was slain, and that the Affairs of the Swedes went backward, and unsuccessfully in Germany, altered all the Measures of the Ottoman Councils; and though *Ragotski* endeavoured all he was able to foment the Differences, and encourage the Turks to a War, having besides other specious Pretences, an Army of thirty thousand Men in a readiness to join with the Turks against the Emperor; howsoever the Turks looking on the Condition of the Swedes as desperate, and the Profits of *Ragotski* too uncertain, and of no true Foundation, and the State of Affairs amongst themselves to be turbulent and unsettled, gave a kind Reception to the Emperor's Ambassador, and signed the Agreement for continuance of the Truce.

By this, and other Actions of like Nature, *Ragotski* lost much of his Esteem with the Emperor and the Grand Signior; the first always looked on him as an Antinous Prince, exciting the Turk against him, and ready on the least Occasion to enter his Country with Fire and Sword: The other looked on him as a false Friend, who never made Profifers, but those which squared with his own Designs and Interest; and particularly he had disgusted the Port, by presuming to infringe one *Mathias* in the Principality of *Wallachia*, and to give another constituted there by Authority of the Grand Signior, called *Siridua Zei*, or Lord *Oysters*, because his Father was a Fisherman, and gained a good Estate by the Trade of Oysters; howsoever it being the Grand Signior's Pleasure to ordain such a Person to that Office, it was a Presumption, and a bold Piece of Usurpation in *Ragotski*, to dispose of that Government, by virtue of his own single Power: Howsoever the Grand Signior, to avoid

Contention with the resolved Spirit of *Ragotski*, confirmed *Mathias*, upon Condition of a double Tribute paid for the Investment to the Principality.

But besides these Reasons for a Peace with the Emperor, the Designs the Grand Signior entertained of making War upon *Palmah*, with the Assistance of the Muscovite and Tartars, and of dispossessing *Emir Faccardis* of his Government, were strong Inducements to make fair Weather on all other sides of the Neighbouring Princes. The Envoy which the Riches and Greatness of *Emir Faccardis* (who was a Prince inhabiting in the Parts of *Arabia*, to whom a large Trade of Land, with several Fortresses did belong) had contracted to him from the Pasha of *Damascus*, *Tripoli*, and *Gaza*, caused them to accuse him before the Grand Signior of Rebellion, and other enormous Crimes: The Pasha against him was managed especially by the Pasha of *Tripoli*, who alleged, that he was an Enemy to the Mahometan Law, destroyed the Moschs, kept correspondence with the Maltese and the Corsairs of *Lepors*, permitting them freely to take Water in his Country; that he openly favoured the Christians, suffering them freely to build Churches in his Country. That he continually fortified his Castles, and encroached on the Lands and Territories of the *Emirs* his Neighbours. In short, his Riches were so great, that every one feared and envied him, and therefore represented his Case in that Manner, that the Grand Signior resolving to destroy him, sent great Forces into those Countries, under the Command of the Pasha of *Tripoli*, to whom he commanded the Pasha's of *Damascus*, *Gaza*, *Alippo*, and *Cairo* to join their Forces: and for better expedition, the Captain-Pasha was appointed to equip his Fleet, to transport Men and Ammunition into those parts.

The Captain-Pasha in his Passage by Sea, encountered two English Ships lading Corn in the Gulph of *Pela*, called the *William* and *Ralph*: *Hector*: this being a prohibited Commodity, not to be transported under penalty of forfeiting Ships, Goods, and Liberty of the Men, moved the Pasha, with the sight of such a Booty, to command his Gallies to seize the Vessels; which being only two, it was imagined that they would immediately yield and surrender without contest. But these bold Britons knowing the Consequences of such a Surrender, resolved not tamely to yield themselves, at least to sell their Liberties, Lives, Ships and Goods to the Turks at the dearest Rate they were able: wherefore cutting their Cables, past themselves under Sail, and got into the main Sea, fighting with the whole Fleet above three hours; sometimes they were boarded by one Gally, sometimes by two at once; but plying their Quarter-deck Guns with small Shot, and defending themselves manfully with their half-Pikes, they often cleared their Decks, and put off the Enemy with great slaughter: the Captain-Pasha being ashamed to see such Resistance made by two such Vessels against his whole Force, resolved to enter his Men at the Gun-room Port of one of the Ships, and running the Prow of the Gally into the Stern-port, the valiant Crew of the Gun-room clapt an Iron Spike into the Trunnel-hole of the Prow, whereby the Gally being wedged fast to the Timbers of the Ship, they brought their Stern-chafe laden with cross Bars, pieces of Iron, and Partridge-hot to bear upon them; which raking them fore and aft, killed the Captain-Pasha himself, with near three hundred out of the

Representative of War made a good Exit Faccardis.

A Fight of the main Turkish Fleet against two English Ships.

The Capt. Pasha slain.

The French Interpreter impaled.

A Peace made between the Emperor and Grand Signior.

The Peace made with Persia, and speedily broken.

1633. the Bastard Gally. At length having spent all their store, they charged their Guns with pieces of Eight, and being over-powered by numbers of their Enemies, and not able farther to resist, they set fire to their Ships, which blowing up, destroyed two or three of the Gallies which laid by their sides, together with those Men which were then fighting about at hand-blows on the Deck with the Defendants; so that none of the English were taken; unless three or four, killed out of the Water.

An end being in this manner put to the Fight, the Turks gained the Victory, with the loss of twelve hundred Slaves killed and wounded, besides Turks, and were forced into Port, where they remained a full Month to repair their Gallies; the which Fight affected all Turks with an astonishment of the English Bravery, or Obstinacy (as they call it), and is a Matter remembered and talked of to this Day, especially by the Son of the Captain-Pasha who was slain, called *Omern*, Pasha *Ogley*, who is Pasha of Rhodes at present, (as I remember) and commands three or four Gallies; for which reason he is so inveterate an Enemy to the English; that to satisfy his Revenge, he buys what English Slaves he can get into his Gallies, and sells none out under a double Price or Ransom.

The News of this Fight coming to Constantinople, provoked the Grand Signior to the height of Indignation; he however the Officers either being ashamed of their Loss, or entertaining some secret admiration of the English Bravery, suffered the Matter to be compounded for the Sum of forty thousand Dollars, of which the English paid only their share with the French and Venetians, whom (for I know not what Reason) the Turks equally concerned in the Occasion.

Whilst the Turks were appointing a new Captain-Pasha, and again refitting their Fleet, the Pasha of *Damascus* dispatched a Summons to *Facardin* to surrender *Seid* up to him, with other Castles and Places of Strength. The Old Man refused then a *Barrat*, where pretending to be retired from all Business, answered, that he had resigned the whole Government into the Hands of his Son *Ali*, as he had already testified by Publick Acts: that he was but a Subject, and a Souldier under his Son, and therefore to him they ought to make their Applications. *Facardin* had at that time an Army of twenty five thousand Men, the which he divided into two Bodies, commanded by his two Sons. *Ali* his eldest, he ordered with twelve thousand Men (a thousand of which were Maronites, and two thousand *Druzes*) to march to *Saphir* for hindering the conjunction of the Emirs of *Ferne* and *Therabib*, and the Pasha's of *Gaza* and *Damascus*, whose Forces being joined together, did not compose a greater Number than that of *Facardin*.

Ali encountering with them, and being a brisk and hot-headed Prince, engaged and charged them so to whom, that he defeated them, and killed eight thousand of their Men; but such a Victory is this not costing him less than seven thousand of his Men, was in effect his own Overthrow; for being the next day charged again by the Enemy, both sides fought with that obstinacy, that (as is reported) there remained not above an hundred forty six of all the Souldiers which followed *Ali*; and he himself having his Horse mortally wounded under him, and being out of Breath, Weary, and Faint, yielded himself to a common Souldier, who promised

him Quarter; but afterwards having him in his power, he strangled him with his March, and cut off his Head and his little Finger on which he wore his Seal-Ring, and so presented both to the Pasha. But this proud Conqueror refused to accept this Present without Ceremony, until first the Head had been perfumed with Sweet Waters, the Beard combed out, and covered with a rich Turbant, and having kept this Trophy for some days by him, he sent it afterwards to Constantinople.

But before the News of this Defeat reached the Ears of old *Facardin*, the Captain-Pasha with his Fleet of Gallies arrived at the Port of *Triphli*, to whom *Facardin* being desirous to shew all Friendship, and prove Loyalty to the Grand Signior, he caused his Army to retire into the Parts of Mount *Lemnos*, whilst he himself, with about three thousand Men, between Domestick Servants and his Guards, went to *Seid*, from whence he sent two * *Cavaliers* laden with Provisions and Refreshment to the Captain-Pasha for a Present, assuring him, that he was a humble Vassal to the Grand Signior, and was ready to obey all his Commands; and because the Sultan may probably have received sinister Reports relating to the Arms he had taken up, he assured him, that they were no otherwise designed, than to suppress the Robberies of the Arabs, and the Incurtations of their Kings; and that he was ready to conduct his Army to any Place, where his Master the Grand Signior should think fit to employ them. But these fair words could not divert the Captain-Pasha from his Resolutions to enter the Port of *Seid*, nor from his Insinuations of demanding, and upon refusal of forcing possession of the Castle; which as it was the most comfortable Fortrefs, and the most pleasant Seat of all his Dominions, so he could not, without much regret and sorrow, hearken to such a Proposition: wherefore that the Pasha might not persist in this Demand, he secretly proffered him an hundred thousand Zechins as a Bribe to himself, and his Son *Manfou* to be carried for a Hostage and Earnest of his Faithfulness to the Grand Signior. The Captain-Pasha liked well the hundred thousand Zechins and the Hostages, but still required the Surrender of the Castle with them; on which whilst *Facardin* deliberated, News came of the Death of his Son *Ali*, and the Destruction of his Army, with which, losing all Courage, he yielded his Castle of *Seid* to the Captain-Pasha, retiring himself to his City of *Barrut*: nor could he rest quietly at that Place; for being pursued, he was forced to quit it, and retire with his Maronites and *Druzes* into the Mountains, left being included within the Walls of a City, he should fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies.

And now all good Fortune foraking unhappy *Facardin*, the Maronites and *Druzes* his Subjects revolt to the Pasha of *Damascus*, his Palaces and Gardens of Pleasure were all ruined, his Friends forsook him, his two remaining Sons were lost, one carried to Constantinople for a Hostage, and the other slain in Fight; his Towns of *Gacir*, *Saphir*, *St. John d'Acra*, and others were surrendered to the Pasha of *Damascus*: only some few strong Places in the Mountains remained to him, where living in League with *Risla* a King of the Arabs, he committed all the Spoils he was able on the Lands belonging to the Pasha of *Damascus*. But being hunted from one Mountain to another, and from one Cave to another, he was at length forced to surrender upon Conditions, that he should have liberty to proceed into this

1633.
And he strangled.

* A sort of Vassal or Subj. called by the Turks.

1633. the Grand Signior with his own Equipage of three hundred Men, and Trumpets sounding, and that he might carry with him all his Treasure consisting of a Million of Zechins all in Gold, together with other Riches, which were carried by fourteen Camels; and that he should not be conducted as a Prisoner in Triumph, but that he should with freedom approach the Presence of the Sultan, like other Pashas, who are in Grace and Favour.

The Pasha's Proposals being granted, *Facardin* with his two young Sons began his Journey to Constantinople, and being about two days Journey from thence, he dispatched eight Chieftains of Gold before him, to prepare and make his way to the Grand Signior; who being pleased with the Gold, and greatly rejoiced to receive the Submission and Homage of one who had so long stood out in Rebellion, he went out in a Disguise and Habit of a Pasha to see and discourse with that Person, of whom there had been so general a Rumor: he, he fate down in his Tent with him, desiring him to relate the Story of his Life, with the several Particulars of his late Misfortunes. Emir *Facardin* well knew the Person of the Grand Signior; but feigning as if he was unacquainted with whom he discoursed, and that he took him for some Pasha, began to recount the Course of his Life, the Reasons why his Enemies falsely fessed evil Reports of him to the Grand Signior; how he was forced, for defence of his Life, to take up Arms, and what ill Successes accompanied his Affairs; all which he uttered with such Quickness and Eloquence, that the Grand Signior pitying his Misfortunes, promised to be his Advocate, and mediate with the Grand Signior in his behalf.

The day following *Facardin* made his Entry in a sumptuous manner, and received a most favourable Audience from the Grand Signior; and all the Pasha's and great Men in conformity to their Master, and in hopes of sharing some part of his Gold, shewed him a like kind favourable Countenance and Aspect.

But finding afterwards that *Facardin* increased daily in the esteem of the Grand Signior, and that the old Rebel was become a new Favourite, and that he was likely to over-top and out them, they generally conspired together, taking the Mufti on their side, to accuse him of many Crimes, and more particularly that he was a Christian, and an Apostate from the Mahometan Faith. This Point of Religion so sensibly touched the Grand Signior, that he resolved to condemn him in a manner Solemn and Extraordinary; for mounting one Day on his Throne, he commanded *Facardin* to be brought in, and placed on a high Chair; where ordering his Crimes whereof he was accused to be recited, he passed a formal Sentence of Death upon him; but *Facardin* arising to justify himself, was not permitted to speak, only he obtained a quarter of an hours reprieve to make his Prayers, and afterwards was strangled by the hands of two Mutes.

1634. *Morat* growing now into Years, took into his own Hands the Reins of Government, resolving to rule Singly and Absolutely, and to make himself rather Feared than Beloved. He degraded four Viziers at once, and banished them into *Cyprus*, confiscating their Estates, for no other Reason, than because they had denied him the use of their Mules and Camels on occasion of his Service.

He became extremely severe against the Souldiers,

1634. diery, crushing them with all imaginable Rigour on the least appearance of Reluctancy to his Commands; declaring, That he expected Blind and Silent Obedience from all, but especially from his Souldiery.

He imposed a great Tax upon Copper; and because he had several Warehouses filled with that Metal, which had for many Years lain by, he forced the People to buy it at his own Rates. At which Aggravation the Commonalty growing desperate, began to Mutiny and Rebel; but *Morat* put a speedy stop thereunto, by cutting off the Heads of fifty of the most Seditious, and so called to *Prusfa*, with the Attendance of six Gallies.

He caused a Kadi to be hanged, to the great Displeasure and universal Relentment of the Ulemah, who are Students in the Law; who to make known their Aggravation, and Consult a Remedy, assembled in great Numbers at the House of the Mufti.

The Queen-Mother being acquainted with this Meeting, and fearing the ill Consequences thereof, gave immediate Advice to the Sultan; who with like Expedition dispatched a Boat to bring over the Mufti and his Son to *Prusfa*, who were no sooner arrived, than they were strangled, not being permitted to speak for themselves, or to allege any Plea or Excuse for their Lives. This Act of Cruelty, beyond the Example of former Ages, and never practised by the most tyrannical of his Predecessors, struck a Terror on the whole Empire; for Men observing the unjust Rigour which was executed on the Head and Chief of their Law, the Oracle and Mouth which resolved their difficult Problems, and whom the World so revered and honoured, that few Examples have been of Capital Punishment executed on his revered Head, feared, that Innocence was not sufficient to secure their own less considerable Estates from his Fury and Violence.

There is a particular Death allotted for Mufties, which is, by throwing them in a Mortar, which is kept in the seven Towers at Constantinople, and there shewed to Strangers; which Inhumane hath been seldom made use of.

Morat being greatly addicted to Wine, was sensible of the ill Effects of it in himself, and that the heat of debauchery inclined him to Violence and Cruelty, and from hence collecting how dangerous this Humour of Drunkenness was in his People, especially in his Souldiery, for that much of the late Seditious might be attributed thereunto, he published a most severe Edict against Wine, commanding all Taverns to be demolished, the Butts to be broken, and the Wine spilt. It was the common Custom of the Grand Signior to walk the Streets in disguise; when meeting with any drunken Person, he would imprison him, and almost drive him to Death. It was his fortune to meet a Deaf Man one day in the Streets; who not hearing the Noise of the People, nor the Rumour of his Approach, did not so readily flit out of the way, as was consistent with the fear and dread of so awful an Emperor, for which default he was strangled immediately, and his Body thrown into the Streets.

All People feared and trembled at these Practices, and were as careful to look out abroad for the Grand Signior, lest they should be surprised with the bluster of his presence, as Mariners are of being taken unperceived by some sudden Gulf or Hurricane; for there was scarce a Day, that one Innocent or other was not sacrificed to his Fury and tyrannical Fancie.

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Morat executed the Edict of his Majesty.

Morat deposed the Viziers.

1634. One *Thomas Zanetti*, a Venetian Merchant, who had built a lofty *Jardac*, or a high Room of Prospective on the top of his House, was sent to the Grand Signior to have designed that Place for no other end, than that he might with a long Glass over-see the Chambers of the Ladies, and the Gardens, and Walks of the Seraglio: For which Reason, without farther inquiry, he was hanged in his Shirt on the top of his *Jardac*, with a red Streamer in his Hand, that the Grand Signior might be sure that the Sentence was executed. The Estate of *Zanetti*, whether belonging to himself or Principals, was confiscated; but in regard the Goods, for security, were privately conveyed to the Ware-houses of several Frank Merchants, strict search was made for them; but in regard the Marks and Numbers were altered, they could not be distinguished: wherefore the Grand Signior concluding, that all the Frank Merchants had combined together to deceive him, he imprisoned every Man of them; nor would he release them, until they had paid forty thousand Dollars for their Ransom and Liberty.

After which, upon pretence of a Plot, or Agreement of the Franks to defend themselves from the leviation of this Tax, the Turks searched their Houses for Arms, in taking of which they were so rigorous, that they spared not so much as a Birding-piece; nor yet the Sword of *Sir Peter Wyck*, then Ambassador for England, though he alleged, that it was the very Sword with which his Majesty had conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon him.

But from these Transactions at Home, let us pass to the Wars in Poland and Persia. That invincible Prince, *Gladislaus King of Poland*, had gained such good Success against the Czar of *Moscovy*, that the Czar was forced to demand Assistance from the Turks. The Grand Signior, though he had lately made a Peace with Poland, and sworn to maintain the Articles of *Chocim*, concluded by his Predecessor Sultan *Osman*; yet the continual Depredations which the Cossacks made, did always administer reasonable Pretences for a War: To which *Abdalla*, one of his chief Counsellors, a valiant and presumptuous Captain, did much incite him; for promising to himself the Conduct of that Army designed against Poland, did much flatter the Sultan and himself with the Fancy of mighty Success.

The War being thus resolved upon, the Turks, who commonly strikes before he Quarrels, gave Orders to *Abdalla* to make Levies of Men in *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*; and to put the Turkish Arms, and the Militia of *Buda*, and of the Parts along the *Danube* into a warlike Posture, and with all Expedition to enter Poland.

Abdalla who had with wonderful diligence put his Troops in readiness, ordered the Tartars, with a Body of fifteen thousand Men to enter Poland; with which they performed with such celerity, that passing the River of *Tyre* above *Chocim* and *Rincow*, they in a few hours laid waste for the space of ten Leagues round *Kemenitz*, and so retired with their Booty into *Moldavia*: howsoever their haste was not attended with such good speed, but that they were overtaken on the 4th of July by *Stanislaus Konisfolski*, General of the Polish Army, with no greater Force than two thousand five hundred Horle; howsoever surprising them whilst they were feeding their Horses, he put them into such Confusion and Disorder, that he easily recovered all their Booty, and took live of their chief Men Prisoners; of which the Son-in-Law of the *Cantemir* was

one. But this was a faint Refreshment in respect to the terrible Storm of sixty thousand Men, composed of Turks, Tartars, Moldavians and Valachians; which under the Command of *Abdalla* had already passed the *Danube*.

Konisfolski the Polish General, having not sufficient Force to oppose them in open Field, nor time to assemble a greater Army, gathered what Supplies he could from the Cossacks and Lords of that Country, and therewith encamped himself upon a Hill between the River *Tyre* and the Town of *Chocim*, that he might be the better able to succour *Kemenitz*, which the Enemy designed to assault.

Abdalla who contemned this weak Force of the Poles, resolved, without farther consideration, to attack them in their own Camp, and force them to fight; of which the Poles being well advised, placed several Pieces of Artillery, and lined all the Hedges and Ditches with Musketeers, where the Turks were necessarily to pass, drawing out their whole Army into *Batalia*, the Turks who hastened the nearest way to charge the Enemy, fell into the Ambush, where having lost about five hundred Men, they began to make a stand, and to consider of some more advantageous way to their Design. Wherefore *Abdalla* taking another Course, which he judged to be free from all concealed Dangers, ordered the Tartars to charge the Right Wing, and the Moldavians and Valachians the left of the Enemy, and he with his Turks would fight the main Body. The Tartars with great Resolution performed their part, and had wholly defeated that Wing, had not *Wijnowiczki*, with some Troops and a Train of small Artillery, come in seasonably to their Succour: The Moldavians and Valachians fought so valiantly against the Enemy, whom they considered to be Christians, Brothers, and Neighbours, that they soon turned their Backs and fled, but were not far pursued by the Poles.

Abdalla receiving this Repulse, founded a Retreat, and immediately repalled the River *Tyre*, and marched with all the haste he was able, stopping nowhere, until he arrived at *Kienow*, about thirty English miles from the place of the Fight; and arriving at length on the Banks of the *Danube*, he gave License to his Soldiers to disperse into their Winter-Quarters; in the mean time *Abdalla* dispatched Advice to the Grand Signior of the Particulars of the Fight, and of his great Victory, by an entire defeat of the Polish Army. The Grand Signior believed the Report, which none durst contradict; and which was confirmed by the Rumour of an Ambassador coming from Poland. For the Poles being at that time engaged in a War with *Moscovy*, and apprehensive of another with Sweden, judged it not reasonable to provoke the Turk, but rather, by way of Accommodation, dispatched an Ambassador with a Train of three hundred Men, to make Complaints against the late Acts of Hostility committed by *Abdalla*, as if he had moved his Arms without the Orders or Knowledge of the Sultan.

About that time that the Ambassador approached near to *Constantinople*, the Grand Signior had another Son born, but of a weakly and sickly Temperament, howsoever great Joy was expressed, and all the City was enlightened with Torches, Bonfires, and Fire-works; and the Grand Signior might have seen his Greatness and Magnificence to the Ambassador, he took this Occasion of the Birth of a Son, to make a solemn Entrance into the City, and to make the

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A Fight between the Turks and the Poles.

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the greater Show, he armed all the Citizens and Inhabitants.

Before the Grand Signior would grant Audience to the Ambassador, he ordered that *Abdalla* should treat with him, and understand his Business and Desires. *Abdalla* carried himself high in the Negotiation, he pretended the Damages and Charges of the War, the Demolishment of certain Palaces, which were the Places of Refuge for the Cossacks; and the Tribute of ten Years past, with Security of payment for the Time to come. The Ambassador positively refused to hearken unto any Terms about Tribute; and that for other Matters, the Presents which he had brought to the Grand Signior, would reasonably answer.

His Presents were,
A Coach lined with Velvet, with six very fine Horses.
A Bafon, and Candelsticks of Silver richly gilt.
Four Clocks, ten Vests of Sables, six Quivers of Arrows, with some Hunting-Dogs.

Being at length admitted to Audience, and therewith conducted by the Aga of the Spahes, and the Chaous Baflee: The Grand Signior asked the Ambassador, which was not usual, *For what Reason he was come thither?*

To which he answered, *That he was come to bring his Majesty Advice of the Coronation of his King, and to offer up a Peace, if his Majesty should judge fit to accept thereof.*

To which the Sultan replied; *That all Christian Kings ought either to receive the Ottoman Law, or pay him Tribute, or try the sharpness of his Sword.* And taking a Cimeter in his hand which hung by him, he drew it half out, and said; *Wish this I will subdue my Enemies; and though my War in Persia continues, I do not fear to undertake another in Poland.*

To which the Ambassador returning a modest Answer, was dismissed of the Royal Presence.

And now the Grand Signior, to put a good face on the Business, and to make the World believe, that he designed what he spoke, he proclaimed a War with Poland, and ordered his Tents to be carried abroad, supposing hereby to draw the Poles to his own Terms of Agreement. And in pursuance hereof he mounted on Horseback, and rode in state through the City, his upper Vest was made after the Hungarian Fashion lined with Sables; in his right hand he carried a Quiver of Arrows, in his left two drawn Swords; on his Turban he wore a large Plume of Feathers, encompassed with a Circle of Diamonds; and in this manner entering his Tents, he proceeded to *Adrianople*. But before his departure, the Count *Pascher*, Ambassador from the Emperor, arrived with other sumptuous Presents, offering Incense and Gifts of Peace at the Throne of his Greatness.

But before we relate the Transactions at *Adrianople*, and the Success of Affairs at that Place, let us recount several dismal Accidents at *Constantinople*.

The Grand Signior returning by Sea from a place called *Sivewasta* in the Bay of *Ismit*, accidentally the Bay of *Nicomedia*, where he had for some time held his Court and great Divan, he was followed by several Vessels appointed to transport the People; in one whereof were ninety five Persons embarked, all of them *Pasha's* Aga's, and chief Officers of the Court; the

The several Mischiefs by Water and Fire.

Vessel was over-set by a sudden gust of Wind, and all the People drowned, excepting three. Sea-men which saved themselves by swimming. More considerable were the Mischiefs by Fire; For on occasion of some Fire-works being in one of the Grand Signior's Chiosks, or Houses of Pleasure, the Fire took so fiercely on the Tavern, or wooden Works of the Sailing, that it endangered the whole Palace; and had consumed all, but that many Hands and active Men gave a stop to the farther Progress.

This Fire was but a fore-runner of a greater, which began the 16th of September in that part of the City of *Constantinople*, which is called *Wickah*, being between the Wall and the Port where live Taverners, Butchers, Fishmongers, and others who sell Provisions. The Fire took first in one of those Houses, which had been a Tavern, and are Buildings only made of Deal-boards and Timber; which combustible Matter flamed out so violently, that it took hold on all the Houses round, and was so quick in its Motion, as if it had taken by a Train, or that some wicked People with Fire-balls had employed themselves in the Mischief; the Fire took its Course against the Wind, burning on one side and the other to the Hippokraty Pillars; and to the Moschs of Sultan *Adnan*, and Sultan *Belim*; so that in a short time one third of the City was reduced to Ashes.

It is difficult to express the lamentable Destruction was made hereby, what Riches; what Palaces, and Moveables were consumed in it, there being twenty thousand Houses reported to be burnt; which Mischief is best represented by the remembrance of our calamitous Incendiation at London; the greatest difference between one and the other was, that that at *Constantinople* was more quick in its Motion; for it burnt a larger compass of Ground in one third of the Time, than ours did at London; for that City for the most part consisting of flight Buildings of Wood, met not the resistance which ours sometimes did against the Walls of Brick and Stones.

The Fire being extinguished, and Men having time to lament and think, began to impute the Cause and Fault to those whom they most suspected; sometimes they accused the Persians for having fired the City, for which Crime one of them the next Year suffered Death. Some attributed the Cause of all to the Janizaries; and that they, out of hate to the Inhabitants, or for the sake of Plunder, if they did not begin, yet at least increased the Fire; which they the more suspected, because the Janizaries refused not only to work themselves, alleging, that they expected Orders from their Aga; but likewise hindered and discouraged others. Howsoever the Grand Signior not wanting on his own part to contribute all Assistance possible, sent four thousand Men out of his Seraglio to work about the Fire, not excusing the very Officers of his Royal Chamber from contributing their Authority and personal Aid; some of which ventured far into the Fire, to demonstrate their Courage, Activeness, and Obedience to the Commands of their Emperor: but all this was too little against an obstinate and an invincible Enemy, for the Fire burned, and proceeded, until it wanted Nourishment and Food to consume.

In fine, twenty thousand Houses were burnt, two hundred Moschs; and the Library of the Most, which for the Number of the Arabic and Persian Books, was curious, and of high esteem. The Aliengs, or Habitation of the Janizaries,

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A terrible Fire at Constantinople.

The Turks make War on the Poles.

1634. Janifaries containing three hundred Chambers, of which each Chamber was capable to receive four hundred Men, were all burnt and reduced to Ashes.

The which fatal and miserable Spedack, did a little touch the Heart of Sultan Morat; so that he gave out considerable Sums to comfort the distressed, who had most suffered, by this Calamity; and to raise from its Ashes his confumed and languishing *Confiantinople*; which being revived and flourishing, was again miserably consumed by Flames, in the Month of April 1600. But still, the beneficial and commodious situation of that Place, and the Riches thereof by Trade, and the Presence of the Ottoman Court, that the Inhabitants again rebuilt it, in fewer Years than could be imagined.

But now to return to the Grand Signior at *Adrianople*, we find him resolutely designed to make a War upon *Polska*, to which he was incited by the Persians of *Abassa*, and the present conjuncture of Advantage to join with the *Moscovites*, it seeming great Policy, not to suffer the Countries of *Moscovy* to be over-run; or the Poles, who is a warlike and dangerous Nation, to grow Puissant and Powerful by his Success and Conquest over his Neighbours: Wherefore Preparations were made on all sides for the War; great Quantities of Provisions and Ammunition were sent into *Moldavia* by way of the Black Sea and the *Danube*.

The Tartar *Han* sent word that all his Forces were in readiness, and expected nothing but their Orders to march. The Beggerbey of *Greece* made his Rendezvous at *Philippolis* with an Army of thirty thousand Men, where he attended to join with the Forces of *Bosnia*, *Silvania*, and other parts of *Europe*. *Moldavia* and *Wallachia* made an appearance of Levying Men, and joining with the Poles; but their Hearts were towards the Turks, with whom they kept a secret correspondence, and would be ready to adhere on the least Opportunity.

In short, the Army of the Turks was so great, and all his Affairs in that readiness, that he scorned to incline an Ear to Propositions of Peace; in which Opinion *Abassa* humour'd and perswaded him, that the Poles were to be fearful of his Forces, that they had already yielded to Terms of composing for a yearly Tribute. All which proved false; for in the mean time *Uladislaus King of Poland*, remitting nothing of the Heat and Vigour of his War against the *Moscovites*, he was so successful therein, that he forced an Army of eighty thousand Men, which he had besieged in their Camp, to lay down their Arms, and surrender themselves; which was an Action scarce to be credited, at least to be parallel'd in any History; and with this Conquest he might have proceeded to the Capital City of *Moscow*, and concluded the War and that Empire: But God's Providence, which governs all things, altered this Council, and diverted those victorious Arms to the Siege of *Bial*; which Town being well fortified and garisoned, withstood many Assaults of the Enemy, and blunted the Spirits and Swords of the Conqueror; for losing much time in this Siege, other Towns made use of the Opportunity to provide and fortify themselves; whilst the Poles growing weary, and wanting Pay, raised divers Mutinies and Seditions in the Camp. These Difficulties and Inconveniences inclined the King *Uladislaus* to bend a favourable Ear to the many Supplications and Instances which the *Moscovites* made for Peace: So that the Plenipotentiaries being as-

sembled, it was agreed, that the Dutchy of *Smolensko* and *Czerniechowsk*, which two hundred Years past had been taken from *Poland* and *Lithuania*, with many other Towns and Countries, to the extent of two hundred Leagues, should be restored to the Kingdom of *Poland*.

The News of this sudden Peace coming unexpectedly to Sultan Morat, caus'd his Bravadoes against *Poland* to cease, and to turn the file of his Fury and Indignation against the *Moscovites*, whom he vilified with all imaginable Terms of Perfidiousness and Cowardice, and abused and imprisoned their Ambassadors, and one who at that time he had provoked an Enemy who was Victorious, Valiant, and Powerful, and one who at any time was able to contend with his united Force, much more whilst it was separated and disjointed by his War in *Persia*: wherefore in all haste he dispatched an Ambassador into *Poland*, called *Shaban Aga*, desiring to renew the ancient League and Articles of Peace. This Ambassador found the King at the Diet in *Warsaw*, where he publicly endeavoured to excuse his Master for the late Acts of Hostility; assuring them, that they were not performed according to his Master's Desires, and Original Intentions; but as they were moved and guided by the evil Suggestions and Artifices of *Abassa*, who being solely culpable of this Fault, by giving ill Counsels to his Master, he assured them, in the Name of the Sultan, that he should receive such Punishment as they should think fit to inflict upon him. Hereupon the King *Uladislaus* gave this Answer, that since the Grand Signior could so easily infringe the Articles of that Peace which had been solemnly and sacredly established, it was now his Part, and the Wisdom of that grave Assembly, to contrive such Conditions and Bonds wherewith to oblige his Master, as could not easily and at his Pleasure be broken or avoided: And at the same time the Polish Ambassador being returned from *Constantinople*, and discoursing in the Diet of the Pride and Perfidiousness of the Turks, and the Scorn wherewith they received Christian Ambassadors, so incensed the Spirit of the whole Assembly, that with a general Consent they approved the words of the King, adding, That they would no longer be subject to the Insults and Falacies of that Tyrant, whom they would make to know, that they were as well Offensive as Defensive Arms; and were not of that abject Spirits; or mean Condition, to permit the Sultan to violate the most Sacred Articles of Peace, and then at his pleasure to fawn them with a fawning Acknowledgment, or a flattering Speech. In this manner the Turkish Ambassador was returned, whilst the King *Uladislaus* went into *Podolia* to take a view of his Armies; which he found to consist of eighty thousand fighting Men, all well accoutred, of good Courage, and ready to follow their King to the Walls of *Constantinople*.

The fear of this Motion of this great Army, in a Conjunction when the Wars broken out again in *Persia* were not prosperous, affected the Mind of *Morata* with much terror; so that he became very solicitous to find out, and make some substantial Proposition in order to an Accommodation. One of the Viziers called *Martana*, was very active in this Business, plying continually the General *Konjalks* with Letters, Offers, and Expeditives for Peace: To facilitate which, and shew that the Grand Signior did heartily relent, *Abassa* was strangled by two Kapagrees, and given for a Sacrifice to appease the Anger of his Enemies; a Person who was a

The Turk finds an Ambassador sent Poland to offer a Peace.

Articles of Peace agreed between the Poles and the Turks.

A Difference between the French Ambassador and the Captain-Pasha.

1634. stout Soldier, and one who had performed great and signal Service in the War of *Persia*. But the Poles not being pacified with this single Act of Penitence, but thirsting farther after the Blood of the Turks, desired to Spoil and Pillage their Richer Provinces. Howsoever at length the Council of *Poland* entering into more serious Debates, considered, that the Troops lately come from *Moscovy*, were but in a bad condition; that the part of their Army, which consisted of Volunteers, would not endure a long and tedious War; and that the Expence and Charge of this great Army was immense and almost insupportable: for which Reasons it was resolved, that a Peace should be made, which was soon afterwards concluded, and agreed on these following Articles.

That the Vaywods of *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*, should be confirmed by the Grand Signior, with the Consent and Recommendation of the King of *Poland*.

That *Cemteniy* and his Tatars should abandon the Country of *Bucksac*, and in case of refusal, that then the Turk and Tartar *Cham* should join their Forces to expel them from thence.

That the Poles shall suppress all Acts of Hostility of the Cossacks in the Black Sea.

That the Turks renounce for ever all Demands, or future pretence of Tribute from *Poland*; and that they shall build no new Forts on the Frontiers.

That the Navigation on the River *Nisiper* shall remain free and undisturbed to the Poles. That all other Articles shall remain as formerly in their true Force and Virtue.

In this Year happened out great Differences between the French Ambassador and the Turkish Office. The French Embassy had its Original from the Year 1631, when the Marquis of *Marcheville* going Ambassador to *Constantinople*, was in his Voyage met off of *Scio* by the Captain-Pasha and his Fleet of Gallies, who immediately sent off a Boat to advise him, that he should strike his Flag, and make ready the Presents which were due to the Grand Signior's Admiral. *Marcheville* duly considering, that this Submission would blemish the Honour of his Master, and the Dignity of his Character, refused Compliance either in one or the other; howsoever that he might testify the Friendship and good Correspondence which he came to confirm between the two Kings, he stood off at some distance, and fired five Guns to salute the Grand Signior's Standard: But the Captain-Pasha not contenting himself herewith, required the Ambassador to come aboard and speak with him; which offer divers Messages from one Vessel to another, the Ambassador was counselled to perform, not knowing how far otherwise he might engage the Honour of his Master. *Marcheville* being arrived at *Constantinople*, did greatly complain of the Affront and Violence he received from the Captain-Pasha; which though the Grand Signior and other Ministers seemed not to approve, yet the Ambassadors received little other satisfaction than fair Words and Promises, that his Honour should be again repaired.

At the Arrival of the Sieur *Marcheville*, the Count *Cefi*, who was the former Ambassador, was to return into *France*; but the Debts which he had contracted by a certain way of living, were so great, that the Creditors would not suffer him to depart without payment; for Default of which, he endured many Affronts of

fered to his own Person, and was detained at *Constantinople* until the Year 1634; during which time the Marquis *Marcheville* managed all the Affairs of the Embassy; who keeping still in mind the Affront offered him before, watched all Opportunities to disparage the Actions and Person of the Captain-Pasha; who at length returning from the Black Sea, where he had some Success against the Cossacks, was graciously received by the Grand Signior; and being advertised, how, during his Absence, the French Ambassador had endeavoured to blast his Reputation by many Instances of Diminution, which he often inculcated by his Druggerman, took Advantage of the Grand Signior's good Humour, to vent before him the resentment which he conceived thereof: The Grand Signior, to gratify the Pasha, promised to hang the Druggerman; which the Pasha acknowledged as a singular Favour, and returned from the Presence of the Sultan full of Joy and Contentment. But better to cover his Malice, and to ensnare the poor Wretch, he sent a Messenger to the Ambassador, assuring him that he desired his Friendship; and that there might be a right understanding between them, he perswaded him to send his Druggerman to him, that by his Mouth he might signify the esteem he had for the Ambassador, from whose Spirits he was willing to take off all Jealousies and Umbrages of Difference.

The Ambassador not suspecting the perfidiousness of the Pasha, sent his Druggerman to him; who being come within his Power, was immediately hanged by the Grand Signior's express Command, and ordered that he should remain on the Gallows with his Velvet Cap on his Head, which in this Sultan's Reign all Druggermen were to distinguish them from others.

The Ambassador complained greatly of this Affront, and Violation of Articles to the Chancery and other Officers, but could receive no other Answer or Satisfaction, than that the Grand Signior might execute Justice as he pleased on his Subjects, without asking leave, or concerning the King of *France* or his Ambassador in the Matter.

But *Marcheville* not resting satisfied with this Reply, still prosecuted his Pique and Animosity to such a height, that the Captain-Pasha further incensed thereat, obtained Authority from the Grand Signior to dispatch him away: so that sending one day for *Marcheville*, and first reproaching his Contrivances and Designs against him, told him plainly, that he was the Grand Signior's Pleasure that he should depart at that instant; to which he constrained the Ambassador so precipitately, that he would not give him time to advertise his Servants, or make up his Baggage, but forced him aboard a French Ship then in Port, which he immediately compelled to sail; and the Wind being contrary, caused the Vessel to be tosed abroad by two Gallies into the open Sea of the Propontis.

After the injurious departure of this Ambassador, the Count *Cefi*, who had been detained at *Constantinople*, for the Reasons before denoted, took again upon him the Function of Ambassador. To execute which, in better advantage of Trade and Commerce, he was advised to a compliance with the Captain-Pasha, and to use such Means as might mitigate that Acrimony of Spirit which this Pasha nourished against the French Nation.

These Difficulties between the French and the Turkish Officers, revived certain Difficulties and Averions against all the French Nations, which favoured the Latine Rites; so that in despite

The Sieur Marcheville detained by just orders.

1634. to them, the Grand Signior reformed again *Cyriacus* the Patriarch to the Patriarchal Jurisdiction, who had long been persecuted by the Jesuits, and by their Means been confined, promising that for the future he should continue undisturbed, in opposition to all those of the Roman Religion.

Ats of
Civility.

The Peace (as we have said) being concluded with *Poland*, the Grand Signior was more at leisure to attend the Wars in *Perfia*, with the Labours and Toils of which the Janizaries being wearied, began new Troubles and Seditions in the Camp; the which Disorder *Morat* attributing to the negligence or cowardice of the Officers, as wanting Courage to suppress them, summoned the Janizaries to appear before him, and without long Process or Excuse cut off his Head, and confiscated his Estate to the Exchequer, which amounted to a Million and seventy thousand Dollars: another Janizary also, more rich than seditions, was in like manner sacrificed, and an hundred and sixty thousand Dollars of his Estate added to the Treasury of the Sultan. The *Pasha* also of *Constantinople*, with several other Officers of the Army enriched with Spoils of the People, fell a Sacrifice to *Morat's* Avarice and Cruelty; to whom Riches and Blood were so pleasing, that none acquired a higher degree of Grace in his Favour, than those who could give him notice of opulent Men, who having found Riches, he undertook to find them Guilty, and to prove their Wealth fo corrupted by extortion and violence, that nothing could halloo or pursue it but his Coffers.

The G. Signior returns to Scutari.

The next News from *Perfia* brought advice, that that King at the Head of a powerful Army was encamped in the Country about *Yas*, with which the Turks not having sufficient Force to fight, the Vizier wrote to the Grand Signior, that his Presence was necessary to increase the Army, and encourage the Souldiery; whereupon he resolved to leave *Adrianople*, and transfer his Court to his Seraglio at *Scutari*, that so remaining on the Banks of *Asia*, he might be nearer to his Business, both to receive Intelligence, and administer Supplies; and because Seditions and Disorders in the People do always obstruct the Motion of Publick Affairs, he not only ruined the Taverns and Tabacco-shops, but forbid Coffee-houses, and other idle Places of Concourse; nay to Barbers Shops no more than one was suffered to enter at a time; for those being places of resort, Treason was frequently vented there, Men of that Profession being notorious through the World for their Talk and Intemperance of Language: And further, to restrain Meetings and secret Conventions, strict Orders were given, that after an hour and half in the Night, all Fires and Candles in the City should be extinguished, which was the general Discipline of all People.

But what shewed much of the fierce Spirit of the Sultan, was a certain Fury which he conceived on this occasion. On a certain day, riding on his Horse, thirty Indian Pilgrims met him in the way to demand his Charity, and being in a different habit to what the Turks wear, and not accustomed in that Country, the Grand Signior's Horse started at the sight of them; and being spurred for bogling in that manner, the Horse capered and reared an end, so that he threw his Rider; at which the Grand Signior being highly enraged, drew out his Cemetery, and with his own hand killed his Horse, and instead of Alms, prepared a place of Entertainment in the Gallies for those unhappy Indians.

The Grand Signior, being returned to his Palace at *Scutari*, which is stated on the Asian side opposite to *Constantinople*, applied his whole Mind entirely to the Affairs in *Perfia*; and being resolved to march thither in Person, he put abroad the Horse-tail, which is a signal of departure, he visited the Sepulchres of his Ancestors, made his Court, which is a distribution of Flesh to the Poor, for a Blessing on his Empire. The Officers of the Army contended to buy every one the other in their Presents to the Grand Signior, some furnished him with Royal Tents, others with curious and light Arms; and others with Horfles and Furnitures of value. Great Sums of Money were extracted out of the Exchequer for Military Preparations and Payments of the Souldiery. The Charge of Affairs, in absence of the Grand Signior, was committed to the *Bostangi-baſhee*, who was made Chancemaker of *Constantinople*; and so with a fierce Spirit, and aspect full of Indignation and Anger, he mounted his Horse at the Head of an Army of an hundred thousand; he departed from *Constantinople* about the end of April.

But before we recount the particulars of what succeeded in *Perfia*, it is requisite to call our Thoughts back to the Troubles of *Transylvania*, occasioned by the composition of *Stephen Bathen* and *George Ragotski*, for that Principality.

Bathen (as we have said before) being grieved and discontented at his hard Fortune in being put by the Government, and resenting the Punishment which *Ragotski* inflicted on his Son for the Crime of *Maidlaughter*, he went to *Buda*, the Capital of *Transylvania*, to renew his old Complaints to the *Pasha*, he was, with Recommendations from him, accompanied to the Port; where being introduced to the Presence of the chief Ministers, he at large declared the Merits and good Services of his Family towards the Sultan: That for this Reason only, in dishonour and despite to the Ottoman Empire, he was excluded from the Government, and therefore challenged its Assistance to re-establish him therein; in consideration of which, he promised the same Faithfulness and Devotion to the Sultan, which was professed and maintained by his Ancestors, and was natural to the Family of *Gabor*. That as to *Ragotski* it was apparent, that he entertained different Principles; that he was a Person of elated Thoughts, and a Turbulent Spirit, and was ever united in Combination with the Emperor, Germans, and other Enemies to the Ottoman State.

The Turks moved with these Reasons, resolved to favour *Stephen*, and to discontinue *Ragotski*; and though the Conjunction of Affairs was such, as that any Engagement in War, besides that of *Perfia*, did not square with the present Design; yet at all times it was judged convenient to sow the Seeds of Discord, and promote Differences amongst Christians, which have ever produced Advantages to the Mahometan Cause. And likewise the *Pasha* of *Buda* was commanded to enter *Transylvania* with a Force sufficient to contend with *Ragotski*; and left the Emperor should be alarmed with this Commotion, a *Chians* was dispatched to give him a perfect understanding of the Reasons, why an Army was marched into *Transylvania*; the Design of which was not intended in the least manner to impeach the Articles of Peace between him and the Grand Signior, but only to displace a Man of a furious and turbulent Spirit, and to ordain another in his head of a more sober and quiet Temper, by whose Moderation and Prudence, the Peace be-

1634.
The G. Signior returns to Perfia.

1635.

Bathen returns his Complaints to the Grand Signior.

His Request to be re-established.

The Turks find an Army in Transylvania.

1635.
Ragotski implores Aid from the Emperor.

tween the two Empires may be improved and continued. *Ragotski* started at this Design intended against him, assembled the States of his Country, to determine and consult concerning a Remedy, and immediately dispatched a Messenger to the Emperor, to desire and implore his imperial Succour and Protection: and though *Ragotski* was sensible of the disparity of his Strength, in comparison of that of the Turks; yet neither did his Councils nor Behaviour betray Fear or want of Constancy.

The Hungarians seconded those Instances which *Ragotski* had made at the Imperial Court, and the Party which he had made at *Vienna* brought the matter to a debate in Council, which was argued on both sides with solid and convincing Reasons. Those who spoke in disfavour of *Ragotski*, alleged, That all Assistance contributed to him would be a just Cause and Pretext to the Grand Signior to make War with the Emperor: That *Ragotski* himself was of an unquiet Temper, not unlike to *Gabor* his Predecessor, who had often bid Defiance to the Emperor; and over-running all Hungary and Austria, had often erected his Standard in the fight of *Vienna*. To protect and cherish a Person of this Disposition, was no other than to sow a Seed of Viper in their Bosom; who being elevated at the expense of the Empire in Success against the Turk, would convert that Power which he had gained to the damage of the House of Austria; combining with the Faction of other Princes to procure its destruction. Let us therefore, said they, stand at a gaze, and as Men on the Shore, or in a good Port, behold the agitation of Ships in the Ocean; perhaps the change of a Prince in *Transylvania* may turn to our Benefit, and one may succeed into the place, of such a mild Temper and serene Disposition, as may better agree with the Maxims of this Court, and may cultivate that Peace which can only render these Countries happy.

Howsoever there were other Opinions to the contrary; amongst which it is said, that *D. Anibal Gonzaga*, a Person acquainted with the State of *Transylvania*, and of the Turks, and Director of the Imperial Army, delivered himself in this manner.

May it please Your Sacred Imperial Majesty.

If *Ragotski* had been the Lawful Son and Hereditary Successor of *Gabor*, who was an Enemy to your Majesty, we might then apprehend the evil Consequences of a Son, that traces the same Path and Footsteps of his Father. But here is another Person, another Prince, in Reputation different, and by Enmity hating the House of *Gabor*; wherefore I cannot imagine how this Prince can possibly entertain Maxims of like Nature with the other. For my part I believe, that it becoms your Majesty to maintain a good Correspondence with the Princes of *Transylvania*, by a close Union against the Turks; your adjoining Countries being like contiguous Buildings, which are strengthened by a mutual Support: Let us therefore support it; for if it depends not on us, it will be over-run, and remain oppressed without us. To aggravate the Faults of *Gabor* to the disadvantage of *Ragotski*, is no Logical Consequence,

unless you will argue, That the Faults of the Guilty are to be punished on the Innocent. Let us therefore consider, which agrees best with the Security of the Empire; that *Transylvania* should remain in the Hands of *Ragotski*, or of the Turks; or that we had better strike against the Rock of Jealousie, which we conceive against this *Transylvanian*, or on that ruinous Rock of the Turkish Power. The Ottoman Councils commonly look upon, they cast their Eye on the Prince, when their fight aims at the Imperial City; and threaten the Person, when they design to vent their Fury to the subjection of his Country. The true Intent of the Turk is to reduce *Transylvania* to the same Condition with *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, and to incorporate this, with infinite other Provinces, into the great Body of his Empire. It is notorious to all the World, that the Emperors, your Predecessors, have lost a large Tract of Land by the Turks; and your Loss will every day be greater, as their Conquests increase: And when their Dominions in Europe are so enlarged, that they are able to quarter their Asiatic Cavalry in these Countries, your Danger must necessarily be inevitable and full of Terror. For I compute, that when the Turk designs to make War upon us, he marches on a hundred thousand Men, and perhaps ten thousand Camels, besides other Beasts of Burden: so numerous a Body as this cannot be maintained until the Grass be fully grown, which is not until the middle or end of June; and from that time they have more than a month or six weeks March before they arrive upon our Frontiers; the which consumption of Time, prolongs their Enterprize, and protracts the time of our Damages. But if once they become Masters of *Transylvania*, and that that Country be laid to *Moldavia*, *Walachia*, and other parts of Hungary, they may then commodiously winter amongst us, and begin their Wars and Attempts upon us early in the Year, and pursue them until the last season of the Autumn: and in this manner, whilst we are debating and taking our Measures in our Diet, they will fatten themselves, and satiate their Appetites with our Spoils. It is good therefore for us to defend Austria in *Transylvania*, keeping the Fever as far from the Heart as we are able. Let us suppose, that *Ragotski* is the most ungrateful Man in the World; and that after we have supported and succoured him, that he will reverse his Arms upon us: Howsoever he is not so strong and considerable as to do us much hurt, and therefore it were better to have him our Neighbor and our Enemy, than the Turk, though our Friend; the first can only administer some little cause of Jealousie, but the other may destroy and supplant us; the first is but like a putrid Fever, which is cured with every small Evacuation; but the latter is a Pestilence, which dilates and diffuses it self, and is deadly and irrecoverable. Let not the Scripture neither of breaking with the Turk, trouble us for

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1635. for we may administer Assistance under-hand, and without noise effect our Business, without arriving at the extremity of a Rupture. It is folly and weakness in us to be charmed by the Flatteries of the Turks, and the fair words of this Chazari; or to imagine, that when they have over-run all Transylvania, they will stop in the midst of their Career, before they arrive at the Gates of Vienna; no, their Intentions are to lull us asleep, and to destroy our Neighbour first, and then us; they cannot devour us both at once, but husband their Diet, and reserve us for another Meal. The Turk is like a Serpent, who lies quiet and coiled up all the Winter; not because he wants either a Sting or Poison, but being benumbed with cold, wants warmth and heat to give it Motion and Operation. This is my Sense and Opinion, which I most humbly tender before the greater Wisdom of Your Sacred Majesty.

The Emperor rejects Success to Ragotski.

Notwithstanding these convincing Arguments, the Result of the Council determined otherwise, and Ragotski was left to shift for himself, and to stand upon his own Legs; which was a pernicious Resolution, and that which was afterwards the cause of the subjection of Transylvania to the Turks, and the Original of many Mischiefs to the Empire; but this was the Fortune of the Turks, more favourable to them than to the Christian State.

Ragotski obtains Success under-hand.

Ragotski being thus abandoned by the Imperialists, and exposed to the Mercy of an insatiable Enemy, though his Courage was good and resolute, yet he began to despond of his Force, unable to deal with such an unequal Match as that of the Turks; and his Subjects being fearful of the Event, persuaded him to give way, and resign his Rule to the hands of Gabor his Competitor; Ragotski, that he might not seem to neglect the Counsel of his Subjects and Friends, and to gain Time, pretended to hearken to their Advice; and accordingly entered into a Treaty with Gabor. During which Debate he secretly obtained some Forces from Poland, by connivance of that Government; and the Hungarians being his Friends, privately favoured him, knowing that the Conquest of Transylvania would be a step to their Destruction; and being at length well fortified and recruited, he began to declare openly, that he found no security to himself in this Surrender, for that a Place was denied him, wherein he put his chief hopes of Defence; and therefore that he was resolved to support and maintain his State and Cause in the best manner that he was able.

The Turks enter Transylvania.

Hereupon the Turks entered Transylvania with an Army of twenty five thousand Men under the Command of the Pasha of Buda: Ragotski, to obstruct their March, dispatched his General Cornis with seven thousand Men, to prepossess an advantageous Ground, with Order to entertain, but not fight the Enemy, until he could come up to him with the grove of his Army.

The Turks perceiving their advantage in number, resolved to engage the Enemy before they were reinforced with new Succours; to perform which they made a Detachment of twelve thousand Horse, and two thousand Janifarries, and some Field Pieces, commanded by the Pasha himself and Stephen Gabor. Cornis not being able to disengage himself, or avoid fighting, made a

1635. Vertue of Necessity, and put his Forces into form of Battel; and exhorting his Men to follow his Example, assured them, this Victory was sooner acquired by Valor, than Numbers, and that Fortune was always more favourable to the Valiant, and Brave, than to the Cowardly and pusillanimous.

Cornis unheeding his Sword, fought in the Head of his Men, and led them through the thicket of his Enemies the first rank of which not being able to sustain the furious Charge of the Christians, gave way; and being disordered, the first Squadrons ran foot of the second, and at length all of them betook themselves to a shameful flight. The Transylvanians took all their Canon and Baggage, with ten Ensigns, and killed three thousand Turks. The Pasha of Agria was wounded, and Olac Bei of Temiswar was taken Prisoner; and the whole Army had that day been defeated, had not the Janifarries, who fortified themselves in a thick Wood, given a stop to a farther pursuit. Ragotski likewise in divers succeeding skirmishes overthrew the Turks, killing many Pasha's and Soldiers of Quality, and at length remained sole Master of the Field.

The Turks retired to Lipps, and Stephen to Temiswar, whilst Ragotski made his Incurious into the Country of the Turks, burning and spoiling two thousand Villages; with which being rewarded and beaten into terms of Reason, they agreed to suffer Ragotski to enjoy his Government, conditionally, that the Goods and Estate of Gabor in Transylvania should be restored unto him; and thus Ragotski established himself in the Government, and obtained a Confirmation thereof from Constantinople to his Son, accompanied with Presents and Ornaments of a Prince. And this Example shews us in what manner we are to deal with the Turks. Religion and Rigour are better Arms against them than Complacency; and with an Enemy it is more advantageous to make Peace with Weapons in our Hands, than to confederate to the hard Terms which a Tyrant pleases to impose on an easie and unprovided People.

So soon as this News arrived the Ears of the proud Sultan, he was so incensed, that in a fury he would have desisted from his present War in Persia, to vent his Revenge upon Transylvania; but the cooler and more moderate Counsels of wiser Friends, advised him to defer the execution of his Anger, until he could discharge it more to the purpose, and in a Conjunction where it would fall more easy on himself, and more heavy on his Enemy: Howsoever in the mean time Ragotski made such use of this remote Diversion of the Ottoman Arms, by advantaging himself of an Alliance with the Cossacks, and by the ill Correspondence and Diffidence which at that time intervened between the Tartars and the Port, that he not only avoided the Revenge threatened by Morat, but obtained an establishment of the Inheritance to his Son.

By this time Sultan Morat was arrived at Erzerum, which is a City belonging to the Turks on the Confines of Persia; where the first Act which he performed of Justice, was to cut off the Head of the Pasha of his Oppression and Extortions inflicted on his People.

Entering into Armenia, he was grieved to see the upper and lower Provinces so miserably destroyed and wasted by the War; to recover which, he commanded the People, under pain of Death, to return again to their Ancient Habitations within the space of twenty days; but they

They fight with Cornis.

Are overthrown.

Peace is made.

Revan is betrayed and furnished by Emir Gumiir.

Ragotski and his friends kept for it at Constantinople.

1635. they being fettered in other Cities, where perhaps they had purchased Houses and Lands, could not possibly comply with the Severity of this Decree; and therefore were constrained to buy a Dispensation and release from the Penalty for a Sum of Money.

About the beginning of July, in the parts of Erzerum, Morat made a general Review and Muster of his whole Army; with which those he brought from Constantinople joined to Recruits by the way, and those Forces which had waged War in Persia, amounted to near the number of three hundred thousand fighting Men, but such were admirably well disciplined, not only by the Severity of their Sovereign, but by the example he shewed them of Frugality and Patience: for he often marched afoot in the midst of the Heats; he was very temperate in his Diet, though he was naturally of a gluttonous and luxurious Palate: for several Months he made use of no other Pillow for his Head than his Saddle, no other Blanket or Quilt than the Covering or Foot-cloth of his Horse.

Being arrived near to the City of Revan, he bestowed that Largest on the Soldiery of a Dollar a Man, which is customary to be given at all times, when the Grand Signior marches in Person, and then made known to them his Intentions of besieging that Place; and in case he took it not in the space of ten days, that then he would leave it begirt with forty thousand Men; and dividing his Army into three Bodies, he would enter the Borels of Persia by divers ways. The Tents of the Grand Signior, and of all the Camp, were pitched, Batteries raised, the Trenches opened, and all Matters laid in the formal manner of a Siege. The Garrison within, commanded by Emir Gumiir, consisted of fifteen thousand Men, fitted and provided with all sorts of Ammunition, and wanted neither Courage nor Provisions; howsoever at the end of nine days, the City was surrendered to the Sultan, upon Terms of Quarter to the whole Garrison, both for Life and Freedom of Estate: And because this Governor Emir Gumiir, a principal Noble-man of Persia, had by corruption thus voluntarily delivered up the City, he acquired a place of high Grace and esteem in the Favour of the Grand Signior; to which his courtly manner of indulging his Humour, and contenting with him in his Wine and Feasts, (to which the joy of this present Success privileged him to return) gave him daily a new Title to receive extraordinary Honours from him.

The News of this prosperous Success was posted to Constantinople, as the first Effray of the good Effects of the Sultan's Preference, and was there celebrated with Feasts, Joy, and Lights, according to the Turkish Fashion, called Daulmas; to perform which, the Turks obliged likewise the Christian Ambassadors, saying, That if they were Friends, they ought to evidence their Satisfaction, by demonstrations of Joy in the prosperity of their Ally.

The Festival was kept for the space of four days; during which two Brothers of the Sultan, viz. Bajazet and Orchan were strangled; the latter of which, as is said, was so brave, and of that Courage, that he killed four of his Executioners before he submitted his Neck to the fatal Cord.

The Turks entering farther into Persia, considerably fell into an Ambush, where twelve thousand of their Men were defeated; howsoever the remainder of the Army not being dis-

1635. couraged with this Encounter, proceeded on their March, making most miserable Havock and Destruction of all before them, carrying that Dread and Terror to the Countries round, that all People fled, leaving their Houses and Things not portable, to the possession of the Enemy. Howsoever the Turks found greater Difficulties than they expected; for meeting frequently Parties of the Persian Cavalry, which were practiced to manage their Horse and Sword, were often defeated, at least endured and sustained the Shock of Bloody Skirmishes; and then the Persians retiring into the Mountains known to them, but unknown to the Turks, which served them betwixt then fortified Places, returned again when any Advantage or Booty appeared, which perpetually vexed and wearied the Enemy; and burning all Things which might afford them relief, rendered that fruitful Country more Desolate and barren than the Defarts of Lybia, or the Sands of Arabia.

In this manner the Turkish Army being detritude of all sorts of Provisions and Refreshments, were forced to retire to the Country of Tauris; which being harried and impoverished like other Provinces, caused a miserable Famine in the Camp, whereby Multitudes of Horses and Camels perished for want of Nutrimint; at which the Grand Signior being highly incensed against the Inhabitants of Tauris, committed their City to the Will and Mercy of the Soldiery, who having pillaged and sacked it, left it a miserable Spectacle of Fire and Sward.

The King of Persia being in what manner the Troops of his Enemy were starved and confined, took hold of this Opportunity as favourable to propose certain Articles of Peace by an Ambassador, to which Ameer seemed to incline a flexible Ear; but lodging his Soldiery in their Winter-quarters in the parts of Damafaw and Aleppo, he took his way towards Constantinople, with intention to ease the Hardships and Labours of the Summers War, by a voluptuous Ease and Winters pastime in the delights and softness of the Seraglio.

The 6th day of December he arrived at Constantinople, having passed from Ismit through the Gulph of Nicomedia with the attendance of fourteen Gallies; he made his Entry by the Jews Gate, and not by that of Adrianople, as was customary; he was mounted on one of the best of his Horses, and clothed with a Cascoat Mail, a Casquet on his Head, with three Feathers adorned with Pearls and precious Stones; his Sword was girt to his side with his Bow and Quiver, his Beard was in a rough and neglected manner, which made him appear more Fierce and Martial; the Chimaean came after him, accompanied with the Traitor who surrendered Revan. The Festival for his return was celebrated for the space of a whole week, during which time the Streets were shut, the Doors and Outfides adorned with green Boughs and Paintings, and by Night the Streets with Torches were made as clear as the day: howsoever the People secretly murmured, that the War was not prosecuted, and the Advantages taken, when Fortune began to smile and favour their Enterprises; and that now desisting in the middle way, the Work was again to be begun, and all the foregoing Blood and Treasure was spent and consumed to no purpose. These Murmurings of the People were not without some Ground and Cause; for after the departure of the Grand Signior, the Persians put themselves again into the Field, and recovered the Country which they had lost; and having

Tauris destroyed.

Festival for return of the Grand Signior.

1636. offered a Sum of Money to *Mortefa* Pasha to surrender *Revan*; which he refusing to accept on Principles of Fidelity and Honour, they prepared to lay close Siege to the Place: the Janiaries were also displeased to see themselves neglected, and cast out of the Gout, and their Places supplied by the Boilances; nor less displeased were the Lawyers to see several of their Judges and Kadies hanged, and their Heads cut off, upon pretence of Sedition and Faction. His ill-Humor more increased to the height of Tyranny, by reason of certain twinges which he suffered of the Gout, which is not usual in Persons of his Age, nor surmounting twenty five years; and because his Physicians, a Jew, forbid him wholly to drink Wine, as poison to his Discrete and Complexion, he was so enraged, that he drove him from his Presence with Indignation; and immediately conceived such Anger and Prejudice against the whole Nation, that he caused their Houses to be searched, and their Jewels taken from them. But what was most strange, was his horrid aversion to Tobacco, the taking of which, by any Person whatsoever, he found upon pain of Death; which Sentence he so rigorously executed, that he caused the Legs and Arms of two Men, one that sold Tobacco, and the other that took it, to be sawed off; and in that manner exposed to the view of the People: he also caused two others, a Man and a Woman, to be impaled alive, for the same Offence, with a Roll of Tobacco over their Neck.

His aversion
to Tobacco.

Revan regained by the Persians.

The Grand Signior's Severity of Cruelty.

As the Gout caused him to be froward and ill-natur'd, so more especially when ill news came from *Perfia*, he was observed to be more raving and tyrannical than ever. His Army in *Perfia* wanting Provisions, disbanded; *Mortefa* Pasha Governour of *Revan* being killed, the Souldiers rebel, open the Gates, and yield themselves to the Persian; for which Offence the Janiaries fearing the Justice of their Master the Grand Signior, two thousand of them took up Arms in Service of the Enemy: the sense hereof vexing *Morad* to the Soul, he caused the Register of the Janiaries to be hanged, and another of their principal Officers to be beheaded, and strowed the Streets of *Constantinople* with dead Bodies, some for one cause, and some for another, which struck the whole City with a general Dread and Contemneration.

He often walked in the night, punishing Quarrels and Disorders of the Streets, and meeting two Women wandering in the dark, he caused them to be cut in pieces.

He put his Cook to Death for not dressing his Meat well, or not seasoning his Sauces according to his Palate.

In his Seraglio sporting with his Arms, he wounded himself with a Dart in the thigh; and by accident wounded the Son of *Adolmet*, the late Vizier with a Carbine-shot, of which in a short time after he died.

The Persians having taken *Revan* (as we have said) instituted Chambers of Janiaries in that place after the Turkish fashion, paying them in the same form as at *Constantinople*; and to allure the Spahies to enter into his Service, he offered to all that came in twelve Aspers a day of constant Pay; and declared, That their Faith and Law had no difference from the Mahometan.

The Grand Signior receiving these Advices with extreme indignation, proclaimed his Intentions to return again into *Perfia*; and though the Delign pleased not the Militia, who were weary of the War, yet his Power was too great to be resisted, and his Humors too violent to be

diverted by sber Counfels; for having subjected and absolutely subdued the Infience of the Souldiers, and suppressed the Arrogance of the Lawyers and Church-men, he ordered every thing according to his Arbitrary and Uncontrollable Pleasure; which being rendered Extravagant and Unsupportable; by reason that in his Cups, and at the time of his Debauchery, he would often take his Councils and determine his Resolutions, were notwithstanding with more patience endured, upon hopes that they would not be lasting, and that Excellencies would accelerate his Death, and the end of their Oppressions.

The Pasha's of greatest Note and Riches he put to Death, and confiscated their Estates to his Exchequer; and whereas Avarice and Cruelty were equally predominant in his Nature, there was force a day wherein he made not some demonstration of those Dispositions.

The English Ambassador making free instances for the releasement of English Slaves from Captivity, was forced to purchase their Liberty by giving two Russians, or other Slaves in the place of one English-man.

He took a singular delight to sit in a Chiosk by the Sea-side, and from thence to shoot at the People with his Bow and Arrows, as they rowed near the Banks of the Seraglio; which caused the Boat-men afterwards to keep themselves at a distance from the Walls of the Seraglio. And as he likewise took pleasure to go from one Garden to another on the *Dolphinarie*, so if he observed any so bold, as to put forth his Head to see him pass, he commonly made him pay the price of his Curiosity by a shot from his Carbine.

In all his Gardens and places of Pleasure, his chief Recreation was Drinking, in which his principal or almost sole Companions were Emir *Gumir* the Persian who betrayed *Revan*, and a Venetian of the Family of *Bianchi*, who having been taken by the Turks, when he was young, was placed in the Seraglio, and educated in all the Learning and Customs of it, and becoming as well a Proficient in Drinking, as in other Vices, he was made a Favourite and Companion to *Morad*. And thus did they follow this trade of Drunkenness so constantly, that the Health of the Grand Signior began to impair; and at length he became so sensible of his Extravagancies, that he charged the Chincamam not to obey him after Dinner: and when in the heat of his Withe he took a humor to ride through the Streets, the Janiaries and Officers would sometimes run before to advise the People to withdraw, and sometimes drive them away with Stones, that so they might escape the hazard of this capricious Tyrant.

As it cannot be expressed in what Dread and Fear the People stood of him, so neither in what Veneration he was with his Servants, who observed the looks and every cast of his Eyes; had learned his Gods, and the meaning of every Motion and Gesture of his Body. It happened once, that a Paper falling casually from his Hand out of a Window, the Pages ran in all haste down the Stairs, striving who should be the first to take it up; but one more desirous than the others to evidence the Zeal of his Service, took the paper up and leaped out of the Window; and though with the fall he broke the Bone of his Thigh, yet being the first that took up the Paper, he came halting to present it with his own Hand: this bold readiness in his Service pleased the Grand Signior, that being cured, he was afterwards preferred to one of the

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most considerable Offices of the Empire. This was *Morad* revered in his Seraglio, as he was feared abroad, his Servants having the same awe of him, as *Bagotes* the Eunuch had of *Alexander* the Great, who holding the Pot of Incense and Perfumes whilst his Master slept, sufficed his Hands to burn to the Bone, rather than to awaken him by moving out of his place. *Cur-tis*.

But it is time now to leave off farther Discourse of the Extravagancies of *Morad*, and to return to the Wars in *Perfia*; howsoever before the departure of the Grand Signior, it will be requisite to recount somewhat of the State of Affairs in Europe.

Disharmony in Poland and Hungary.

On the Frontiers of Hungary and Poland, there wanted not Exercises and Skirmishes to employ and pacify the Souldiery, and keep them in Breach.

The Poles heightened with their good Successes, would not longer endure the Incursions of the Tartars, complaining against the Turk, that he had given Orders, and secretly abetted them in their Robberies and Invasions, against the Articles of the late Peace; and therefore to avenge themselves, the Poles appeared on the Frontiers with forty five thousand Horse; but the Grand Signior not willing in this Conjunction to break with the Poles, absolutely disowned any such Order or Permission given to the Tartars; and being willing to continue the League, that he might oblige the King of Poland, gave liberty to all the People of that Nation, and to the Russians, who had been taken since the last Treaty, positively prohibiting all People from buying, or keeping any of the Subjects of that Country for Slaves, during the continuance of this Peace.

The Turks confirm the Peace with Poland.

In Hungary, though the Ambassador had but lately brought a Confirmation of the Peace from *Constantinople*; yet the Turks pretending that the Articles were not complied with, continued to trouble and disturb those Frontiers; for four thousand of them being gotten into a Body, burnt certain Villages, made divers Slaves, and battered the Castle of *Rade*; but being repulsed by that Garrison, and by that of *Konwarde*, they again made Head, and encamped within three Leagues of *Presburg*: The which gave great trouble to the Emperor, both because he had lately declared a War against France, and because he apprehended, that those Comotions of the Turks were designed to no other end, than to engage him to renounce all assistance and succour to be given unto *Ragotski*.

Send Forces against Ragotski.

We have already recounted in what manner the Turks had espoused the Quarrel of *Stephen Gabor*, and resolved to establish him in the Principality of *Transylvania*, with the Ruin of *Ragotski*; which now being designed to be done by open Force, several Troops were sent to the Frontiers of *Transylvania*; which he alarmed the Hungarians, that they put themselves on their Guard, and obliged the Estates of *Austria* and *Hungary* to contribute toward the Succour of the *Transylvanian* Prince.

The Emperor remained long in suspense what course to steer, until at length the Perswasions of the Confederate Princes, the shame of abandoning a Friend and an Ally for a Prey to the Turks, and the fear of displeasing his Hereditary Dominions in Hungary, who considered *Transylvania* as the Bulwark of their Country, induced him to promise secretly, and underhand, Assistance to *Ragotski*.

As to the Turks themselves, the Effects did

not correspond with their Menaces: for though they had gathered an Army of twenty thousand Men at *Endis*, they not only were disappointed of their Design upon *Vernhaufel*, but were openly repulsed, and shamefully expelled the Frontiers by the Palatine of *Hungary*: And *Ragotski* being recruited by Succours from the Emperor, and by an Alliance with Poland, defied the Forces of the Turk, and contemned the Reports of sixty thousand Men preparing to march against him.

For indeed the Grand Signior had too great an Incumbance on his Shoulders by the War in *Perfia*, to attend unto what he should find Revenage against *Ragotski*; for *Revan* being recovered by the Persian, (as we have already declared) was a Matter of high Moment; and what distracted all his Councils, and weakened his Hopes.

When News came first of the Siege of *Revan*, Orders were given to the Vizier to Beliege *Bagdat*, as a means to cause a diversion of Arms; but the Souldiery entertaining an aversion to that Enterprise, unanimously refused to March, or to proceed farther than *Erzerum*. *Jambalar Oghli*, who commanded the Army before the Arrival of the Vizier, had strangled a Pasha, and taken his Estate to supply the Wants of the Army; and had likewise put to Death several Spahies and Janiaries for Mutiny, and because they had declared an unwillingness to this War. The Souldiery prepared to address themselves to the Vizier for Justice against these violent Proceedings; but he not willing to hear them, endeavoured to divert their Complaints, which caused a greater Commotion and Storm than before. And though *Jambalar* pleaded his Orders and positive annulment from the Grand Signior for what he had acted; yet that Allegation not being accepted by the Multitude as a justifiable Plea, the Vizier was forced to condescend to their Desire, and strangle *Jambalar*, as he had done the others, being the only Means to quiet and compose this Trouble of his Army.

But as after some great Storm, there is always remaining for a while a swelling and fluctuation in the Waters, so there still remained on the Spirits of the Souldiery, Discontents and uneasiness of Mind: Wherefore the Vizier fearing lest the Enemy taking advantage of the present Seditions, should charge them at a time of Disorder, he retired at a distance from them into the Plains of *Erzerum*: But he was not able to continue long in those Parts for want of Fuel, and of Wood and Planks to secure them against the Rains and Snow; for it being Winter, which is rigorous and cold in that Country, their Tents were not sufficient proof to defend them against the Extremity of the Weather.

Whilst the Turkish Army remained at this Place, advice came, that the Persians had Belieged *Fan*, which is a strong Fortified situate on an inaccessible Rock, on the Frontiers of the Province of *Dierbagar*. And though the Persians were not able to take this Place, neither by Storm nor Famine, yet during this Siege, they made use of their time to ruin all the Country *Dierbagar*, which they left so desolate, that the Turkish Army could not quarter there, nor extract the least Provision or Subsistence from thence.

To all these Misfortunes a greater was added by the Treachery of a certain Lord, one who pretending to be ill satisfied with the Persian Party, voluntarily offered himself to the Service of the

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Attending to his Turkish Army.

Van besieged by the Persians.

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In short, all Matters of this War proceeded cross and unfortunate for the Turks; for besides their unlucky Fights with the Enemy, their own Seditious in the Camp were greater Punctures; for now enduring no longer these puny Mischief, under the pretence of wanting Pay, they cut in pieces the Treasurer of the Army, two Agas of the Spahies, and the Chaus-ballee of the Janissaries.

This News arriving at Constantinople, when Morat was afflicted with a grievous accession of the Gout, served to redouble his Pains; in which raving against the Conduct of his Officers, he immediately deprived the Vizier of his Charge, and ordained *Biran Palha*, late Chincamam, to succeed him in his Employment.

The new Vizier immediately set forth the Horse Tail, which is a signal of departure, with found of Drums and Trumpets, making Corban, which is a distribution of Mutton to the Poor, in divers Places: His Retinue was speedily equipped with such sumptuous Magnificence, that it looked rather like the Train of an Ambassador, which intended to make Peace, than to the Troops of a General, whose Buiness was nothing but Blood and Destruction. And indeed Matters seemed to be inclining that way, the Persians having far advanced in this Negotiation; for they wisely pondering the immense Force of the Ottoman Empire, with which they were now contending, judged it the most politic course to make Peace, under the auspicious Planet of their good Fortune; for not knowing how long that might remain constant, they might, so soon as the Wheel turns on the other side, be forced to accept Terms of less Advantage than at present they might promise to themselves under their happy Stars.

Wherefore a Proposition being made of sending an Ambassador to the Grand Signior, he accepted of it; and accordingly arrived at Constantinople in the Month of *August*, when the Vizier was scarce in the middle of his Journey. The Grand Signior entertaining some real Inclinations to Peace, laid aside something of his usual Grandeur and State, giving the Ambassador Audience in a few days after his arrival; and as nothing mollifies the hard Mettle of a Turk's Spirit, like a gentle Shower of Gold, and the emulgent softness of Rich Presents; so Morat understanding of Gifts with which he came accompanied, afforded to the Ambassador an easy Ear and a pleasing Countenance.

The Presents for the Grand Signior, besides those for the Court, were these that follow.

Eight Indian Horses of great Price.
Forty Dromedaries.

An hundred and fifty Metcals of Musk. As much Ambergrise made up in several Bags; all sealed up with the King's own Seal.

Thirty bundles of the best black Sables.
Eight large Carpets mixed with Gold and Silver; with divers others of Silk, very rare and precious.

Many Pieces of the finest Linnen to make

Turbans.

A great number of the rarest Girdles. Porcelaine to a great value.

Divers Pieces of Satin and Velvet, with Golden Flowers.

Fifty Pieces of Silk Stuffs.
Eight Bows of excellent Work.

These Presents so well disposed and prepared the Mind of the Grand Signior towards an Accommodation, that he bestowed a kind Aspect and gentle Words on the Ambassador, so that all the World expected that a Peace would have ensued.

And indeed one might well have believed his Reality in this Intention, since the avowed Passion he had to be revenged *Ragaski*, availed more with him than all other Considerations in the World. His Honour also called him to give a stop to the Progress of the Moscovites, who had taken *Asac*; and the Tartars and Collocks gave some ground of Jealousy, that before long they designed some Action on the Turkish Territories: the Reasons whereof we shall discourse in this following Year.

We have already related, some Years past, on what Terms the Tartars stood with the Turk, how they refused to accept that King which the Port recommended to them, though the eldest and first of the true Line: how they fought and overthrew the Forces which the Grand Signior sent to compel them to the Election he desired; and this last Year, upon pretence of a War with *Cantemir*, they refused to send their Army against the Persians, as had always been accustomed to do against the Enemies of the Sultan, whensoever required.

The Palha, Mustee, and Kadi of *Caffa* (which is the Grand Signior's Town in *Tartary*) urged the Tartar *Han* to prepare and forward his Forces, according to the Duty and Obligation which was incumbent on him; and enlivening their Arguments with Reproaches of Cowardice and Ingratitude; so far provoked the *Han*, that he caused them all three to be frangled.

Notwithstanding this high Provocation, the Grand Signior shouldered the Injury, left a due Repentment should raise them into an open Rebellion: and dissembling an approbation of the Fact, as done with Reason and Justice, sent to the Tartar *Han* a Sword and a Vest, as Signals of his Favour: And farther suspending, left in prosecution of it to sensible a Blow, the Tartar joining in League with the Collocks and Moscovites, should make himself Master of *Caffa*, he prudently touched the Wound with a gentle Hand, offering to ordain such a Palha, as should be warrant with his Assent and Approbation.

The Tartar being overcome by such Lenitives as these, protested that he never entertained other Thoughts, than to maintain his Faith and Allegiance inviolable towards the Grand Signior; and that the Alliance he had made with the *Negay* Tartars, and the Forces now raised, were maintained with no other Design, than to suppress the Rebellion and Insolence of *Cantemir*.

This *Cantemir* being a Person of a bold Spirit, and daring in all his Actions, did oftentimes, by virtue of his own Authority, lead a strong Party to the Field, being followed by the bravest and stoutest Soldiers of *Tartary*; for which Reason being hated by the Tartar *Han*, and his Life often attempted, and his own Spirit not supporting a Subjection to any other, he passed the

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the *Niefter*, and retired with his own Troops, and such others who would follow him, into the Country of *Budziak*, near to *Beligrad* and *Kilia*, confining on the Frontiers of *Moldavia*; where he intended to plant and form a new Colony and Government.

In a short time, divers chief Captains being desirous to follow the Enlignes of so famous a General, came in to him; and multitudes of People forsaking the Sands and barren Rocks of *Tartary*, came crowding into this Country; that the Plains of *Budziak* not being capable to contain them, they passed into *Moldavia*; where incroaching on the Lands of the proper Inhabitants, gave a Jealousy as if they intended to take possession of the whole Province.

The Poles being jealous of these ill Neighbours, which lay at the Gate of their Country, ready to enter on all occasions, and made Provision in their last Articles of Peace with the Grand Signior, that he should force them to return, and urged that Point by the Ambassador with all earnestness.

The Tartar *Han* also finding his Countries depopulated and weakened by so large an Evacuation, made also his Complaints and Addresses to the Port. But the Grand Signior, looking on this Colony, as an increase of his Dominions, and to be composed of such People whom his necessity must render obedient; and that they could easily, at his Command, make Irruptions into *Poland*, *Hungary*, and *Transylvania*, seemed deaf to all Applications in this Buiness; and as if they were a People in whom he had no part, showed no concernment for them, though secretly he promised them his Protection.

Hereupon *Cladiflaw* King of *Poland*, being wearied with Delays, resolved by force of Arms, to drive out this detestable Neighbourhood: But the Tartar *Han*, whom this Buiness more nearly concerned, being more speedy in execution than the Poles, having raised an Army of thirty thousand Men, encountered *Cantemir* with twenty thousand, and charged him so furiously, that he killed seven thousand of them on the Place, and put the rest to flight, pursuing them through the Plains of *Doibre* on the other side of the *Danube*.

The Grand Signior, who had all this Time remained a Spectator of this Success, began now to take the part of *Cantemir*, and severely to reprove the Proceedings of the Tartar *Han*, for having disturbed *Cantemir*, whilst he was preparing to serve him in the Wars of *Perfia*. But the Tartar, having shaken off much Respect and Reverence towards the Grand Signior, despised the Menaces which he vented against him, and proceeded in his own Buiness, compelling his People to return again to their Country, and to their Ancient Habitations. Morat being forced to suffer what he could not remedy, summoned *Cantemir*, with all diligence, to render himself at Constantinople; where, being arrived, he was at first regarded with a favourable Eye; but his Son soon after having in a private Quarrel killed a Tartar near the Walls of the *Seraglio*, was for that Fact justly strangled by Order of the Grand Signior; the day following, *Cantemir* was also imprisoned, and in a short time underwent the like Fate with that of his Son.

During these Troubles, a Nephew of *Cantemir* signing himself to be dignified with his Uncle, revolted to the Party of the Tartar *Han*, with no other than a treacherous Design to take away the Lives of the two Brothers; the

which he compassed at a time of their hunting, when being far remote from their Attendance, following their Game in untrodden Paths, he set upon them with an hundred Villains, and perfidiously took away their Lives. The News hereof was highly applauded at Constantinople, and the Traitor extolled as a Person of mighty Courage and wonderful Ingenuity; so that now different Councils, and new Measures, were taken concerning the Affairs in *Tartary*.

Becher Cherry, Brother to those Princes of *Becher* Chery, who were killed, was then at *Jambola*, a City in *Thrace*, retired there under the Protection of the Grand Signior, for fear and jealousy of Treachery from his elder Brother. Morat caused him to be brought to Constantinople, where he was sumptuously received, and conducted to Audience by the Chincamam, who gave him the upper-hand, which is the Left amongst Men of the Sword, as the Right is amongst Men of Learning or of the Pen; for as the right Hand governs the latter, so the left is appendant to the left Side.

The Bodies of the two dead Brothers were brought to Constantinople, where fetulent or stinking, they were exposed to the sight of Morat; who to gratify his own Humour of Revenge, caused them to be thrown into the Sea.

This good News from *Tartary*, was attempted with a worse from *Asac*, which the Moscovites and Collocks had besieged. This Town is situated at the Mouth of the River *Tanais*, upon the declining of a Hill; it is in form four-square, and may be about twelve hundred Paces in Compass. Before it fell into the Hands of the Turks, it was a famous Scale for all sorts of Merchandise, especially for Butter, Cheese, salt Fish, Leather, Slaves, and other Commodities brought thither by Turks, Tartars, and Moscovites. The Venetians when they addicted themselves more to Traffick and Commerce than they do at present, took this Scale for their Way into *Perfia*. The Town was fortified with ancient Walls, flanked with capacious Towers, and with a Castle which being in the middle, and on the side of the Water, divides the Town, as it were, into two equal parts. The Garrison consisted not of above three or four hundred Men; for being a place remote from powerful Enemies, it fell not under any great jealousy, nor was it deemed worthy of the Charge of numerous Defenders.

The City being in this weak Condition, the Collocks soon made themselves Masters of it; whereafter they had sacked and pillaged to their utmost, they considered it as a place worthy of better Fortifications; and therefore applying themselves to raise new Works, and repair the Old, they soon made it a Fortress of Strength and Consideration. This happening at a time when the Turks were diverted by the Persian War, the Collocks enjoyed this new Conquest for the space of four Years without molestation, until that in the Year 1641, it was recovered with much Blood and Slaughter by the Arms of Sultan *Ibrahim*, as we shall hereafter recount in the sequel of this History.

And now because the taking of this Place was the Original from whence the Divisions and Civil Wars between the Poles and Collocks derived their beginning, and was the Occasion that the Collocks revolted from their just Obedience, to the Protection of the Turks; the Relation will not only be curious, but a digression necessary to the clearer Light of the present History.

F a

Cladiflaw

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The Count of the City War between the Poles and Cossacks.

The Cossacks Count of the Field.

Vladislaus the Fourth King of Poland being wearied with constant Complaints of the Robberies and Incurious made by the Cossacks upon the Turks, contrary to Articles and Treaties of Peace, was at length perwaded by his Barons and Counsellors, that the only Means to suppress the Violence of this unruly People, was to disarm them; and taking away their Weapons of War, to supply them, in lieu thereof, with the Shovel and Mattock, with Ploughs and Pruning-Hooks: by which industrious Diverfion, from a wicked Life of Blood and Robbery, to honest Husbandry and lawful Arts of living, they might with time be rendered useful to their own Prince, and capable of Faith and just Communication with their Neighbours. It is not one Age past since these people were called Cossacks, derived, as is supposed, from *Cossus*, a word in their Language which signifies a Goat, perhaps because of their Agility of Body, or because their Garments are chiefly made of Goats Skins.

*Pellus & laxis arcem mala frigora brachis,
Ordis, sunt longis horrida testis comis.*

The Country inhabited by them, was at first on the Banks of the River *Boristhenes*, about fifteen Leagues in length to the entrance into the Euxine Sea, where it is reported, that *Ovid* was banished; and some say, that from him a Village thereabouts called *Ovidiana* derives its denomination; and herunto we may afford the greater belief from one of his Elegies, in his Book *De Tristibus*, which seems to describe this Country, and the fierceness of the Inhabitants. *Eleg. 8. lib. 5.*

*Quem legis à Scythiis tibi venit Epistola terra,
Latus ibi equorum junquum Ister aquis.
Mitha sit hac quantum inter Gracisq; Getisq;
Amale placati plus trahit ora Getis;
Sarmatice major Geticæq; frequentia gentis,
Per medium inquis itiq; rediitq; vias.
In quibus est nemo, qui non Coryton, & arcum,
Telusq; viperæ lurida felle gerat.
Vox fera, trux vultus, vestissima moris imago,
Non comas, non ullâ barba testata manu.*

At present the name of Cossacks, and their Country also, is of a far greater extent than it was formerly; for they call now all such in Poland Cossacks, that are light Horse armed with Bow and Arrow and Fire-arms: and their Country since the late Commotions is measured from the furthest parts of the Palatinate of *Chiovia*, for the space of an hundred and twenty Leagues on one side, and the other of the *Boristhenes*, which comprehends likewise all the Country of *Ukraine*. This Country was always inhabited by the most Warlike People of *Russia*; for that being subject to the frequent Incurfions of the Tartars, necessary Defence, and constant practice in Arms, ended them with a Bold and Martial Spirit.

Ukraine is a Country so fertile, that it may compare with the most fruitful Soil in the World, producing such quantities of Corn, with little labour, that the Husband-men being made negligent by their abundance, produced with little Toil, have leisure to apply themselves to Violence and Rapine. They have no Wine, but use themselves much to Strong-waters. Their Houses are not built of Wood or Stone, but of Officers, interwoven and daubed over with Earth and Lime; so that they use no Nails or Iron:

they have no Merchants unless in *Kiom*; nor do they serve themselves of Physicians or Apothecaries. Their learned Language, or the Tongue wherein they write, is the Slavonian, anciently called the Illyrian: so that in all things this People is rude and barbarous; and though their manner of Government and Policy is not refined or methodically disposed, yet nevertheless it is solid and of deep Foundation, appropriated to the nature and disposition of that People.

This honest Design of King *Vladislaus*, to reduce this People to a just and an industrious course of living, not agreeing with their Temper and Customs, they rather resolved to leave their Country, and betake themselves to various Fortunes; some of them passed into *Moscoria* to plant a Colony in those uninhabited Parts: a Body of them, to the number of six thousand, joining together, resolved to pass into *Perfia* to offer their service unto that King; and being on their Journey, as far as the *Tanais*, they encountered with a Party of *Moscovite* Cossacks, who inhabited certain Islands of that River; with whom entertaining Discourse, they understood that *Asie* might easily be surprised by them, if they could agree to unite Forces, which together might compose a Body of ten thousand Men: The Importance of the Place being well considered, it was resolved, that the March into *Perfia* should be shortned, and this City be ordained for the ultimate End of their Travels and Place of Repose. According to this counsel *Asie* being assaulted and taken, (as we have already intimated) the Cossacks fortified it in the best manner that they were able, making an Arsenal for their Boats and Saicks, whereby afterwards they did much more infect the Turks than before.

The other Cossacks who continued in their Country, being much persecuted by the Polish Nobility, chose *Klimishis* for their General, (the Son of a Noble Family in *Lithuania*, but banished and degraded of his Honour for his Criminal Offences) and rebelled against the Government. At first not being able to resist the Force of Poland, they retired within the Woods; but joining afterwards with other Cossacks, they issued forth at the beginning of the Spring, beat the Poles, and carried away a considerable Booty. Afterwards joining with the Tartars, they made their Incurfions as far as *Zamofia*, within twenty Leagues of *Warsaw*; and so Matters continued with various Successes not appertaining to this History. Only thus far it is pertinent to the Matter discussed for us to have shewn, that the Cossacks of Poland were in a great Error, when they resolved to change the Life, and alter the Humour of this Warlike People, which being protected in their Privileges, and encouraged in their Wars, would at all Times, as occasion served, have been ready to have ejected great numbers of good Souldiers into the Ottoman Territories, and might still have been conveyed to balance the Power of the Tartars, which now daily infect and ruin the Borders of Poland.

These People were like ill Humours, which being vomited out into the Dominions of the Turk, eased and made healthy the Body Politick of Poland; but being conveyed within the Stomach, caused Syncope, Convulsions, and such Commotions, as have of late Years shaken the whole Body of the Polish Kingdom: and at length withdrawing themselves entirely from all Obedience, together with the large Province of *Ukraine*, as they have weakened the Govern-

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Preparations for the War in Persia.

Government; so now of late years seeking protection from the Turk, have added to his Kingdom, and enfeebled that of Poland.

When the News arrived first at *Constantinople* that *Asie* was besieged, the *Captain-Pasha* going thence to infect *Behr* into his Kingdom of *Tartary*, received Orders to relieve *Asie*, and if possible, to raise the Siege; but the Succours coming too late, and the Town being taken, the loss thereof was not esteemed important enough to divert either Thoughts or Forces from the Persian War.

For now *Morat* resolving to prosecute the War in *Perfia*, which could not be successful without the united Power of his whole Empire, conducted by his own Person, he resolved to make a second Journey into those Parts, and with his own Hand to knock at the Gates of *Babylon*. To prepare and dispose all matters in order hereunto, he in the first place countermanded his Decree, which prohibited a farther increase of the number of Janizaries; for now being desirous to augment his Army beyond the account of ancient Registers, he opened the Janizaries Door, (as they call it) and enrolled six thousand more into that Order.

To conserve still the Order of this Militia, he appointed Officers strictly and severely to take the Decimation of the Christian Children in *Europe*, and left (as was usual) they should be conveyed by the Parents, who often give Preference, whereby to blind the Eyes of the Ministers, that so they may oversee their Children, or in lieu of the conscript and most fit for Service, accept of the Sickly and Impotent, or such as are unworthy of the Bread and Education given them by the Sultan, he most severely enjoined this Service; and under a thousand Menaces enlarged the execution thereof to be executed without Favour or Partiality to any, to carefully peruse the Books of the *Timpur-Spahes*, counting the number exactly that every Country yields, and comparing them with those mustered in the Field, he confiscated the Lands of those that wanted, being forfeited for non-appearance: he would admit of no Excuse or Delay to the Matter in hand. The Superintendent of the Ordnance, but making a Scruple about the Proportion of some Guns, as too weighty and unwieldy for so long a March, left his Life, for doubting or making a difficulty in what the Grand Signior propoled or designed.

And that no Commotions at home might divert or call him back before his Business was perfected, he enlarged his Palha's of the Frontiers to live quietly with their Neighbours, and to be sure to give an occasion of Complaint, or Cause for War during his absence; recommending to the prudence of the Palha of *Silistria* the care of composing certain Differences between the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*.

Having secured Matters as well as he could at home, he ordered the Horse-tail to be set forth at the gate of the Divan, and all Palha's and Officers of the Army did the like at their own Doors. His Troops began now to grow numerous; the Spahes and Timariots appointed to the Guard of the Grand Signior's Tents, together with other Cavalry, which hold their Lands under Service, amounted unto two hundred thousand: From the hundred seventy two Chambers of Janizaries he drew forth thirty thousand: From the Topgees or Gunners, whereof there are no more than twelve hundred in their Chambers at *Constantinople*, yet make up twelve thousand in other parts, he drew out

three thousand for the present Service. The Shepherds and Plough-men of *Bulgaria* made up twenty thousand; which with Water-bearers, Smiths, Bakers, Butchers, and all other Tradesmen which followed the Camp, were in all Numbers: so that the whole Army, with the Attendants belonging thereunto, were at a moderate calculation computed to amount unto near five hundred thousand Men; whereof three hundred thousand were fighting Men.

The Pertinence, which is the Epidemical Disease of *Turkey*, and which abates the Numbers and Pride of that People, raged this Year greatly in *Constantinople*, and in the parts of *Konagania*; it entered into the Seraglio, and amongst others, took away the only Son of the Grand Signior of two or three Years old. This caused *Morat* to pass most part of the Summer at a Palace on the *Bosphorus*, where he recreated himself with his drunken Companion the Persian Traitor; and hereby he contradicted the Prophets, That Princes lose the Treason, but not the Treason; for *Morat* as he seems loved them both, entertaining this Fellow in his Bosom: His Cloaths, his Garb, his Horsemanship, and Equipage, might rival with that of the Sultan's; he took place of the Chimacian in all Publick Appearances; and what was most strange, he preceded the Mufti; which was new Form never before practised, and would have afforded matter of Wonder and Discourse, but that the World to the extravagant Humour of the Sultan.

Amoing his Pastimes, nothing was more pleasing than some Divertissement acted with Blood; he shot the Son of a Palha with his Gun, for daring to approach near the Walls of his Seraglio, supposing that he came with curiosity to discover his Pleasures, and manner of voluptuous Recreations: For the same Reason he would have sunk a Boat laden with Women, as it glided slowly by the Banks of the Garden. He would himself behold two Thieves impaled, which were condemned to die for robbing something out of his Seraglio. He commanded the Head of the Treasurer of *Cyprus* to be cut off in his presence; as also the Master of his Music, for daring to sing a certain Air which seemed Persian, and to praise the Valour of that Nation. The Palha of *Temissur* he put to Death at a full Divan, for fighting unfortunately against *Ragozick*.

To these severe Acts of Cruelty, which he called Justice, he added one not unpleasant: A certain Greek called *Sridia Bai*, or Lord *Olyfers*, who had been Prince of *Wallachia*, and one whom we have before mentioned, having, by his oppression and baseness that People, amassed a considerable Sum of Money, eluded, a second time, by force thereof, to obtain the Principality; and making his Offer and Request before the Grand Signior, he was heard with some raillery: At length the Grand Signior told him, That he was too proud and aspiring, and therefore ordered the tips of his Nose and Ears to be cut off; telling him, that that was to clip the Wings of his Ambition.

But that before his departure for *Perfia*, he might consummate his Acts of Tyranny, he practised one upon his Brother, a Youth of twenty two Years of Age, of great Hopes, and good Endowments. He was conducted to the presence of his Brother; at the Biram, to pay his Respects, as is usual at that Festival; and having performed the Ceremony, he enlarged himself in high Praises and Admiration of the Grand Signior's

1637.

The extravagant Pleasures and Cruelty of Morat.

1637. Signior's Generosity and Bravery; who for recovery of *Babylon* was contented to expose his Person to the Inconveniences of a long Journey, and the Dangers of a hazardous War, and that therein he equalled, if not surpassed, the Glory of his Ancestors: Which courtly and rational manner of Discourse did not please *Morat*, but rather admistred Subject of Jealousy, fearing that he knew too much; and that as he could Speak well, so he might Act accordingly; wherefore the same Day he caused him to be strangled, to the great Sorrow of the People, and detestation of his Abominable Tyranny: But to amuse the Minds of the Multitude, and cease their Murmuring, he caused it to be divulged abroad, that fourteen of his Women in the Seraglio were with Child: which was all false, there remaining none of the Ottoman Race besides his Brother Sultan *Ibrahim*, who was Weak, as well in Body as Understanding, and whose Imperfections secured and compounded for his Life: And to suppress the Discourse about his Brother's Murder, he changed it into a talk about his Preparations for War, and his departure for *Persia*. Wherefore the Fore-runners and Harbingers of the Army being sent away with Labourers to repair Bridges, and to level the Ways the more easy passage of the Cannon, *Morat* pulled over to his Tents at *Scutari*, clothed in a Coat of Mail, and with a Head-piece set with Precious Stones, and his Saragouch or Feathers clasped to it with Buckles of Diamonds.

As he landed at *Scutari*, he was received by three Squadrons of Soldiers, each Squadron consisting of four thousand Men well Armed, and richly Attired; the Garments of one Squadron of which were provided at the Expence of the Grand Signior, and of the other two at the Charge of his Favourite, and of the Captain-Pasha: the latter of which presented to the Grand Signior thirty Purfes of Money, for bestowing on him the Honour to command that Gally which transported him to the Asian Coast. The Ambassadors sent from *Persia* were detained at *Constantinople* until this time, and after the Turkish Fashion not permitted to depart at his own liberty; but being now ordered to follow the Camp, his Port and Quarters were assigned, that fo he might be a Spectator of that Tragedy which was now to be acted. All things were now disposed in good Posture, with much Solemnity, in order to a March; the Conocks, or days Journeys, with their Places of Camps, were laid out in an hundred and twenty days of March from *Scutari* to *Babylon*, and seventy days of Otorack or Repose. The Journeys with the great Body of such an Army could not belong; and the journeying with other Forces in the way, required less time and time.

1638.

The March of the Turkish Army.

In short, the Horse, after the Turkish manner, having eaten their Grass and been felled, this powerful Army decamped from *Scutari* about the end of May. The first day of Otorack or Repose was appointed at *Umie*, where the Grand Signior made a review of his Army; who were as Aged, and unable to endure the Fatigues of a long March, he dismissed, giving them half Pay for their Lives, with the Name of Otorack, which is the same with *Milid's Emerris* among the Romans: with exact Order therefore and severe Discipline, to which their fierce Monarch had reduced them, marched this numerous Army; no Villages were abused, nor Country-people plundered, and all things were purchased with ready Money: And the Grand

Signior himself being rendered more gentle and tractable in the Field than in his Seraglio, heard all Complaints, and distributed Justice with an equal and impartial Hand.

In the mean time, at *Constantinople*, due care was taken to keep things Quiet and in Order; the Bostangibashes, like Lord High Chamberlains, had the Charge committed to him of the Seraglio, and the Moveables of it; he frequently made his Rounds both by Sea and Land, punished those whom he found in Taverns; nor would he suffer any Candles to be lighted after two hours in the Night. The Chincamam, and the Captain-Pasha, likewise executed their Offices with all care and feverity in their respective Stations.

At this time, to the great disfatisfaction of the Greek Nation, *Cyril* the Patriarch, who had been in *England*, and greatly affected with the Discipline of our Church, was deposed, imprisoned in the Seven Towers, and strangled: in his place one *Carfilia* was ordained Patriarch, and his Commillion or Baratz obtained from the Grand Signior at the expence of fifty thousand Crowns, one Moiety whereof was paid from *Rome*, the whole Design against *Cyril* being managed by the Jesuits and other Religious living at *Galata*, who accused him before the Turks, of keeping a secret Correspondence with the Moscovites and Cossacks; for which losing his Life, *Carfilia* pretended Friend to the Roman Faction, was instituted Patriarch.

The Grand Signior marching with his potent and numerous Army, all the World remained at a gaze what the Issue should of this mighty Enterprize: yet not most were of Opinion, that the Honour and Riches of the Ottoman Empire being now at Stake, the War could not otherwise conclude than with the Conquest of *Babylon*. All that could be feared, was some diversion by the Christian Princes; who taking hold of the present Conjuncture, should enter the Frontiers with a powerful Army, and thereby force the Sultan to return. But as to *Poland*, the jealousy soon vanished. When the News came of a Civil War between the Poles and the Cossacks, and ten thousand of the latter were slain in a Battle, this Intelligence came most seasonable and grateful to the Port, expecting now a Message from the Cossacks, desiring Succour in their Extremity; for such Accidents as these have nourished the Turkish Interest, which hath grown out of the Civil Divisions of Christian Princes.

By this means, as the Apprehensions of War by Land ceased, fo there appeared some Clouds of Storm at Sea; which doubtless might have produced a War with *Venice*, had the Turks been at leisure to attend it; for sixteen Gallies belonging to *Algier*, *Tunis*, and *Bijerta*, well armed with Slaves and Souldiers, and provided sufficiently with Cannon, Powder, and Bullets, Commanded by *Ali Piccini*, united together and formed a small Fleet, with design to rove over the Adriatick Sea, and inflict the Coast of *Italy*. Their Intentions were to plunder the Riches of *Loretto*; but being hindered by contrary Winds, from entering so high into the Gulf, they made a descent in *Puglia*, and sacked all the Country of *Nicorra*, carrying away a great Booty, with Slaves, and amongst them several Nuns which they prostituted to their Lust; and thence they passed over to the side of *Palmaria*, and in sight of *Catara* took a Vessel, and made Prize of all Ships which they met in those Seas; the Rumor of which made great noise over all *Italy*, the People exclaiming against their Princes for suffering

Cyril the Patriarch strangled.

The Pirates of Algier and Tunis rob the Gulf of Venice.

1638.

fering their Lives and Estates to remain subject to the petty Force of a few Pirates. For the Vessels of *Malta* and *Florence* were disjoined, and roving after purchase in the *Archipelago*, took little notice of what was acted in the Gulf. The Spaniards, after their fashion, were slow in Arming, and spent the Summer in Preparations, till the Pirates, laden with Booty, were departed towards the Winter; so that none remained to take care of *Italy*, and the Venetian Gulf, but *Venice* only, to whom the Dominion of those Seas are rightly appropriated.

To suppress therefore the Infoleness of these Pirates, the Republick set forth a Fleet consisting of twenty eight Gallies and two Gallieses, under the Command of *Max Capello*, of which Instructions to sink, burn, and destroy those Pirates, either in the open Seas, or in Harbour of the Turks; for that by the Articles of Peace, between the Grand Signior and the Venetians, it was agreed, That no Port or Harbour of his should be privileged to afford entertainment or protection to any Free-boat or Pirate of that nature.

It happened about that time, that the Maltese and Florentines cruising in the *Archipelago*, had done great Mischief to the Turks in those Seas; to revenge which, and to prevent farther damage, the Captain-Pasha sent Orders to these Vessels of *Barbary* immediately to come to his Assistance; to which they were now more easily perfwaded; for being already laden with Booty and Spoils, they contented themselves with a change of their Station. But to give a farewell to those Parts, they first resolved to spoil, and plunder *Lefia*, alias *Lefina*, an Island belonging to the Republick; but being overtaken by the Venetian Fleet in their Voyage thither, near to *Valona*, a Port and Harbour belonging to the Turks, they put themselves under the Defence of the Town and Castle, which received them willingly to their Protection, notwithstanding all Articles and Agreements to the contrary.

Capello blocks up the Pirates in Valona.

The Venetian Fleet flatted the Castle without a Shot, desiring, that according to the Capitulations of Peace, the Pirates might be rejected, and commanded to abandon their Port: in answer hereunto the Turks replied with a Shot, making known their Intentions to defend their Friends: wherefore the Venetians retiring at some distance came to an Anchor, desiging to block up the Port. Many days did not pass before the Pirates endeavoured, by help of their Oars, and a gentle Gale, to make their escape; and being, with the gray of the Morning, advanced without the Port, they were espied by the watchful Venetians, who dividing their Fleet into two Squadrons, charged them with high Courage; the Fight continued for the space of two hours, during all which time the Castle of *Valona* fired at the Venetians, and shot down a Mail of one of the Gallieses, a Splinter of which wounded *Lorenzo Marcello* the Commander; at length five of the Gallies of the Pirates being disabled, and many of their People killed, they began to fly, and retire again under the Protection of the Town; as also did the Venetians to their Place of Anchorage.

A distinct Advice of all Particulars being dispatched to *Venice*, the Senate wrote to *Capello*, That since the respect which the Republick owes to the Ottoman Court was not unknown to him, he should by no means make any attempt against those Pirates upon the Land, but meeting them fairly at Sea, he ought then to make use of all the valour and force he was able.

In the mean time the Duke of *Medina La Torre*, Vice-King of *Naples*, dispatched an Express to *Capello*, with Letters applauding the generosity of the Design, wherein he was now engaged for the Glory of his Republick, and the common Good of all Christendoms, proffering to supply him with Refreshments and Ammunition, and what else might supply his Occasions; expecting, that by such Encouragement as this, he might be induced to Assault the Enemies in *Valona*, without respect to the Grand Signior, or any Inconveniences which might arise thereby. On the contrary the Governour of the Castle, and Kadi of the Town, wrote a Letter to *Capello*, putting him in mind, that he was within the Grand Signior's Domions, and that he should be careful how he offered any Violence to those Places, which would certainly prove a Violation of the Peace, and be the Original of an inevitable War.

Capello had now lain a whole Month before the Port, having all the time enjoined fair Weather, and a smooth Sea, against the hope and desire of the Turks, who expected that by means of some Storm, the Enemy would be forced to remove their Quarters to some secure Harbour, and thereby afford them an opportunity to escape. But *Capello* growing weary of such tedious Attendance, resolved to expect no fortune, nor yet to lose the present Advantage of rendering himself Master of the Vessels of the Enemy: wherefore dividing his Fleet into several Squadrons, he advanced near the Port, firing several Shot at the Entrance of the Pirats, of which one from a Galeas struck a Moich; and arming with store of Men the Gallies and Brigantines, they entered the Port, and to the astonishment and vexation of the Turks, possessed all the sixteen Vessels, and brought them to their Admiral: which though they had disurnished of all their chief Booty, yet their Cannon and Arms remained, of which there were twelve Pieces of great Brass Guns, besides others of Iron, with divers Falcons and lesser Arms.

The Intelligence hereof being carried to *Venice*, Orders were given, that all the Vessels should be sunk in the Port of *Cosffa*, excepting only the Admiral of *Algier*, which was to be brought to the Arsenal of *Venice*, there to remain as a Trophy of Victory, and for a perpetual Memory of this Glorious Achievement. However this Policy was variously interpreted at *Venice*, and approved, or disapproved, according to the diversity of Humors. The younger Men applauded it as an Action of great Gallantry, excusing his Transgression of the Senate's Orders by a transport of Passion and Zeal towards his Country, and desire of Glory. But the Senators, and Men of mature Judgments, highly reformed this Breach of their Orders, which as they are strictly Enjoyned, they expected that they should be punctually Obeyed. That this action was a sufficient and Just Cause alone to kindle a War, and that it was a matter intolerable, that a single Citizen should of his own Head and Humor, presume to act such things, as must necessarily involve the Publick in a War, contrary to their Pleasure, and in opposition to their express Commands. For which Crime and other subsequent Defaults, *Capello* was afterwards forced to justify himself, as will be signified in the sequel of this History.

The Particulars of this Advice, were by an express Messenger dispatched to *Luigi Contarini* the Bailo or Ambassador for the Venetians at *Constantinople*, a Person of great Reputation and Esteem,

1638.

He assaults them in the Port.

1638.

Esleem, having been conversant in the principal Courts of Christendom, and employed for the space of seven years at *Munster*, where he was Affiliant with the Nuntio *Chigi*, afterwards *Alexander the 7th*, in the general Peace of *Europe*.

The Turks also receiving this News aggravated to them with all the four Circumstances imaginable, the Chincam immediately summoned the Bailo to Audience, and with an Angry Countenance began to exclaim: "That taking advantage of the Grand Signior's absence in remote Parts, the Venetians had, in a perfidious and hostile manner, assaulted and destroyed the Fleet of *Barbary*, which were his Subjects, and such as he had called to his assistance against the Corsairs of *Malta* and *Lepanto*. That being accidentally compelled by storm to enter into the Port of *Valonia*, they were forcibly taken thence, and violence offered to the Grand Signior's Port and Cattle, by way of a manifest and open Breach. If this presumption were grounded on the long distance of the Grand Signior from these parts, the Venetians would do well to consider, how that they provoke an angry Prince, and who effects neither Expense, Hazard, nor Labour to compel his Revenge. If this were a design to divert the Grand Signior's Arms from *Persia*, they would do well to consider, that the Sultan was not so far advanced, but that he could turn a Current, if he pleased, sufficient to drown, and in an instant to overwhelm the Dominions of *Venice*; or could at least collect Forces from nearer parts able to revenge his Quarrel, and vindicate his Honour from the Disdain and Scorn of such petty Neighbours.

Hereunto the Bailo or Ambassador made this Reply: "That this Piratical People was the same which the Year before had landed in *Candia*, and made spoil of the Estates of the Inhabitants, and carried many of them into slavery; and not contented with this Booty, they entered the Gulph, and penetrated into the very Bowels of *Italy*, with design to Sack and Plunder the Island of *Lissa*, which was under the Dominion of the Republick. That the Venetian General friendly saluted the Cattle of *Valonia*, which was returned with several Shots from thence; that had it been his intention to have attempted the Port in the beginning, he would not have lain thirty seven days in expectation of the forth-coming of those Pirates; that being only respect to the Grand Signior, which obliged him to that attendance. At length being wearied, and provoked by the insolence of that People, he forcibly entered the Port, knowing, that by Capitulations with the Grand Signior, it was agreed, That all Ports should be forbidden, and that to these Pirates, unless they first gave Security and Caution not to injure and make Prize of the Subjects of the Republick.

The Chincam replied hereunto, "That there were ten thousand Souldiers and Slaves belonging to those Gallies, which had taken their Refuge in *Valonia*; and therefore he required the Venetians to permit them free passage into their own Country, and to restore their Gallies, unless they intended to come to an open Rupture with the Grand Signior.

The Chincam also pressed more urgently for restitution of the Gallies, in regard, that having advised the Grand Signior of this Disaster, he had at the same time given him hopes, and al-

most assurance to believe, that by his Negotiations he should recover them out of their Hands: But the Senate was of a different Opinion; and therefore gave express Orders to their Officers of the Marine Affairs, immediately to sink all those Vessels; that so the expectation of the Turks being disappointed by an impossibility of recovery, might not, by the rude Insults and Threats of *Morat*, oblige them to a dishonourable and an undecent Restitution.

The News of this Misfortune made greater noise and disturbance in the Divan of *Algiers* residing there, than that of *Constantinople*, that rude Rabbie raved, and railed, and threatened, laying the blame sometimes on one, then on another, being ready to come to blows amongst themselves; but that being obliged, by order of their Divan; to keep their Thumbs within their Girdles, they durst only express their Anger by Punches and Thrusts of their Elbows. At length coming to cooler Terms, they charged all the Fault on their Admiral *Ali*, and resolved to make Applications to the Grand Signior for Redress, and Reparations on the Estates of the Venetians in his Dominions.

The News also hereof overtaking *Morat* in his March into *Persia*, angered him to the Heart, and transported him to that heat of Indignation, that he immediately ordered, that the Venetian Bailo, with all his Nation in the Ottoman Dominions, should, without exception, be cut to pieces; but the Great Vizier, and his Favourite, suffering him for some time to vent the Impetuosity of his Fume and Rage without contradiction, gave a stop for thirteen days to the dispatch of these fatal Orders; until taking him in a more gentle mood, they perswaded him to change this Sentence of Death, to the imprisonment only of the Bailo; and such care was taken, lest the News of a War with *Venice* should fly into *Persia*, and thereby prejudice the Terms of Peace, that this Accident was kept as a Secret, and communicated to none, but such as were nearly concerned in the Government.

The Command for the Bailo's Imprisonment being arrived at *Constantinople*, he was summoned to Audience by the Chincam; and though at that time he was exceedingly afflicted with the Gout, yet the Turkish Obedience to Imperial Commands admitting of no Excuse, he was forced to an attendance; and being brought in his Sedan, he was carried to the Chamber of Audience, where he expected some time until the Chincam came to him: in the interim being entertained by some Aga's, whom the Chincam had employed to found him touching the restitution of the Vessels; who finding by his Discourse that they were sunk, without possibility of recovery, and that there could be no compensation made for them, they returned with this Answer to the Chincam: of which being now informed, he came in, and having no further to expostulate on this Matter, produced the Grand Signior's Command for his Imprisonment, and killing it first, caused it to be read. The Bailo replied, That he was ready to submit, being not only willing to suffer Imprisonment, but also Martyrdom, accompanied with the severest Pains, for the sake of his Prince and his Country.

To soften and mitigate Matters, the other Christian Ambassadors then resident at the Port, had made Arz to the Grand Signior, wherein, with all reverence and respect, they offered themselves for Mediators in this Difference, engaging themselves, but not the Parole of their Princes,

1638.

The Algerians angry at this News.

The G. Signior's Anger against the Venetians.

The Venetian Bailo imprisoned.

1638.

* The Chincam's Summons.

Princes, for the Person of the Bailo, that he should not fly from the Port, nor yet refuse any reasonable Terms by way of Accommodation. This Mediation of the Ambassadors, seconded with some Presents from the Bailo to the Turkish Ministers, so facilitated Matters, that the Bailo at first was conducted to the *Kaiyas*'s Chamber; and afterwards was confined to his own House in *Galata*, guarded by four Chiofous, with free Liberty to all Visitors whatsoever.

There was now no other Rumour or Discourse in *Constantinople*, but of a War with *Venice*, so soon as that with *Persia* was concluded: And in the mean time the Grand Signior gave Orders, that ten Gallies should be built in his own Arsenal at his Charge, and presented to the Barbaroules, with condition that they should fly until the Spring, and accompany his Fleet to Sea. But *Ali Pasha* the Admiral suspected, that this was only a Snare to engage him and his Men forever in the Grand Signior's Service, refused the Obligation, and let two Gallies go the Stocks for his own Account.

Advice of the Bailo's Confinement being come to *Venice*, with a Report of the Passion and Rage of the Sultan, they expected nothing more than a War with the Turk, which they communicated to all Christian Princes, requesting their Succours and Assistance against the Common Enemy. These Addresses produced rather Compassion of their Case, than substantial Contributions: Pope *Urban* himself giving them great Assurances of his help from the Ecclesiastical Revenues, besides Processions, Masses, and Benedictions for their good Success, in as great a Number as they could desire: Notwithstanding which due Care was taken to make ready and provide against all Encounters. Letters were wrote to the Captain-General in the Levant, to make due Preparations against the Enemy: Sixteen Gallies were armed out of *Candia*, to which were joined other Gallies under the Command of *Aminio Pisani* and *Sebastiano Veniero*: Souldiers were levied in every Place, and all Garrisons provided with Ammunition and Victuals, and reinforced with Numbers of an Auxiliary Militia. However it was not the Business nor Advantage of the Venetians, to make a War with the Turks, but rather, whilst they feared the worst, and made Provisions against the utmost Extremities, they endeavoured to enter into Treaties of Peace, and to qualify the hot Spirit of the Grand Signior with the gentle Lenitives of fair Words, and proffers of making Atonement with the Sacrifice of Gold and other Presents: In order unto which they wrote a Letter to the Grand Signior to this Effect.

"That being provoked by the Insolence and frequent Robberies of the Pirates of *Barbary*, who did not esteem Faith or Obedience to his Majesty, nor the Commands which he had often sent to restrain them, they were induced, out of natural Defence of themselves, to chase and combat them; but as this was acted without intention to dishonour his Majesty, so they were ready to maintain and cultivate that ancient Friendship and Correspondence which was ingrafted on the firm Root of his Glorious Progenitors.

Morat, though he received this Letter in an huff, and gave an Answer to it with Disdain, which breathed nothing but Threats of Revenge, and total Destruction; yet he sent it by an Express of his own to the Council, concealing somewhat within the Terror of his Words, as if there was place left for an Accommodation, if the Venetians

knew what Salvage was to be applied to obduct the Skin of this bleeding Wound. The Venetians quickly apprehended, that Gold was the only Remedy, of which they were ready to contribute freely; since they could make no better a Purchase with their Money than Peace, nor could make a better Bargain than with such a Sum as would serve only to make the first Preparations of War, to evade all Hazards, Troubles, and Calamities by a happy and safe Conclusion of Peace. The which notwithstanding took no Effect, until the Return of *Morat* from *Persia*; and therefore we shall defer Discourse thereof, to its proper place.

Morat marched now at the Head of a formidable Army, clothed in the Habit of a Janissary, to render himself acceptable to the Militia, whom having subdued by Rigour and severe Discipline, he would now oblige by Courtly and fairer Treatment: With Courage and great Patience he marched through four sandy Deserts and unfrequented Places; and being the first who undertook to expose himself to Dangers and Sufferings, the Souldiers followed willingly his Example, esteeming no Attempts either hazardous or tedious, in which they saw themselves preceded by their Valiant General. In this March he was overtaken by one who rode hard to demand *Mohammed*, which is the Reward of good News for the Birth of a Son, of which one of his Salutes was delivered at *Issin*: the Messenger was secured until the News was confirmed; which being afterwards turned to the Birth of a Daughter, the poor Man suffered Death, being cruelly impaled for his unadvised haste and excess of officious Respect towards his Prince.

The Great Vizier met his Master at *Iscion* with a moderate Equipage, to give more Room for the Quarrels of the Army, and receiving himself more gracious in his Eyes by a Present of fifty thousand Dollars, he was again remunerated with a Cimeter and a Vest of Sables, which are the usual Signals of the Sultan's Favour.

All *Asia* was now in Arms, and the Princes and great Men came in to perform their Duty, accompanied with their Forces and Attendance: Only Complaints were made of a certain Shegh, Scribe or Preacher belonging to the Mountains of *Anatolia*, who had refused to do Homage, or serve in the War: He was one, who by a feigned Sanctity had acquired a great Reputation amongst his People; and having declared himself to be the *Mehedy*, or the Mediator, which, according to the Mahometan Doctrine, is to fore-run Antichrist, for reducing all the World to one Unity of Faith: He had perswaded his People that he, and they under him, were by Privilege of his Office, exempted from all Taxes, Contributions, or Impositions by any Secular Power whatsoever. The Grand Signior who could not understand or believe this Doctrine, presently detached a strong Body with some Cannon under Command of the Captain-Pasha (who, as we have said, was to accompany the Grand Signior in the War) to confuse the Principles of this Rebel, and to reduce him to Obedience. These Forces being entered on his Dominions, Proclamation was made to the People, that they should deliver up their Impostor into the hands of Justice; which if they refused to do, then Fire and Sword was to be their Portion, and Destruction to extend even unto their Children of seven years of Age. This terrible Denunciation of the Sultan's Sentence struck all the People with cold Fear and Amazement; however the Shegh availing himself on certain Prophecies; which he

1638.

Morat marches to Persia.

A Shegh rebells.

He is over-come and punished.

1638. interpreted in his own Favour, adventured to stand a shock with the Grand Signior's Forces; but being overcome by them, the Siegh was taken alive and carried to the Grand Signior; who having given a deep to his March at *Isenion*, until the end of this Buifness, he condemned him to be dead alive; and in this Guile being a horrid Spectacle to all Beholders, he was carried upon an Ass to the Wheel, on which he seemed to endure the Remainder of his Punishment without any sensible Touches or Pangs in the Torments.

This Success being attained, *Morat* proceeded in his March, and passing through *Alexandria* or *Kandrovans*, he was there saluted by the Guns of all the English and Dutch Ships then in Port, and presented by the Merchants and Consuls, especially by the Venetian called *Marco Fefolo*, whose Presents were computed to amount unto the Value of ten thousand Dollars. Thence he proceeded to *Antioch*, where he refreshed his Army for a few days, observing the Antiquities of that Place. At *Alppo* he was met by the Patha of Grand *Cairo*, who brought with him a rich Tribute, accompanied with an Army of twenty four thousand Soldiers, all choice Men well armed and well clothed; at the same Place also the Forces of *Palatine* joined with him, so that his Army was now increased to a vast Number. Proceeding forward new Sanguacks came in daily belonging to the Countries through which they marched, and a strong Party of Tartars despairing of being able to do any considerable Matter against *Alpo*, offered themselves to the Service of the Grand Signior.

The Persian Army darts was sent to Battle to the Turk.

The King of *Perfia* entered the Field at the Head of an hundred and twenty thousand Horse; but being inferior in Force, made only use of them to reinforce his Garrison of *Bagdad* with an Addition of thirty thousand Men; which now being well provided, he judged that the Force within, and the Strength of the Place, would be able to endure a long Siege, and with time weaken, if not destroy the vast numbers of the Turks, of which there were former Examples: With the rest of his Forces he returned to encounter the Great *Mogul*, who (as we have said) promised *Morat* to assist him in this War, and attack the Persian on the other side of his Dominions, which served for an advantageous Diversion to the Turk. This was the Reason that no more Battels succeeded in the Field, there being none of greater Note than a Fight which *Quinan* Patha had with two thousand Persians belonging to *Revan*, with whom accidentally encountering, he killed fifteen hundred of them on the Place, and took the rest Prisoners, which being five hundred in number were brought before *Morat*, and all barbarously put to death by him.

During the time of this March, *Morat* often exercised himself in Tests of Arms, to shew his strength of Body and dexterity of Hand; amongst other things wonderful to the Soldiers, he pierced a Suit of Arms of Musket-Proof, with a Dart, called by that a *Geris*, thrown from his hand; for evidence of which, the Armour is placed on one of the Gates of *Alppo*, with an Inscription under it.

About the Beginning of the Month of *August*, the Turkish Army crossed the River *Euphrates*, by means of a Bridge, which was not so well built, but that it sunk under the weight of Horses, Camels, and Baggage, by which Disaster many perished in the Water, which great Rains had swelled above the Bounds of its Banks. As this numerous Army proceeded, all its Petty Princes applied themselves to perform their Homage; a-

mongst which one *Tarpas* a King of the Arabs came with his Wife, Mother, and Son to prostrate himself before the Sultan: He was entertained in the Tent of the Favourite, who being always in company with *Morat*, was never suffered to separate from him, and in a Tent, more for Offensibility, than to serve his occasion. *Tarpas* being admitted to Audience, was received with Respect and a favourable Countenance, and presented with a Vest of Cloth of Gold lined with Sables, and a small Purse of Gold: In recompence whereof the Arab Prince returned certain choice Horses and two Leopards. In like manner the Georgian and Mongolian, who are Tributaries to Turk and Persian, and commonly incline to the strongest side, whose Nations we have described in the present State of the Ottoman Empire, would not be wanting at this time to bring their Tribute of eighty thousand yards of Linen-cloth, which they pay every three year, with some Children of both Sexes chosen out of the comeliest and most beautiful amongst them.

At *Mosul* the Army lay encamped for some time, where was a general Rendezvous and Confluence of People from all Parts, and every thing ordered and modeled for a War. Severe Discipline was kept amongst all. Offenders were impaled: Fled alive, their Bowels ripped out, and thrown into the publick Ways: Nor did Takers of Tobacco escape with less Punishment than the rest. In the mean time Wine was forbidden to his whole Camp, unless to himself and his Favourite, being a Royal drink; and when the chief Physician commended the admirable virtue of Opium, advising *Morat* to use it in the place of Wine, he enjoyed him to make his Words good by his own Example, and thereby forced him to take so much, that he was overcome, and died by swallowing too great a quantity.

At *Mosul* the Army marched in due order to *Babylon*, where the Great Vizier arrived with thirty thousand Men about the 19th of October: But by reason of the great weight of Artillery, and the many Impediments which attended such vast numbers, the Grand Signior came not thither till the 5th of November, and on the 9th the whole Turkish Army presented it self before the Walls of *Babylon*.

This was the ancient City of the World, reported to be built by *Nimrod* on the Banks of the River *Euphrates*, and afterwards beautified and enlarged by *Semiramis* the Wife of *Ninus*, is recorded in History for the valour thereof to be one of the seven Miracles of the World. Afterwards the furious Inundations of the River, and the Iron Teeth of devouring Time, and the subjection thereof to the Macedonian Empire, did much eclipse the Glory of that City, and caused *Seleucus Nicator*, one of *Alexander's* Captains, to build a new one where the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* meet, forty Miles more Northwards than the old *Babylon*, which he therefore called *Seleucia* after his own Name. In the Year of our Lord 753, *Augustus Augustus*, an Arab King, enlarged this City to the Eastern side of the *Tigris*, as being less subject to the Inundations of the River, giving it the Name of *Bagdad*, or the place of Gardens; but his Son *Amir* being more pleased with the Western side, encouraged People to build the stately Palaces and best Fabrics near the place where he delighted to keep his Court, so that the River *Tigris* divided the City. The which with the Country thereabouts was subdued by *Solyman* the Magnificent; and afterwards in the Year 1625, it was

The Turkish Army at Mosul.

The Description of Babylon, or Bagdad.

1638. recovered by *Abu* King of *Perfia*, until at length in this of 1638. It was vanquished by the mighty Force and Power of the Magnanimous Sultan, as we shall now undertake.

Bagdad besieged.

The numerous Troops of the Ottoman Army covering all the Plains, a General Council of War was called of the Chief Commanders of the Janisaries and Spahes, especially of such who had been practised in the Sieges of the strong Fortresses in *Hungary*. After some Debate and long Consideration, it was agreed, That the City should be battered in three Places. One Battery of twelve Pieces of Cannon commanded by the Great Vizier was to be erected against the Bright Gate; the second against the Dark Gate of ten Pieces of Cannon, under the Command of the Captain *Palha*; and a third of eight Pieces directed against the Gate of *Perfia*, under the Government of *Chafsin* Patha *Beglebei* of *Anatolia*. The Grand Signior in the mean time habited like an ordinary Soldier, that he might be the less exposed to Danger, visited all Posts and Places, encouraging them with his Words and Presence, protesting that he would not change his Cloaths for ever in any place but within the Walls of *Bagdad*. In the space of three days the Trenches were opened, the Batteries raised, and the Cannon planted; and *Morat* having made Korban, gave fire to the first Cannon with his own Hand, as he had brought the first Basket of Earth to raise the Works. The Defendants within consisted of eighty thousand fighting Men, with which they made frequent Salles of four and five thousand Men at a time; who being retired, were again followed by another of the like Number, which put the Turkish Camp into much Confusion, and into danger of having their Trenches levelled, and their Cannon spiked; but the Turks valiantly fighting, the Slaghter proved bloody on both sides; and being guided rather by the Bravery of their Courage, than by Art or Experience in their War, they carried their Works forward to the very Brink of the Ditch, having an Italian and a Candiot for their chief Engineers; who though they were not Persons of that Ability, as our modern Times have produced, yet they were such, as for want of better, served the present occasions, where Force and Numbers, with small Additions of Art, were the only available. For in this Siege the Sword was more exercised than the Spade or Mattock, and there was more need of Arms than Works; for the constant Salles kept the Turks always watchful and employed, and perpetually disturbed them, until at length they were forced with great Labour to raise a high Circumvallation, with a very deep Ditch, defended by several Redoubts; whereby the Besieged being kept in their Numbers decreased by former Salles, and their Courage abated by despair of Relief, they began to grow cold in the Acts of Bravery, and to reserve their Men for the last and last Efforts of Defence. In the mean time the Turks plied their Batteries so hotly, that in a few days the Walls were laid open almost fifty paces wide. In this Condition the Defendants having no other Refuge than some small Redoubts, were exposed to the most fierce of the Enemy. For now the Turks having filled up the first and second Ditches with Sacks of Wool, Faggots, and other Rubbish, crowded in vast Numbers to enter the Breach, while the Persians defended as stoutly with Stones, Bullets, Artificiall Fires, and all Instruments of Death, which fell like Showers of Hell on the Heads of the Enemy. The Great Vizier signaling himself above

all by his undaunted Courage, commanding with his Hand and Voice, was unhappily shot by a Musket-bullet, and felt on the heap of the dead, amongst whom there is no distinction between the common Soldier and the bravest Captain. This Fight within the Breach continued for five days, where both sides fighting like Men in despair, the dead Bodies lay in heaps, and Blood was stagnated like a Pool to water thorough. At length the Numbers of the Turks prevailing, commanded now by *Mulapha* the Captain *Palha*, entered the Town by force of Arms on the twenty second of December about the time of Sun-set, when the Royal Standard of the Turks was planted in this City. Howsoever twenty four thousand of the Persians remaining still alive, and united in a Body, capitulated for Quarter, otherwise threatening not to die unrevered: Pardon, and Quarter for their Lives was readily granted, on Confidence of which the Persians threw down their Arms, and submitted to the Publick Faith, or the Sultan's Clemency. But the Grand Signior afterwards considering, that the granting Quarter at *Revan* had been the cause of the Loss of the City, he repented him of his Promise, and gave Order to the Janisaries most inhumanly to open a Torrent of Blood, and make a barbarous Massacre of those who had newly thrown down their Arms at his Feet, not sparing either Woman or Child, either Sex or Age; the which Slaughter, like a Work of Darkness, was acted in the Night by the light of Torches and Lanterns, and appeared a horrid Spectacle to all, especially to the Persian Ambassadors, who being conducted like a Prisoner in the Camp, was a sad Spectator of his Countries Destruction on the horrid Theatre of its Capital City.

So soon as *Bagdad* was taken, *Morat* dispatched away Posts immediately with the News in to all Parts, and wrote a Letter with his own Hand to the *Chimacian*, ordering a *Dunalo* or Feast of Thanksgiving, and rejoicing for the space of twenty Days; during which time no Business was to be acted, the Houses were to be adorned both without and within with the best Furniture, and every House was to set forth Lights, Torches, and Fire-works agreeable to the Condition and Ability of the Person. The People exclaimed hereat as too great an Expence, and the Vacation from Business seemed too long for those who lived by their daily Labour. The chief Ministers and Grandees evidenced external actions of Joy, but inwardly feared and trembled, suspecting that this force and cruel Humour of their Sultan would be attended by Successes and a favourable Fortune. The Christian Prince received this Intelligence like bad News, and as an Alarm, to awaken them from the caresses of Peace, to expectations of War: For War with *Perfia* was like an Ulcer in the Bowels of the Turkish Empire, which gangrened and consumed the Strength and Marrow of their Power; which now being cured, and the Body Politick rendered healthy by such a seasonable Success, would convert it self to enterprising and dangerous to the neighbouring States.

After the Conquest of this City, *Morat* gave out, That he resolved to proceed with his Army into *Perfia*, and to enter the Walls of *Sophia*; but having some indispositions of Health upon him; and recalled by the charming Letters of a Favourite Mistress, whom he had left at *Diawebur*, he inclined to return again to *Constantinople*. Wherefore muttering first his Army,

1638. he found that it was abated near an hundred thousand Men, two thirds whereof being killed in the War, the rest perished by the Pestilence, and other Dificates and Malignities incident to Camps; a great part of the Slaughter fell on the most veteran Soldiers of the Janisaries and Spahies, of which many of the Chief being slain, Revenues and Revenues returned to the Grand Signior, and gave him both Opportunity and Ability to reward many with such Offices and Gifts as came by the Death and Fall of other Commanders. Thus the Captain-Pasha, whose Valour had rendered him famous, was made Great Vizier in the place of him that was slain, and the Persian Favourite was constituted Captain-Pasha; and though many repined at this Advancement, as conferred on a Stranger, and a Person without Merit, yet the Grand Signior considered him as one whose Experience in that Country, and the Information he had given him of the Situation and Strength of Babylon, had made abundant Compensation for the Favour and Honour he had bestowed upon him.

1639. The Grand Signior having left a Garrison of thirty thousand Men in Bagdat, dispatched the Great Vizier with a considerable Army to penetrate far into the Country of Persia. And having now released the Persian Ambassador, giving him liberty to return to his Master, wrote by him this braving Letter.

I That am Lord of Lords, and Conquerour in the parts of Arabia, Persia, and Greece: King that Commands with eminent Rule in the World, exalted by Divine Assistance to the Empire of the Universe; the most Inevitable Possessor of the White and Black Seas, and of all the Cities and Fortresses which encompass them. Lord of the Divine and Prophetick Temple, that is, of Mecha and Medina, as also of Jerusalem, Aleppo, Damascus, and of all those Holy and Venerable Countries, of Grand Cairo, Salustiferous Babylon, and of Van, of Echiopia, Balfora, and the Lesser Asia; of all the Countries of the Curds, Georgians, and Tartars; of Moldavia, Wallachia, and universally of all the Provinces and Regions of Greece and Anatolia. And in Summ, Supreme Lord of the Seven Climates; the Victorious and Triumphant King in the Service of God Sultan Amurat Han, to the Kalimat Solt, to whom my God gave Peace, if he deserve it. This Imperial Letter worthy of Obedience being come to thee, Be it known unto thee, That the Ambassador which Thou didst send to my happy Port with desires of Peace, I have detained until this time in which I have subdued Bagdat, by means of the keen Edge of my Inevitable Semier. If Thou desirest Peace, surrender those Provinces which belong to the Dominions of my Victorious Predecessors, into the Hands of my Beglerbeys, who are now Marching as the Head of my Victorious and Inexpugnable Army: Otherwise expect me next Spring with my Troops more numerous than the Sands of the Sea, within the Bowels of thy Dominions; where I will appear on Horse-back to unkenel Thee from the Ca-

neys wherein thou now lurkest, not daring to manage those Arms, which are unworthily girt to thy Side. That afterwards shall succeed, which was determined from all Eternity. Peace be to him who directs his ways aright.

This Letter being dispatched, the Grand Signior recalled the forty thousand Men which he had lent, from the Service of the Great Mogul, which he quartered about Bagdat to hinder the Attempts of the Persians, in case they should design to pursue him in the Rear, and disturb his return into Europe. By reason of the Rigour and Extremity of the Winter, and a certain Delusion which falling on his Nerves, made him something Paralytically, the Grand Signior departed not from Bagdat until the 15th of April, and then for recovery of his Health, and to foil the Horfes by the way with convenience of Grass, short Days Journeys were appointed.

The Grand Signior's Indisposition encreasing, with some cold and shivering Fits, gave the first Symptoms of a Fever; but afterwards it plainly appearing to be a paralytical Distemper, suspected by the Physicians to end in an Apoplexy, it was rumoured abroad, that Morat was dead; but it was whispered with such Caution, as if they had feared lest the Grand Signior would have over-heard them, and risen from his Grave to punish their secret and inward Joy. Being somewhat recovered from the last Accession of his Palsie, the Humour fell into his Legs, and swelled so much, that he could scarce sit upon his Horse; howsoever he hastened as fast as he could to Constantinople to disprove, and to confute the falsity of that Report concerning his Death.

In the mean time it is not to be expressed with what Fear and Terror the Chimecam and other great Ministers of State expected the return of their formidable Prince, not knowing where the Thunderbolt of his cruel Disposition would strike, until at length it fell on the Head of the poor Sultan Mustapha, whose weakness, as it rendered him unable for Government and Command, so it made him stupid and insensible of Death.

At length on the 16th of June the Grand Signior arrived at Constantinople. The Favourite Sultan, which had accompanied him to the War, passed by Water from Ismir attended with six Gallies, and took her Lodging the first Night of her arrival at a small Chiosk or House of Pleasure under the Wall, so as to make a magnificent Entry the Day following. Her Coach was covered with Cloth of Gold, and the Spokes of the Wheels were gilded, and the Wheels shod with Silver; he was followed by twelve Coaches, and the Musli, Pasha's, Kadees, and other Officers went before to conduct her to the Seraglio. The Grand Signior, who arrived the same Day, attended with fifty six Gallies, made not his solemne Entry until two Days after, being performed with all the Ceremony, State, and Magnificence, which could be contrived. The Grand Signior in his own Person appeared in the Persian Habit, with a Leopard's Skin thrown over his Shoulders, after the manner of a Kaife (as they call them) or a brave huffing Champion, having his Stirrup attended with twenty two of the chief Nobles, whom he had referred at Bagdat, purposely to lead in Triumph through the City. The Treasure brought out of ten Gallies, was landed at the Seraglio out of ten Gallies, and calculated to amount to a greater Sum than that which was carried from thence; for besides the

The Grand Signior returns to Constantinople.

An Ambassador sent from Persia to the Grand Signior.

A Peace concluded.

Trouble in Moldavia and Wallachia.

1639. Riches taken in the Plunder of Babylon, Isfeuse was made in divers places of the Estates of Palha's and other Great Men, which by Death, or for Crimes, escheated to the Grand Signior.

After the Grand Signior's Departure out of Persia, little of Action succeeded, as if by mutual Agreement, a Truce or Cessation of Arms had been contrived. The Persians desired a Peace, because they were enfeebled and tired with the War: The Turks had regained their Honour by the Conquest of Bagdat; and being unwilling to lose it by change of unconstant Fortune, and longer confine their Riches and Men in a tedious and remote March, were attending to receive Propositions of Peace first offered by the Persians. To effect which the Great Vizier, who was left at Bagdat to command the Army, was intimated by the Governors of the Frontiers, that a proposal of Peace should be accepted; which being made known to the King of Persia, he immediately dispatched an Ambassador to the Grand Signior to propose Terms of Accommodation. The Ambassador being arrived at Constantinople, was grateful and acceptable to all, and his Day of Audience appointed after the usual manner on the Pay-day of the Janisaries, when the Floor of the Divan is covered with Sacks of Money; before the Door of the Chamber of Audience stood the Persian Captives all clothed in rich Vests. The Ambassador being conducted to the Royal Presence with the usual Ceremonies (of which we have given an Account in another place) was received by the Sultan sitting upon a Saffaw covered with Crimson Velvet, embroidered with Pearl; his Turbant was encompassed with a Chain of Diamonds, clothed with a rich Vest lined with Sables; he sat on a Cushion of soft and downy Sables, but beholding him with a fierce and scornful Look, received the Letter in every Motion, as if he neither esteemed the King, nor his Ambassador; or as if the Persian had been wholly conquered by him, had sent to beg Peace, and Pardon for his Life: The Ambassador was soon dismissed from his Presence, and matters being referred to the Negotiation of the Chimecam, no other difficulty arose besides the Dispute concerning *Reven*, which at length was agreed by the other Ambassador sent to the Vizier on the Frontiers to remain unto the Persians, as *Bagdat* was confirmed to the Turk: And so Peace was without long Debate clapt up; the Grand Signior, by reason of his Indisposition which increased upon him, being not inclinable to trouble his Head with the Burden of Business.

Peace being thus concluded with Persia, there appeared a perfect Sun-shine and fair Weather in the Ottoman Court, neither Difficulties at home, nor Wars abroad troubling the Quiet and Repose of the Sultan: Until some Differences happening between the Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia exhaulted the first Cloud of Disturbance. At that time Lupulo was Prince of Moldavia, a Person of evil Principles, covetous, and unjoyous; *Mathew* was Prince of Wallachia, a good Man, zealous of equal Justice to his People. Lupulo not contenting himself with his own, but desirous also of his Neighbours Possession, made instances to the Porto to have the Principality of Moldavia conferred upon his Son, alleging that thereby he should be better enabled to balance the Power of *Ragoiski* in Transylvania, and on all occasions rendered more serviceable to the Grand Signior's Designs and Interest: And seconding this Proposition with a Present of fifty thousand Dollars to

the Chimecam, and promise to increase the annual Tribute, he obtained the Chimecam's Friendship, at whose Instance the Grand Signior was persuaded to write unto *Mathew* to surrender up his Province into the hands of the Son of *Lupulo*; declaring, That it having been accoutumary to charge the Princes of those Countries every three years, he ought after an Enjoyment of above seven years to content himself with a quiet and voluntary Resignation, unless he would desire to draw upon himself a Ruin by the Anger and Displeasure of the Sultan. *Mathew* having no Poverty, resolved not to surrender his Government but with his Life; and having a particular Animosity against *Lupulo*, could by no means incline his Mind to make his Enemy happy with the Spoils of his Estate. Wherefore having obtained Assistance from *Ragoiski*, he resolved to withstand the Forces of young *Lupulo*, and engage with him: And being ready to mount on Horse-back, and begin the Battle, he first dispatched an humble Message to the Grand Signior, acquainting him, "That he was ready at his Command to resign his Principality into the Hands of the meanest Greek his Majesty would appoint; who being the Source of all Equity and Justice, he hoped that he would not oblige him to such Terms as would raise his Mortal Enemy upon his Ruin; a Man so intent to his own Interests, and so unconscionable to compass them, that all late Revolutions, Wars, and Commotions have been raised either by him, or by his Instruments."

This Letter being received and read by the Grand Signior, was seconded in a few hours after, with News of the total Defeat of young *Lupulo*; which put the Grand Signior so much into choler, that he immediately committed the Chimecam to the seven Towers, for being the Projector and Author of this Council. It was supposed however, that *Morat's* Anger would not proceed to that degree, as to extend to his Life; but being informed, that he was rich, and that he was possessed of two Millions of Dollars, which lay by him in ready Money, it was concluded, that so vast a Wealth could not in a short time be honestly gained; which appearing as an undeniable Evidence and Testimony of his Violence and Oppression, the Grand Signior made no Difficulty to pass the Sentence of Death against him, nor to condemn the Money to his own Exchequer: His Office was given to *Sinan Pasha*, and the Principality confirmed unto *Mathew*.

During all this Time, the Quarrel which the Turks conceived against the Venetians, for violating their Port of *Valona*, was not yet composed; but now having time to peruse and consider old Accounts, the Venetian Bail was called by the Chimecam to Audience, and to a Conference with him concerning this Matter. In the first place therefore the Bailo alleged, "That the Pirates of *Bahary* had for the Space of twenty Years roved in the Venetian Gulf, and made Prize in that time of so many Ships and Goods belonging to Merchants, that the Republick had been prejudiced by them in several Millions; which also did in some manner prejudice the Customs of the Grand Signior, to whom the Venetian Merchants pay for the most part yearly the Sum of an hundred thousand Dollars in Custom for their Goods, besides the benefit which the Ottoman Dominions receive by so profitable a Commerce."

Here.

1639. *Hereto the Chinnacem replied:* "That the damages which the Turks received by the Corsairs or Free-booters at Sea under the Colours of *Malta*, *Leghorn*, *Majorca*, and other places, were greater and more dilatory to the Majesty of the Ottoman Grandeur, than the depredations of the other side were to *Venice*: And therefore it would be necessary for the good of the World, that such Violences were prevented in all places: and that Men of such wicked Profession should be esteemed for universal Enemies, and to have no other Quarter, nor Articles granted them, than that we give to wild and brutish Beasts, whom we destroy by Snare and Gins, and all Advantages. The which also was never denied to the Venetians, whilst they encountered and took them in the open Seas; but to enter into privileged Places, and violate a Sanctuary of the Grand Signior's, without respect to the mighty Power of so dreadful a Monarch, was an act so infamous, as could never obtain Pardon without due Compensation for the Offence, which could not be done, but either by a Restitution of the Vessels, or else of a like Number in the places of them.

Hereto the Bailo replied: "That if an Accommodation could not be made on other Terms, nor Peace maintained, but by a submission to Pirates, and appropriation of all their Injuries and Robberies, a War must inevitably ensue; for the good success of which they depended on the Blessing of God Almighty, and the general Assistance of all Christendom, which will esteem it self universally concerned in this Cause, and obliged as well to make good this Quarrel against Pirates, as to preserve *Venice* for their main Bulwark and Defence against the Ottoman Force.

"You make the Smile (answered the Chinnacem) when you tell me of the Power of Christendom, which contains nothing more of Terror than the Name. Do not I know, who have been Patsha of *Buda*, that the Emperor hath no Money; and that when the Swedes, a small and inconsiderable People, have made War upon him, they have almost over-run his Country? As for *France*, if they understand their own Politics, they will scarce be persuaded to lend assistance to the Empire, when we make War against it. The Spaniards have so much to do at Home, and to conserve themselves from the Incroachments of their powerful Neighbour the French, that they are wholly unable to lend Forces to wage a War at such a distance from their Dominions. Wherefore considering the Advantage we have upon you, which we well know and understand; you must either have War on these hazardous Terms, or else purchase your Peace with a considerable Sum of Money. In making of which Bargain you must consider, that you have to deal with a mighty Prince, and not with a Merchant; and therefore your Offer ought to be large at first, so as it may gain Credit, and be received with a favourable Ear; for a small Sum to him is like a little Morfel given to an hungry Stomach, which serves only to increase the Appetite. And you know, that we our selves are often forced to sacrifice to the Avarice of our Prince, by effusions of vast Sums of Money, which are always best compounded

"for, when they are done readily, and at first, before we give our Matter time to consult with his Pillow, and to make up our Accounts according to the Calculation of his own Reasoning. Let me therefore exhort you to follow the like Example, and immediately make an Offer of three hundred thousand Zechins of Gold, which if you will do, and employ my Interest to make this Composition for you, I hope, though with some difficulty, to gain its acceptance. To talk and reason of Things past is but to beat the Air, because the time is vanished and gone; but you may consider of the present, that you may secure the future. We sell you Peace at this Price, if it be worth your Money, take it; if not, refuse it, as you judge the Purchase most agreeable to your Interest.

At this time Christendom was embroiled in its usual Combustions, so that Assistance from other Princes was not only uncertain, but without all Foundation; so that the Venetians could have no sure Trust to any other than their own Force. In regard that many were desirous at that time to see the Venetians engaged with the Turk, that they might not be able to concern themselves in the War of *Italy*, which then grew hot by the Wars of *Savoy*, *Modena*, and *Matina*, favoured by the Protection of the Spaniards, by whose means all the Differences arose about the *Valtolina*. Considering which, the wise Senate being willing to purchase so great a blessing to their Country by a moderate Price, gave Liberty to their Bailo to compound for it at what rate and terms he was able; which by the Bailo's Dexterity in the Management, was concluded for the Sum of two hundred and fifty thousand Zechins, which was esteemed for a great Service, and redounded much to the Reputation of the Bailo: after which Conclusion, the former Articles were ratified, and these which follow added therunto.

"That the Ambassador or Bailo should be set at Liberty, and permitted to return to his own Habitation: That Commerce be renewed as formerly between the Subjects of both Countries: That all Controversies about the Matters happened at *Palena*, for ever be silenced and forgotten: When at any time the Pirates of *Savary* shall happen to enter within the Ports of the Grand Signior, they shall give Security, that they will commit no Damage or Spoil on the Subjects of *Venice*. And in case they shall have taken any Prizes belonging to the aforesaid State, they shall not be admitted nor protected in the Ports belonging to the Grand Signior: Wherefore in virtue hereof all Agas, Captains of Castles, and other Ministers who shall not obey and observe this Capitulation, shall be deprived of their Office; and if the Venetians shall then enter violently into the Port, where such Enemies have taken Refuge, it shall not be imputed to them for a Crime, or esteemed a Breach of the Capitulations. And farther, if the Venetians shall at any time encounter the aforesaid People of *Savary* in the open Sea, it shall be lawful for them to assault, take, and destroy them without notice, or exceptions of the Ottoman Port. And lastly, the new Bailo lately elected, shall pay unto the Grand Signior five hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, which make two hundred

1639. hundred and fifty thousand Zechins of Gold. This Writing was signed and ratified about the middle of the Moon *Kadul* in the *Hegira* or Year of *Mahomet* 1049: Hereof Authentick Copies were immediately dispatched to the Beglerbegs, Sangiacks, and Kadis on the Frontiers of the Mediterranean Sea, and to the Patsha of *Bosnia*, for better Publication of the Peace, and free Traffick and Commerce between the Subjects of both People.

The Baron *Chinski* arrived at that time from the Emperor in Quality of Envoy Extraordinary, to congratulate the Grand Signior's Success in taking *Bagdad*; and making a Peace with *Perfia*; but not bringing with him Presents to that value, which on this occasion were expected; he was not looked on, nor considered with that Favour and Respect, as was agreeable to his Character and Quality. And there happening a Dispute between this Envoy and the English Ambassador concerning Precedency of place; the Turks yielded it to the English, being made to understand the Difference which Christian Princes make between the Title of an Ambassador and that of an Envoy, though the Turks use but shew one Word of *Elchi* to express both. And though the Baron *Chinski* laboured to diminish the Dignity of an English Ambassador at Constantinople, by alleging, that he was elected by the Company of Merchants for Conservation of their Trade only, and afterwards confirmed and honoured by the King; yet this Argument was in no wise prevaile with the Turks, who esteeming the Commission of the Prince, and the Charge of an Office the only Qualification to ennoble a Person, made no Difficulty to determine the Point in behalf of the English. And though some Italian Writers say, that the English Ambassador gave fifteen Purfes of Money, or seven thousand five hundred Dollars to the Chinnacem for this Favour; yet those who understand how unwillingly of such Punctillios and Niceties, especially where the Ambassador might have avoided the bringing them into Dispute, will more readily believe, that the Turks from free motives of their own Justice and Reason judged this Honour due to the Ambassador, than that he should purchase this indisputable Point by the disgraceful means of Money.

All matters being now determined between the Turks and *Perfia*, and the black Clouds blown over from the Venetians, the Grand Signior studied how and where he might turn his Arms with most Advantage: he had conceived an irreconcilable pique against *Ragouzi* and *Mathew* for the Causes before related; but having at intention to make use of their Force against *Poland* or *Germany*, or against them both together, he dismissed the Passion he conceived against them, and rather deferred his Revenge, than pardoned the Liberty which they had exercised without his Licence or Assent. Sometimes he resolved to recover *Asia* out of the hands of the Collicks; sometimes he thought of making War upon *Poland*, judging himself much assisted by that King, for not sending an Ambassador to congratulate his late Successes: Then he supposed, that a War in *Germany* would be more easy, and the Conquest more profitable for reason of the Riches of the People, and the Fertility of the Soil, to which pretences could never be wanting on the score of those Dif-

ferences which always arise amongst the People of the Frontiers. During these Debates and Councils, Preparations as yet uncertain where they should be employed: To command them the Great Vizier was ordered to hasten his Journey from *Perfia*, whose Arrival was celebrated at Constantinople with a solemn Entry; and for a particular and distinguishing Honour, the Grand Signior sent him a Velt from his own back to wear on the day of his Triumph. This Vizier was Person very austere in his Behaviour, bold and valiant, as he evidenced by his Actions in taking *Bagdad*, zealous for his Master's Interest; a man, what is rare in a Turk, not much addicted to his own: He had acquired a great share in the fifteen of his Master, and his Authority increased, as the daily Decay of the Grand Signior's Health rendered him less able for Government: For now the strong Complexion of *Moran* began to grow feeble by excesses of frequent Debauchery, his Stomach was become cold and weak, not able to digest the lightest Meats, his hand shook, and a paralytical Distemper seized him in every part; so that his Mother and the Physicians perswaded him to forsake the use of Wine, as being an Infructious to his Health; and he, whilst he was sensible of his languishing Condition, like a true Penitent, made many Protections and Vows against it, forbidding the accursed Potion to be received within the Walls of the Seraglio: Howsoever his kind Heart could not possibly withstand the Temptation of a Banquet, to which his Post-companions did sometimes invite him, amongst which the Great Vizier would not be wanting also to please and cajole the Humour of his Master with the Liquor that he loved. But his chief and constant Camerades in drinking were his Persian Favourite, and *Mustapha* Patsha of *Bosnia*, one educated in the Seraglio, promoted to the place of Solicitor Agas, to whom he gave the lately Palace of *Ibrahim* Patsha on the *Hippodrome*, together with his eldest Daughter in Marriage. These two stout Sons of *Bacchus* perswaded the Grand Signior to appoint one solemn Drinking-day in time of the Biram, which is the great Festival of the Year, and introduced by their Prophet in imitation of our *Epiphany*. *Moran* being at this time possessed with the Spirit of Debauchery, accepted the Motion, and invited the two Drunkards to dinner with him. The Persian provoked his Pleasure of drinking by filth Meats, and by peppered and spiced Dishes; the sort of Wine they most used, was a sweet Malvoisia, sometimes twined, and encouraged with the strong Waters, called *Rogfa Solis*, of which they sucked so long, and with such Excess, that falling under the force of it, they were insensibly carried away to their several Beds. This dissolute Repast became fatal to the Grand Signior; for a Fire being kindled in his Veins and Bowels, he fell into a violent and continued Fever. The Physicians being called, were fearful to administer Remedies, lest proving unsuccessful, their Lives should pay for the ineffectual Operation: At length they agreed to let him bleed, but this hastened his Death. For he died the fourth Day of his Fever, being the 8th of February, in the seventeenth Year of his Reign, and the one and thirtieth of his Age, having ruled in the height of all Disorders and irregular Excesses,

The death of Sultan *Moran*.

September 1639.

An Envoy sent from the Emperor to the Grand Signior.

1640. The Vizier returns from *Perfia*.

1640. cesses, which his youthful Years enabled him to support. With his Death all his thoughts and Designs of making a War against Christendom perished, having sworn after his Return from *Persia* to reduce all his neighbouring Countries to the Mahometan Law. He was of a most cruel and implacable Disposition, having amongst his other Acts of Tyranny imbrued his Hands in the Blood of his two Brothers, *Orchan* and *Bajazet*; as also strangled his Uncle *Mehmet*, whose innocent Weakness had been sufficient to secure his Life against any, but the most horrid Monster of human Tyranny. He left no Son; for though he had divers, they died in their Infancy, notwithstanding which his Kindred were so detested by him, that he envied the Defence of Monarchy on his Brother *Ibrahim*, who was preserved by a strange Providence from his Fury: often saying, that he wished that he might be the last of the Otto-

man Line, that the Empire of that Family might end with him, and devolve unto the Tartar. He was certainly the most absolute Prince that ever swayed the Ottoman Empire; but of no Religion, seldom fasting in the Month of *Ramazan*, condemning and laughing at the *Santonies*, and others of their Religious Orders. He was very inquisitive into all Actions of the City, for which he maintained his Spies, and oftentimes took his Rules and Measures from Discourses of People concerning his Government. He was a great Dissembler, ready, active, and revengeful, covetous to Extremity, having left fifteen Millions of Gold in his Treasury, which was empty when he entered upon the Sovereignty. In short, he was so bad, that he had scarce any Allay of Virtue; being so great a Tyrant, that at length he became his own Assassin, and fell unlamented by all but the two Companions of his bestial Excess.

1640.

The End of Sultan Morat's Life.

T H E



*I that of Ottman blood remain alone,
 Call'd from a Prison, to ascend a Throne.
 My easy mind I bend to soft Delights,
 Hating th' unpleasant thoughts of Naval Fights.
 Till mad with ranton Loves, I fall at first
 Slave to my owne, then to my peoples lust.*

THE REIGN OF Sultan IBRAHIM, TWELFTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

*Vid. the
 Ott. Stat.*

Sultan Amurath, or Morat, after a Fever of eight Days continuance, caused by an excess of Debauchery in Wine, having on the eighth of February, 1640, according to the New-Style, expired his last Breath. His Mother, called *Kioslem*, comforted her self with the thoughts that her Son *Sultan Ibrahim* still lived, and was the sole Survivor, and undoubted Heir of the Ottoman Family. To whose Succession, that he might make the more facile and undisturbed Entrance, she consulted with all the Viziers, requesting their Consent and Assistance, in the lawful promotion of her remaining Son to the Throne of his Ancestors: For she had understood, that *Moraz*, who always abhorred the ill-shap'd Body, and weaker Mind of his Brother, envied him the Dignity of the Ottoman Scepter, and therefore had bequeathed the Succession to the Tartar, having, in the Heat of a Debauch, and Fumes of Wine, compelled his Palha's to swear to the performance of his Testament.

Wherefore the Queen, assembling them together, with gentle Words, desired them to remember, That *Ibrahim* was the Lawful Heir, and their true Emperor; that the Tartar *Han* was a Stranger, odious to the Souldiery, and not beloved by the People: that an Alteration of this Nature could never be contrived and executed, without danger to the *Akors*; and that they, to whom she assured the continuance of the same Honours and Offices, in Reward of their constant Allegiance, would be in hazard of losing all, by the coming of a Foreign Prince, who having Confidants of his own to prefer, and grand Necessities to satisfy, would make bold even with Estates and Provinces to prefer his Favorites, his Kindred, and Country-Men, and establish the firmness of his Government on their Ruin. Yet, setting aside those Considerations,

touching their own Safety and Interest, she promised, That if they would reach out their Hands unto her Son, for to lift him up to the Throne, he should acknowledg his Empire from them, and accordingly love, tender, and esteem such faithful Subjects.

The Viziers, after some Reflections on the Tye and Obligation which *Sultan Moraz* had caused them to make to him, declared, and published it to be unlawful, and void; protesting, That they were resolved to maintain inviolable the Allegiance they owed unto *Sultan Ibrahim*, descended from the Ottoman Blood, which they revered and adored, with an Awe equal to the Religious Esteem which their Fore-fathers had of it; and therefore, with one Voice they cried out, *Let Sultan Ibrahim live.*

Herewith the Council breaking up, the Viziers, accompanied with all the Officers and Attendants of the Seraglio, went with Shouts and loud Acclamations, to the Prison of *Ibrahim*, to salute him Emperor; for he, poor Prince, had now for four Years remained a sad Recluse in a dark Room, where he had received neither Light nor Air, but what came from a little Window, which sometimes in favour was opened to him from Above; and what was worse, the continual expectations, and fear of Death, without Friends, Conversation, or Hope, rendered those Apprehensions worse than Death it self; which daily were represented to him in that Solemnity, as might terrify a Mind more constant and firm than his.

So soon as he heard the Shouts and Voices of a Multitude near his Door, he immediately conceived, that the Fate was now come which he had so long expected, and therefore he barred his Door, and denied to give Entrance: And when the Viziers proclaimed him Emperor, (fearing it might be some Artifice of his Brother,

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to see with what Joy he would entertain the News) he answered, That he did not so much as think of the Empire, nor desire it, but only prayed that Sultan Morat might live, to whom he pretended not to be a Brother, but a Slave: And when he perceived that they began to force the Door, though with terms of Respect and Obedience, he still endeavoured to keep it close; for Nature had taught him to confer a Life, howsoever Miserable, and void of Consolation.

He continuing thus resolute not to open, Reverence to his Person commanded them to forbear any rudeness; until the Queen-Mother over-hearing all this Story, defended her self in Person; and first causing the dead Corps of Sultan Morat to be extended before his Door, with gentle Compellations, and confident Assurances, averred the Death of his Brother. The Voice of his Mother began to dissipate the Fears, and being in part already convinced by his Ears, he adventured to peep at the Door, and giving then entire Credence to his Eyes, his Heart and Spirits consented to revive; and so retiring back into his Chamber, he willingly received the Congratulations of the Ministers and Soldiers; which being paid, he readily applied his Shoulders to the Coffin of his dead Brother; and having bore his share of that dear Burden to the Gate of the Seraglio, he there resigned it to his Domestick Officers, who buried him in the Sepulchre of Sultan Mehmet.

From thence he took Boat, and passed to the Mouth of *Tub's* Seraglio, where in the space of eight days, he completed all the Ceremonies of his Coronation; and afterwards, according to the Custom of his Ancestors, he rode through the City to his great Palace; but whether it were for want of practice, or by reason of a Posture natural unto Fools, he sat so ridiculously on his Saddle, as moved rather the Laughter than the Acclamation of the People.

In fine, being entered the Seraglio, he began to breathe, and enjoy the Air of Liberty, with so much contentment and satisfaction, that he unwillingly would empear the least Particle of his late acquired Freedom, by thinking, or attending to Business, and as if he enjoyed sufficient, committed all to the management of his Mother; howsoever, being desirous to handle something of the Government, he did with so little Care and Dexterity, that it plainly appeared, that that Soul animated a Body not fit to sway or wield a Scepter.

The Queen-Mother, to maintain the Word she had given to the Viziers, continued them all in their respective Offices; so that, though there was great disproportion in the Mind of the two Princes, yet the Ministers being the same, there seemed to be little or no Alteration in the Government.

The Great Vizier remembering well the thoughts of War which Sultan Morat meditated against the Collocks, and being desirous of Glory, and continuance of his Power, resolved to prosecute the same Design, hoping to meet a Spirit in Ibrahim equal to the Generosity of his Brother. To this War many and various were the Motives; as first, A natural desire of Revenge on the Collocks, for having infested the Black Seas, that thus much thereby provoked Poland to a War, which when they had reduced to some Extremity, the Emperor would consequently fall in to their Assistance, and thereby create Quarrels, which must necessarily open a large Field of Troubles; which being down with the

Seed of Discord, could not fail to produce Causes and Pretensions for a War.

It being thus resolved, to which the Vizier neither wanted Eloquent nor Reasons, a partywide, great Preparations were made for a War, which was intended to be maintained for many Years: During which time, God, who disposes all Things at his Pleasure, permitted a false Report to fly, that the Persians were providing a great Army to besiege *Bagdat*; to which the Turks giving entire Credence, it was resolved in the Divan, that those Preparations against Christendom, should be diverted towards the Parts of the Eastern Countries. By this vain Rumor only were all these Grand Designs disappointed, and all farther Thoughts vanished for the present of molesting the Christians. From whence it is observable, how necessary are the Foreign Residences of Ministers, and how absurdly the Turks err; who, by reason of their Pride, vouchsafe not to entertain Ambassadors in the Courts of Strangers, being beholden to the Jews, or Armenian-Merchants for all their Intelligence they receive touching the Affairs of Neighbouring Kingdoms.

The Wars being thus suspended, the Great Vizier had time to cast his Eyes about him, and contrive the Ruin of such whom he suspected most dangerous to his Condition. Amongst the rest, none appeared more formidable than *Musapha* Pasha, Captain-Pasha, a young brisk Person, and Favourite of the Queen-Mother, whom to remove was difficult and dangerous, being a Vizier as well as he, and in one of the most eminent Degrees of Dignity in the whole Empire: And therefore that he might touch him with smooth and gentle Terms, he practised upon him the ordinary Decoy of Preference, professing him the Government of *Buda*; which whilst the one seemed out of modesty to refuse, the other with the greater force of Complement, and obliging expressions of Friendship, pressed him to accept. At length, overcome with importunity and kindness, *Musapha* received the Proffer; whereby being divested of the Queen's Protection, he was soon after overtaken in his Journey towards his Principality, and by another Mandate required to take his way to the Province of *Syphria*, the smallest, and most inconsiderable of the Empire: in which he was no sooner invested, than a second Edict took off his Head.

But another *Musapha*, more fortunate, was sent Pasha to *Grand Cairo* in *Aegypt*; he was a mortal Enemy to the *Crim Tartar*, of whom he shewed his hatred at *Rhodes*, by putting his Son to Death, for having said, That Sultan Morat, and Sultan Ibrahim dying without Issue, the Empire was to descend to his Family. This Son of a Tartar was then at *Rhodes*, it being a Custom always to have one of them as a hostage for the Father's obedient Comportment towards the Turks, their place of Residence being either at *Rhodes*, or some Town on the Black Sea, as we have elsewhere declared.

The Sultan in this Interdial had little regard unto the Government, both for want of Capacity, and by reason of his luxurious and wanton Appetite, the which he indulged in the highest excess of Sensuality; for having been accustomed to a Prison, and Restraining, he knew not how to enjoy that freedom he had recovered, but by subjecting it to the imperious servitude of his Lusts. This Humor the Vizier and great Ministers cherished in him, by continual Banquets, Feasts, and Entertainments, in which he always took

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took high contentment and satisfaction. His other Recreations were, Horic-races, and Shooting with the Bow, rewarding the most dexterous Archers. Business was a Stranger to him, he knew not what it meant, nor did he there was other Employment for the Emperor than to study those Pastimes, which most corresponded with his Youth and Nature: only the Vizier would sometimes, in Matters of high Importance, demand his Assent, which was either out of formality, or else to secure himself with the Name and Authority of his Master.

The News of Sultan Ibrahim's promotion to the Throne being arrived at *Venna*, the most serene Republick dispatched *Pietro Pasquini* as their Ambassador Extraordinary to complement the Sultan. The Prince of *Transylvania* is like manner sent his Tribute, which was some Hawks, and twelve Vessels of Gilded Plate, as feudatory Acknowledgments for the Lands held, and for his Confirmation in the Principality.

The Ministers of other Princes having passed the like Addresses, which were customary, the Ambassadors of *Poland* made Complaints of the Tartars, whose Incursions against them, the Turks, by Conditions of Peace, were obliged to refrain; but in this, as in other Occasions since that time, the Poles could obtain no Redress from the Turks, who willing to have the Christians oppressed or ruined, either seem not to give Credit to the Subject of Complaints, or else to find out Excuses to acquit the Tartar; which being so known and common a Practice with the Turk, it is to be wondered why the Poles have sent so many late Messages of this Nature, which in former, as well as in this present Age, have proved fruitless; a pregnant Example of which we shall find in the Reign of Sultan *Mahomet*, Son of this Ibrahim.

Amongst other Corruptions of these Times, the Turks were so cut and clipst, that the Dollar rose from eighty to an hundred and twenty Aspers; which Irregularity being complained of in the Divan, all Monies were reduced to their intrinsic Value; and the Aspers called in to be coined in the Mint, to the great Damage of the People.

But this Matter will not appear strange, if it be compared to the Vellion of *Spain*, and to the Permission in *Turkey*, of the late Abbot of *Ternis*, by which never any Nation before was ever so cheated and abused.

And now the Storms of War, which threatened from *Persia*, being blown over, it was judged seasonable to resuminate the thoughts of War so long meditated against the Collocks: In order unto which, Gallies were commanded to be built, which should draw little Water, and purposely made to pass the Shoals on the Black Sea near *Asac*, for the recovery of that Place out of the Hands of the Enemy. Another Squadron also of Gallies was designed for the Archipelago, to oppose the Gallies of *Malta* and *Naples*, which much infested those Seas.

To first Enterprise, the Tartar much excited the Turk, by reason that *Asac* did not only hinder his Incursions by Land, but rendered his Navigation in the Black Seas very insecure. To the end, therefore, the Gallies of *Malta* much provoked them, under the Command of *Fredrick*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*; who by the Persuasions of the Cardinals of *Savoy*, and *Barberini*, from a Protestant was become a Roman Catholic, and had obtained the great Cross of *Malta*; and with several Gallies and Ships, performed some Exploits at *Biseria*, and at the *Golietta* near *Tunis*.

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The Year 1641 being now entered, the Sultan passed a most Luxurious Life in his Seraglio, consuming an immense Treasure on his Women; and whilst these two Fleets were preparing to proceed on their respective Expedition, that intended for *Asac* had almost been diverted by the Rumors and Disturbances on the Frontiers of *Hungary*; but they were soon afterwards appeased, by an appearance of an Envoy from the Emperor, and return of a Chiaus to *Venna*, with Ratification of all the former Articles and Conditions of Peace. Howsoever the German Intercourse was braved at the Port, for not appearing sooner with his Presents and Compliments of Congratulation, for the happy Entrance of Sultan Ibrahim to the Ottoman Throne; so apt are the Turks to believe Acts of Civility, or Ceremony, to be Parts of Obedience and Submission; and what Christians have once given them voluntarily, is afterwards exacted as a Matter of Debt or Duty.

And being thus freed from a Suspicion of Troubles in *Hungary*, and exempted from the Fears of waging two Wars at once, (which the Turks always studiously avoid) they dispatched a Letter into *Poland*, to demand passage for their Army, through that Country, to the Siege of *Asac*; but that not being consented unto, the Turks prepared to open their way by Force, and the Poles to defend the Passage. In which interim, many Disasters concurred, sufficient to discourage the Turks in their Design; who are a People, that superstitiously calculate the Success of their Enterprises, by the difficulty or smooth success of their first beginnings: For when the Vizier was ready to depart, a dreadful Fire happened in *Constantinople*, to the destruction of which, applying not only his Orders, but his own Person; he adventured so far, that he burned both his Hands, and singed his Beard in that manner, that he was forced to take his Bed for several Days, where he was honoured with a Visit of the Sultan.

News also came at the same time, that *Tawris*, or *Ecbatan*, on the Borders of *Persia*, was miserably ruin'd by an Earthquake; and what was worse, the Sultan himself was seized with an Apoplexy, which turned to a Paralytick Distemper, the Cause whereof was attributed to his excessive love of Women; to whom he was so immediately addicted, that he consumed his Days and Nights in their Apartments. This Distemper, which is rarely or never cured, being joined to a Report given out by his Ladies, that notwithstanding his Venerable Heat, he was yet impotent as to Women; created a Belief, or at least a strong probability, that he might die without Issue, which caused high Confusion in the Councils of the Grandees, that no Design could make any cheerful Progress, until Provision was first made for Supply of the Ottoman in House; for the Succession of the Tartar was in no manner convenient or secure; but rather that the Throne should be furnished with the Son of a Sister, or of a Niece, than to subject themselves to the Rule and Passions of a Foreign Prince. And though the Sultan did afterwards recover his Health, yet all suspected and feared, that by the immediate Heat of his Venerable Inclination, he would die without Children; every one discouraging, as moved by his Passion, or his Interest.

About this time arrived an Ambassador at *Constantinople* from the *Soltā* of *Persia*, bringing a Ratification of the Peace; who was so much the more welcome, by how much more the present

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In *Dalmatin*, near the Confines of *Zara*, the Turks made incursions on the Venetian Territories, and caused some Disturbances: but being chastised by an Ambush laid for them, whereby about two hundred of them perished; all Matters were again reconciled, and the Peace renewed.

And now one would imagine, that the Design against *Ajac*, by such diversity of Obstructions, were absolutely laid aside; which though they were of that Importance, and especially the fear of *Ibrahim's* Death, to detain the Viceroy at Home; yet he thought fit to prosecute the Design under the Command of the *Pasha of Silistria*, to whom he had committed the Conduct of this War.

The Pasha proud of his Charge, rejoiced to be employed in a War, wherein he apprehended to little difficulty, and propounded to himself nothing but Glory and Victory; esteemed the Defendants for no other than Filibusters, and better experienced to sail their Boats, than to draw govern their Silks in the black Sea, or defend their Walls.

This Confidence was farther increased, by an Embassy at the same time from the *Moskovites*, who not only renounced all Alliance or Concomitment for that Town, but renewed with them their Friendship, and Articles of ancient Agreement.

The Ottoman Army, besides Janizaries, and other Turks, consisted of Moldavians, and Wallachians, and a great number of Tartars, which at first entered into their Trenches, and besieged the Town; but here they rested not securely, by reason of the frequent sallies the Besieged made upon them; and more especially by the Mines which they sprang, to the terror and damage of their Enemies. The Turks moved hereat, made furious Assaults, but were as valiantly repelled by the Defendants, who threw scalding Water, and Pitch, and burning Sulphur upon the Assaultants; so that nothing able to take the Town by Force, they retired to their Trenches, and deliberated in what manner by fair Promises, and Money, they might invite them to Surrender. Hereupon the Captain-Pasha, the *Tartar Han*, and others, tried the Efficacy of large Professions of Privileges to the Town, their Country, and Inhabitants; with a Gratuity of twelve thousand Hungers of Gold: But these Promises could make no more entrance into their Hearts, than the Turks could do into their Walls, which they seemed resolute to defend, wanting neither Provision, nor Ammunition, nor courage for the War: but on the contrary, all there were wanting in the Turkish Camp, so that fifteen days passed without any Action, until they were supplied by the arrival of certain Brigantines, and light Vessels, dispatched with all expedition with the necessities of War: At the coming of which, the Turks prepared for another Assault, which they continued incessantly for the space of seven days, but were received with that vigour by the Besieged, that they could not gain one palm or inch of ground; they were forced to give over their Attempt, despairing to gain the Town in the time, and with the Force which was allotted for this Enterprize.

1641. With this ill Success, Extremity and Famine pinched the Turks in their Trenches so much, that an Ox was sold for fifteen Zechins, a Lamb for three, and a Measure of Barley, which served a Horse for one time, for a Dollar; so that at length they were forced to raise the Siege; and the Captain Pasha, by tempestuous Weather, was constrained to shelter his Fleet in the Port of *Cafsa*. In their return Home, the General was fearful of having forfeited his Head; the Commanders were silent, and ashamed of their Success, and the Soldiers discouraged, famished, and poor; for they had lost three thousand Spahies, seven thousand Janizaries, and eight hundred other Soldiers, besides Moldavians, Wallachians, and Tartars; those that survived of the Foot were naked and many sick; the Spahies were without Horses, with which they were supplied by the Tartars; and in fine, so unsuccessful were all Matters, that the Veteran Soldier avouched, that they never endured a more cruel, nor a more miserable War.

And now we shall end this Year 1641, with the ruin of *Emir Gahmir*, a Persian by Birth, a Favorite, and yet Traitor to his Natural Prince. This *Emir*, in the last Wars which *Sultan Murat* waged against *Persia*, was entrusted with an Embassy, and with Conduct of part of his Army, but he betrayed both to the Turk, under whose Protection he took Sanctuary, and obtained great Gifts and Preferments, for a Reward and Price of his Treachery. *Sultan Murat* afterwards bestowed a magnificent Seraglio upon him, situated on the *Bosphorus*, enriched him with a vast Treasury, and what is more, with his Favour, making him his Companion in his Pastimes, and his Confidant in his serious Councils: It was he that first persuaded the Sultan to drink Wine, in which both of them were beakily impenetrable, and mighty and valiant to bear, until the heat thereof having extinguished the natural heat of their Stomachs, it became too cold and crude, unless corrected, or fortified with Rosh, or distilled Spirits. The Fumes of such strong Drinks were the cause of the extravagant Actions which *Murat* practised in his Life, and afterwards became the means to hasten his Death; whose days being ended, it was time also for prosperous Wickedness to expire, and to meet a Punishment equal to his Demerits. Wherefore one day, (having desired License of the Viceroy to return to his own Country, where it is believed he had by Money purchased his Pardon) he was called to the Viceroy's Presence, and there, without any Impeachment, Process, or Accusation, had the String applied to his Throat, and strangled on the place; the reason hereof some give, to be the immense Riches which *Sultan Murat* had bestowed upon him, though there wanted not many Causes to render him such an Enemy and obnoxious to the present Government; first, because he was too well acquainted with the Secrets of the Seraglio, and of that State, to live in any other Country than the Turkish Dominions; then it was feared that the Persian Ambassador might make use of this Person to act what Treason he pleased on the remainder of the Ottoman Family, on pretence that such an Attempt should expiate his former Villany, and regain the favour of his natural Prince. But such fugal Actions as these, are commonly wrote in such large Characters of Divine Justice, which never left Treason unpunished, either in this Life or the other; that we need not search or enquire for a further Cause or Occasion of this Punishment.

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1642. The Year 1642 being now entered, and the Turks desirous to repair their last Years Disgrace, resolved again, with better Preparation and Conduct, to attempt *Ajac*; but before they would engage, according to their usual Custom, they determined to conclude all Unbragages, and Matters of Dispute arisen on the Confines of *Hungary*. To which end, the Emperor deputed the Baron of *Buchemburg*, with other Barons; and the Turks on their side commissioned the *Pashas* of the Confines, with Instructions not to inflict too strictly on the Conditions, lest it should retard the Peace, and obstruct the other Design of War: Wherefore the Turks condescending to Matters reasonable and yielding up part of their Usurpation, a Peace was concluded for twenty Years, much to the Advantage and Favour of the Christians.

And now, to give further Courage to the Prosecution of high Attempts, the whole Turkish Empire was replenished with Joy, for the Birth of a young Prince *Sultan Mahomet*, that now reigns; so that the supposed Impotency of the Father (whereby the Ottoman Family might have been extinguished) was proved otherwise by plain Effect; and the fear of chaos that ruled the Empire vanishing by the Rise of this new Star, all Hearts were filled with Joy and Triumph; only the *Tartar Han* finding himself thus disappointed, was supposed not willing to concur heartily in this common Joy. In this manner vanished the appearance of Civil Division in that Family, which now flourishes and encreases every day, and infinitely creeps forward to the Design (which they hope) of a Universal Monarchy. Pardon me, O Christian Kings, if I say infinitely, for methinks you are sensible of the least touch you receive from one another, but feel not the gipes and pinches of your Common Enemy, who like a Helicic Fever hath mingled with your Blood, and stolen into the Marrow of your Strength, where he will lurk until he hath dissolved the Fabric of your Christian World, unless expelled by Concord amongst your united Forces.

But now to return again to the famous Siege of *Ajac*; It being the custom to call all Miscalriages in War on the General, the Viceroy displaced the Captain-Pasha, taking upon himself that Office and Title, of which there was never any former Example. In the Place likewise of the *Pasha of Silistria*, was constituted *Mehmet Pasha of Egypt*; which Government, though much inferior to his former, yet was received without sense of Disgrace, it not being the Riches or Power of any Office that confers Honour, but the Favour and good Will of the *Sultan*. Nor did only the Miscalriage of the late War tend to the dispeate of the former *Pasha of Silistria*, but the Report of his having poisoned the *Tartar Han* encreased the difficulty of reconciliation; which being proved, excused him from further punishment than only a deprivation of his Office.

The new *Pasha of Silistria* thus taking upon himself the Command of the Army, and Conduct of this War, assembled a Force of *Turks, Tartars, Moldavians, and Wallachians*, far exceeding the number of the last Year. At the News of which, and of the Fleet of Gallies designed to besiege them by Sea, they apprehended their Danger to be great, that without the Assistance of the *Moskovites*, they concluded it impossible to defend their City; so him therefore they made

Applications for Succour, representing unto him the extremity their Affairs were in, by reason of that powerful Enemy which threatened them; and that, having always acknowledged him for their Protector, there was no Refuge left them but under the defence of his Arms. But hereupon the *Moskovite* gave a brief reply, That he had lately concluded Peace with the Turk; since which, having received from him no occasion of breach, he could not with any Justice engage so soon against him a War.

The Collage being thus disappointed of their principal Hopes, resolved to abandon their City; but to make the best advantage of their flight, they carried with them all their Moveables; and demolished their Walls, and ruined their Houses, leaving the Place a notorious Spectacle of Despair and Ruin; and no other Possibility to their Enemies, than the compass of so much ground, peppered with Rubbish, and rude heaps of Stones. The *Pasha*, howsoever abundantly contented, that his very Name was sufficient to affright his Enemies, entered the City with Triumph, where he began to repair the Walls, and invite the Inhabitants to return, with all assurance of Security, and Protection. This gentle Treatment recalled many back to their Homes, so hardly are Men weaned from their Native Country; and in a short time the City beginning to fill, all Matters seemed to return to their pristine State and Condition.

About this time the *Persian*, by his Ambassadors, renewed his League with the Turk, and renewed it in the Name of the new King; which was performed on condition that the *Sofis* should demolish the Fortalls of *Ferris*, which he had, contrary to Articles, built on the Frontiers, not far from the *Caspian Sea*; which that it might ultimately be performed, a Capangibath was dispatched to see it effected.

And in this manner, *Ajac* being subdued, and a Peace secured with the *Persian*. The Turks, who can neither live in quiet with their Neighbours, nor observe Capitulations longer than they turn to their advantage, contrived to take *Constantinople*, alias *Rum*, a strong Fortrefs on the Confines of *Hungary*, by a Stratagem which they designed in this manner: Certain Soldiers invited like Peasants, were crowded into several Carts, covered with Hay, which being entered with the Walls, were immediately to leap forth, and surprise the Centinels and Guards at the Gates (which might easily be executed on Men, whom twenty Years before of Peace had made secure) these were to be seconded by four thousand Soldiers, which lay ready in a Neighbouring Valley; but it happened, That an Officer of the Garrison returning from Hunting, led by chance discovered this strong Party of Turks, which caused him to quicken his pace towards the Town, and overtaking in his way certain Carts of Straw, which appearing to be laden in a formal direction, to what was usual, increased in him a further suspicion of Treachery; howsoever, he proceeded forward with the more haste, yet without any appearance of Jealousy; until being entered into the Town, he declared what he had seen, at which the Garrison was immediately in Arms; and having permitted the Carts to enter, the Bridge was drawn up, and the Carts being searched, the whole Fraud and Treachery was discovered, and having made the Turks Prisoners, and armed the Walls with Soldiers, the whole Design was disappointed; so that those who lay in Ambush returned to their own Cities. The Emperor hereupon resolved to send

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1642. an Ambassador to Constantinople, to complain of this Treachery; whereof the Turks being ashamed, and the more because it did not succeed; refused to admit the Ambassador, unless the Emperor would first agree to pay a yearly Charge of an hundred thousand Rix-Dollars to the Port; not by way of Tribute, but of Present; in which unreasonable Demand, they took more confidence, in regard they perceived that the Emperor was engaged in a War against the Swede. Upon this dishonourable Demand, the Emperor deferred the Embassy intended, supposing it less perilous to adventure a War in Hungary, than dishonourable to condescend unto a Proposition to derogatory to the Majesty of his Cæsarean Greatness.

1643. This Year 1643 being entered, the Prince of Transylvania conveyed his Annual Tribute, being ten thousand Zechins, to the Port; which when the Agents of that Prince presented before the Vizier, he seemingly refused it; pretending that the complete Tribute was to be fifteen thousand, according to Agreement: but the Agents replied, that five thousand had been remitted unto *Bethlehem*, not by way of Gratuity or Remembrance for his Service, but in Exchange, or as the price of two Cities, which the Prince had yielded to the Sultan, out of his own proper Estate in Hungary: With which Answer the Vizier remained satisfied, being jealous of the Turbulent and active Spirit of that Prince.

During all these Wars and Revolutions in Kingdoms and States, Sultan Ibrahim contained and contented himself within the Precincts of his Seraglio; where becoming a faithful and valiant Soldier of Venus, he consumed more Treasure than War, than his Brother *Morad* did in Foreign Conquests; and being, as it were, entered into the Mahometan Paradise, where the Company of fair Women is the chiefest Felicity promised, he laboured to increase the Ottoman Family, and to acquire his People of the apprehension they had of wanting an Heir to succeed in the Throne; so that on the 15th of February he had a second Son born, and a third on the 12th of March following; which absolutely took away the Reproach of his Frigidity or Impotence, proving afterwards the most lascivious and devout Sultan that ever aspired to the Mahometan Heaven.

This Year the Turks armed out twenty Gallies more than usual, besides thirty Sail of Ships, and Gally-Groffes; in the beginning of June, viding at the Seraglio Point (where the Commanders in Chief came to take their leave of Sultan Ibrahim) they divided into two Squadrons; one of which consisting of twenty Gallies, under the Command of *Beker* Pasha, took their Voyage into the Black Sea; the remainder under the Captain Pasha, sailed for Cyprus, with intention to do Justice on the Pasha of that Island, whose Riches gained by Oppression, had debauched him from due Obedience towards his Prince; and being arrived there, without Rumor or Noise, giving signs of good Will and Respects towards the Pasha, one day he sent to invite him Aboard to banquet with him; where the Pasha foolishly coming, and having well eaten and drank with him, his Entertainment had not time to digest, before he breathed his Last; for being on his departure, the Slaves assaulted him, and strangled him by Order of the Captain Pasha.

No other Matters remarkable did the Turkish Fleet perform this Year at Sea, before they returned again to their Winter-Quarters. How-

ever this Year proved favourable to many poor Christians in Slavery; for there happening a most miserable Plague in Alexandria, which relaxed the Spirits of Men, and rendered every one so negligent in his Office, that about four thousand Slaves taking advantage of such Remissions in their Guardians, seized a Ship in Port, and crowding themselves therein, set Sail, and landed some of their People at Candia, others at Malta, the rest at *Marsilia*, by which means they happily regained their Liberty: on which encouragement eight hundred more adventuring to perform the like, and fighting in a Body at the Gate of Alexandria, three hundred of them were slain, the rest leaped into a Gally, which though without Oars, had yet her Sails to the Yard, and having the favour of a favourable Wind, arrived safe at Candia; in like manner they became free, taking convenient passage from thence to divers parts of Christendom: These Slaves were all redeemed by the Grand Signior from the Venetians; in which no Satisfaction being given, was one Cause and Original of that War which afterwards ensued.

And now the Year 1644 being began, *Ragotski*, who was never contented but in Combustions, and never at ease but when he was proving new Projects, made Demands of certain Places on the Confines of *Moravia*, situated within the Mountains, which he challenged as the Inheritance of his Son; besides other Pretences which he made in right of *Bethlem Gabor*. To forward which Designs, moved with an insatiate Enmity to the Austrian Family, he endeavoured to win the Hearts of the Commonwealth with a plausible Declaration for Liberty, and to throw off the Yoke which had so long galled the Neck of Hungary; whereby having raised an Army of twenty thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot, he entered, and spoiled the Country of his old Enemy and Neighbour the Count of *Humany* an Hungarian, took *Solneck* by force, and besieged *Filleck*, and *Caffrowa*: For suppression of which Insurrection and Rebellion of *Ragotski*, the Emperor was forced to a War; and having Rendezvoused his Army at *Presbourg*, the Conduct thereof was committed to the Charge of Count *Pucenain*.

The Turks having intelligence of these Preparations for War, commanded twenty thousand Men to march into those Parts to oppose these Combustions on the Frontiers; with six thousand of which the Count *Pucenain* encountering furiously, assaulted and routed them. And in the mean time *Ragotski* laying aside all care for the War in Hungary, applied himself to relieve *Olim* in *Moravia*; but in his March thither he was recalled by the Inhabitants of *Sender*, which is a Castle erected on a Hill near *Caffrowa*, offering to surrender unto him; but the Governor *Forgacs*, and the German Garrison opposing this Mutiny of the People, a Civil War began amongst themselves, but as length the advantage falling unto *Ragotski*, the Gates were opened unto the Transylvanians; with which Success their Spirits being raised to higher Matters, they proceeded forward, until General *Getz* with a strong Body, gave a stop unto their Progress. And thus was the Fire of War rekindled again in Hungary, by means of *Ragotski*; to whom notwithstanding the Turks would never adhere, being well acquainted with his turbulent and unsteady Humour. In the mean time the Emperor dispatched his Ambassador with rich Presents to the Sultan, desiring him to forbear giving farther Assistance unto *Ragotski*; but what, between Skirmishes,

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Skirmishes, Propositions, and Treaties, Matters were not composed until the 14th of August 1645, at which time all Articles were concluded and signed between the Emperor and *Ragotski*.

But to return now to the Affairs of Constantinople; Sultan Ibrahim having the Fortune of Active and Prudent Minister, attended entirely to his Pastimes and Pleasures, without Prejudice to his Interest, and the State of his Empire; for the first Vizier being Faithful and Vigilant, immediately cut off those Members with the Sword, which he suspected in the least manner inclinable to Sedition; amongst which were the Pathways of *Altopo* and *Caffa*. For by this kind of seasonable and speedy Remedies, the Plethory of the Ottoman Empire is commonly evacuated, and the Body Politick thereof restored to its pristine state of Health and Safety.

In like manner the *Valede* Sultana, being a Woman of great Courage and Abilities, attended carefully to the Welfare of her Son, whom she sometimes decked up, and set forth as a Property of Majestick Gravity to the People, whilst he her self assumed the Authority, and carried all things with a high and imperious Spirit; and being ambitious to be feared as well as honoured, she laid violent Hands on the first Vizier, called *Mulphapha*, and strangled him; for though he was an Active and Faithful Minister, yet because he passed something on her which she imagined did favour of neglect, and because he pre-empted his Power, which was greatly confirmed by the Interest and Favour he had with the Janizaries, and their Favourers, he resolved to make him an Example, as well of her Revenge, as her Power; after whose Death the Charge of first Vizier was conferred on *Mahomet* the Pasha of *Damascus*.

The same Fate befel the Captain-Pasha, who was likewise strangled for having over-boldly, or presumptuously, made answer to some Imperiousness of the Grand Signior; and his Office was afterwards conferred on *Beker* Pasha of *Rhodet*. With such Rigour as this do the Sultans govern, who resolve to be obeyed, and to have their Commands executed without delay or contradiction.

Whilst these Matters were in agitation, the Tartars forgetful of their Peace, made another Incursion with thirty thousand Men into *Russias*, against whom *Konjolski* having made Head with twenty thousand Men only, overtook them, and killed twelve thousand, and took three thousand Prisoners, pursuing the rest to the Borders of *Wallachia*. In like manner *Wisnowick*, a noble Polisher, happily encountered another Party of Tartars, as they were on their return from spoiling the Countries of *Moldavia*; of whom having killed 10000 Men, he recovered their Booty, and sent the rest Home naked and empty. This was the true and most effectual Means for the Poles to avenge and right their Injuries, and more prevalent than Ambassies and Messages of Complaint unto the Port; which we have experienced since, and in the present Reign of the Son of Ibrahim, to have been so far from producing Matter worthy so much as the Charge of the Ambassador, that they have been retorted with Ignominy and Affronts.

But here Ibrahim perceiving how the Poles had avenged themselves with their own Sword, would seem to approve of the Action, which he could not hinder; and to appear a sincere Observer of the Peace, he deposed the Tartar *Han* for his unlawful Incursions; which was such a satisfaction to the Crown of Poland, as they never could obtain by force of Justice, Complaints, and

Vertue of passive Valour, until their active Fortitude took their Cause in Hand, and pleaded for them.

On the 19th of March of this Year, a fourth Son was born to Sultan Ibrahim; and on the 19th of February following, being in the Year 1645, notwithstanding all the Reports of his Impotency, was born a fifth Son, named *Solyman*, to the great contentment of his People.

The Turks Gallies this Year, under the Command of *Beker* their new Captain-Pasha, made an Attempt on the Coast of *Calabria*, bringing from thence two hundred Slaves; and attempting the like near *Cortem*, paid for their former Booty, with the loss of five hundred Men.

Howsoever, the Gallies of *Malta*, being fix in number, had better Success as to themselves, though the Consequences thereof proved fatal to the Venetians, having given the first occasion of that long War, which afterwards ensued between the Turk and them.

The truth of which Story is this, free of all Romance or Fable, which the Knights of St. John or *Malta* would mix therewith: It happened that the Kuzilr Aga, or chief Eunuch, which governs the Women in the Signior's Seraglio, having cast his Eye on a fair Slave, then set to sale by a Persian Merchant, became so enamoured of her, that he purchased her for himself, under the Notion of a Virgin; at the price of four hundred and fifty Dollars; But the Eunuch had not long entertained this Lady in his Service, before she proved with Child; not by him (you may conceive) if you understand how the Eunuchs of this Country are disarmed of their Virility: At which he was so greatly offended, that he banished her from his Society, and confined her to the House of his Steward. The time being come for her to be delivered of her great Belly, it proved a Son, and some Months after, the Aga being desirous to see the Babe, was so pleased with the Aspect of it, that he resolved to adopt it for his own, ordering it Cloaths and other Necessaries agreeable to its Condition. It happened that about that time Sultan *Mahomet* (which now reigns) was then born; and there wanting a Nurie for the Child, this beautiful Slave was preferred to the Honour; so that she was entertained near twenty Years in the Seraglio: During which time Sultan Ibrahim took such an affection to the Nurie's boy, that he loved him better than his own eldest Son, who was of a bad Complexion, and of no better Air in his Face than his Father, and took great delight to play and sport with him; at which the Mother of Sultan *Mahomet* was so displeased, that she could not longer endure either Nurie or her Boy; and for her sake, took so much displeasure against her, that she was the true and most effectual Means for the Poles to avenge and right their Injuries, and more prevalent than Ambassies and Messages of Complaint unto the Port; which we have experienced since, and in the present Reign of the Son of Ibrahim, to have been so far from producing Matter worthy so much as the Charge of the Ambassador, that they have been retorted with Ignominy and Affronts.

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The Story of Kuzilr Aga, his Slave and Son taken into the Sultan's Palace.

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which time he received the Mark or Scar he wears at this day in his Forehead.

All these Matters served for farther Fuel to nourish the implacable Spirit of the Queen; which the Kuzilr Aga well observing, judged it prudence to give way to her Fury, and so begged his Dismission from the Court, together with his Slave and Son; and that having visited *Atchaba*, according to his Law, he might enjoy a Retirement in *Egypt*, which is the Portion of banished Eunuchs.

The Queen easily consented hereunto; nor was it difficult to procure the Licence of the Sultan, who was as easily persuaded to any by those who were about him; wherefore the Eunuch having provided to be gone, shipped himself with his great Treasure, on the Fleet which was now designed, and ready to depart for *Alexandria*, which consisted of three Ships; one a great Gallion, and two others of lesser Burthen, and seven Saiks; these having at the beginning of their Voyage found contrary Winds, put into *Rhodes*; from whence looting with more favourable Weather, they unfortunately met with six *Malta* Gallies, excellently well manned, and provided. The Admiral Gally immediately

The Engagement of the Turkish with the Malta Gallies.

Boarded one of the Saiks, and took her, manned only by Greeks, by whom they were informed of the Condition, Quality, and Cargo of the greater Ship, which gave Heat and Resolution to the Souldiery. In like manner, with little Opposition, the Gallies called the *St. John*, and *Joseph*, possessed themselves of one of the lesser Ships, which being laden only with Timber, brought from the Black Sea, to build Ships at *Alexandria*, was of little value, having forty Turks aboard, eight Women, and a Child which sucked at the Mother's Breast. In the mean time, the three other Gallies, called the *St. Mary*, *St. Lorenzo*, and *Vittory*, attacked the great Gallion, and having cast their Iron Graples into the Ship, with the Motion of the Ship, the Irons gave way and broke, only that of the *St. Lorenzo* held fast, so that the whole force of the Ship, both of small and great Shot, was poured in upon the Gally, to their damage and loss of Men. In the mean time the Admiral Gally came in to their Assistance, and Assaulting the Ship on the other Quarter, made a Diversion of their Men; and having thrown in their Graples, they scaled the sides of the Gallion, as if it had been a Fortress; where being entered, they remained for some time at handy-blows with the Turks; but at length, all the Gallies coming to their help, having made an end of subduing the other Ships, the Turks were forced to retire under the Cover of their Decks, which they defended still with singular Valour, wounding the Christians with their half Pikes through the Gratings.

But, in fine, the Captains of the Gallies, perceiving that this was not the way to compel them to a speedy Surrender, ordered several Musquetiers out of every Gally, to fire in at the Windows and loop-holes of the Ship; by which having killed their Commander in Chief, their Valour and Confraternity began to fail, and desirous to save their lives with loss of Liberty and Estates, they cast down their Arms, and begged Mercy.

In this Engagement were killed the Captain of the *St. Mary*, and seven Cavaliers, of which five were French, one Italian, and one German; the Admiral himself, and the Captain of his Gally were both wounded; seventy nine Souldiers and Mariners killed, and an hundred thirty

two wounded: Of the Turks it is not certain how many fell, in regard as they were killed, according to Custom, they cast them over-board; the Eunuch himself, though always educated in the fortresses of the Seraglio, and in the Conversation of the Female Court, yet in the end concluded his days like one of the Masculine Sex, fighting valiantly with his Sword, until overwhelmed by his Enemies; by which it is observable, that those Persons lose not their Courage with their vile Parts; for it hath been known in former days, how that Eunuchs have been Generals in the Turkish and other Armies, and conducted their Affairs with admirable Courage and Success.

The Prize which the Christians had gained in this manner, was very considerable; for besides the Gold, Silver, and Jewels, which were the Treasure this Eunuch had amassed in the Reign of three several Sultans, they gained three hundred and fifty Slaves, besides thirty Women, some of which were young and Virgins; so that there was not a Souldier or Seaman who had not a considerable share of benefit proportioned unto him. With this Fortune, towing their Prizes, they in a short time came to an Anchor in the Port of *Calistene*, in the Island of *Candia*, called anciently *Phoenice*, on the South-side of the Island, remote from all Venetian Garrisons; and where (as it is reported) they were supplied with no Provisions, excepting a small quantity of Bisket, which was furnished by a Country Fellow, who for that very Cause was shot to Death. From hence the Gallies departing, arrived in *Malta* with their Prizes, where they were received in great Triumph. The young Son of the Eunuch (for so we call him) was reported to be a Son of the Grand Signior, sent into *Egypt* to be Educated, and was accordingly saluted, treated, and revered by the Grand Master; the same Opinion was dispersed and confirmed in all parts of *Europe*, and the Error for many Years maintained at the Expense of the Religion, until the Boy growing up to a good Age, and not judged worthy of a Rank, or enquiry after by the Turks, it was thought convenient for him to put off his State, and Greatness, and become a Fryer, and I think a Dominican, and this is he who now goes under the name of the *Padre Ottoman*.

The News hereof arriving at the Ottoman Court, Sultan *Ibrahim* was transported with Anger, threatening Destruction and Ruin unto *Malta*; besides he shewed a most inveterate Passion against the Venetians, for not guarding the Seas from his Enemies, and for relieving them in their Ports. In which Rage and Fury, he put his own Captain *Paisha* to death, and summoned the Christian Ambassadors, branding them all for the little respect was shown to his proper Shipping; and in short, was angry with all, but reserved the Effect of his Wrath to be poured on the Venetians to which this Accident administered the first Original, and will afford us ample matter of Discourse in this ensuing History.

For the Grand Signior first made his Complaints against *Venice*, to their Minister, or Bailo, then resident at *Constantinople*, called *Soranzo*; alleging, that contrary to the Articles of Peace, they had afforded Provisions and Entertainment to his Enemies in *Candia*, and at a time when he having made Prize of his own Ship, and Domestiques of his Seraglio, they seemed, with more extraordinary demonstrations of Hospitality than usual, to receive them into their Harbours.

* Of the Knights of Malta.

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To which the Bailo made Answer, That his Majesty was ill informed of the true State of those Matters; for that the Ports to which the Masters came, had neither Cattle nor Fortresses belonging to it, but was an open, wide, and unfortified place; for if the Grand Signior is not able to defend those Ships from careening, as they have often done before *Rhodes* it self, how was it possible for the Venetians to drive them from the Seas, and deny them the use of that Salt Water, which hath neither Fort nor Castle to reach and command them? With which Answer *Mesdin* seemed to remain satisfied; and Matters appeared to pass on the side of the Venetians, that *Soranzo*, though a Person of a most acute and penetrating Judgment, imagined nothing less than a War: and though he was assured otherwise, by something that the English Ambassador had discovered in that Matter; yet because it came not first from the Report of one of his own Officers, he would not seem to believe or give credit thereto, notwithstanding the great Probabilities that might persuade it.

Indeed, Christian Ministers must necessarily, with much Difficulties, and less Inspection, govern and penetrate Affairs in the Turkish Court than in any other; because access to the great Ministers is seldom privately or familiarly admitted, from whence we must commonly take their Measures and Observations; but on the contrary, are forced to act all by the Negotiation, of their Druggermen or Interpreters; and as they hear with their Ears, so are they often-times beholden to their Reflections; which how subject they may be to Error, is best known to those Ministers who have practised much and long in that Court.

And in this manner *Belizim* covered his Design against *Candia*, by pretence of making War upon *Malta*, to which he had lately received so just a provocation.

To this Enterprize, none intigated him more than a certain Hagia, or Tutor, which had accompanied him in the time of his Solitude, and had instructed him in the first Principles of the Mahometan Doctrine; he was a subtil and understanding Man, and one who kept a secret Correspondence in the Christian Courts; for being Master of what Gold he pleased, he paid for his Intelligence with Liberality and Secrecy; and though he was no Prophet, yet he pretended to be a Magician, or Conjuror, or one that had a Command or Sovereignty over Familiar Spirits; an Excellency greatly admired and revered by the Turks. This Man had for a long Season attended an opportunity to propose a War against *Venice*; esteeming their Territories very convenient to be laid to the Turkish Dominions, and their Force an under-Match for the Puissance of the Ottoman Empire. And now this Accident provoking the Desire of the Turks to this War, and the Opportunity appearing commodious to cover the Design, under pretence of Assailing *Malta*, it was secretly resolved to attempt the Island of *Candia*; for as its Strength and Situation made it the Key to all the other Isles of the *Archipelago*, so it would be the Bulwark of the Maritime Countries, from whence the Passage would be short and easy into *Africa*; from whence the Gallies might advantageously relieve *Cyprus*, and guard the Fleet from *Egypt*, and from thence might be opened a Door to invade *Sicily*, and the other parts of *Italy*. On these Considerations, War being resolved against *Candia*, Reports divulged the Design only against

Malta, and for that end, Orders were issued for building and fitting an hundred Gallies, and as many Ships of War; and Commands sent into *Barbary* for assistance of all their Naval Forces; and the Day appointed for Rendezvous and Departure; all which time the Enterprize was kept secret, and by no more Symptoms suspected, unless by the unusual Careless the Turks at that time over-acted in their officious kindness towards the Venetian Bailo.

The Report of these great Preparations flying over all Parts of *Europe*, was entertained at *Malta*, with some Apprehensions, as being the Place on which all the Storm was to refund its Fury.

Whereupon the Cavaliers or Knights of that Place, summoning a Council, resolved to cite all the Fraternity to repair to the Defence of their Capital Seat, and of their Order and Patrimony. Likewise Letters were directed to the several Officers, to prepare and find powder, Match, and Lead, iron Buckets, and Timber to make Carriages for Cannons, and for other Uses; as also Corn, Bisket, Salt, Flesh and Fish, Vinegar, Wine, and all other sorts of Ammunition. They likewise instituted five Officers over the Waters, to see that the Mountains and Conduits should be made clear which were to serve the City; and that those without, that were to remain in the position of the Enemy, should be carefully and artificially poisoned; all the Mills remaining in the Fields were transported into the Town; the Doors and Windows of Wood belonging to the Peasants Houses, were taken down and carried into the City, with all their Utensils, and what else was portable, so that nothing remained but the wide Fields, and an open Air to breathe in.

In the mean time, the Venetians being a wise and jealous State, suspected the work of all Events, and feared what their Minister at *Constantinople* could not discover; which caused them to make some Preparations, but yet with that dexterity and secrecy, as not to render them diffident of the Turks Proceedings. For to be jealous of a Friend, is sometimes to make him an Enemy; and Diffidit always argue. Diffidit, which Prudence teaches to conceal from those who are more powerful than our selves. Some were notwithstanding of Opinion, that the Complaints of *Ibrahim*, were only Artifices to extract the Blood of Gold, which they judged fit to administer, if it were possible to satisfy the Appetite of those Leeches. Others were of a contrary sense, and would by no means admit it for good Council, or Policy, to buy their Peace of the Turk; besides that it was disagreeable to the Grandeur of *Venice*, it was but a Shadow that they purchased, since their Enemies could on every slight Occasion realume what they had fold, and make the Menaces of War, and the Sale of Peace, serve them for a perpetual Fountain; and Mine of Gold and Treasure; and that since it was necessary, at one time or other, to cast off this Yoke of Tyranny, the sooner it was done, the Advantage would be the greater; and the Honour more apparent to the World, seeming to make War rather their Choice, than their last Remedy. However Orders were given to the Bailo, with all Prudence and Art, to touch gently the Pulse of the Turks, to discover if Money would redeem the present Quity of their State.

But the Relentment that the Turks had conceived, was grown apparent in the comportment towards the Bailo; for having one day demanded

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And

1644. Audience, he attended several hours without admittance; yet when the Ambassador of *Ragouzi* came to the Vizier, he no sooner entered the House than he was received: and at the same time it was told the Bailo, that he might retire; for that there was no Place nor Season at present to afford him Audience. In the mean time *Ibrahim* himself walked often to the Arsenal, to forward and hasten his Preparations, laying an Embargo on all Strangers Vessels in all Ports of the Ottoman Dominions. Orders were likewise dispatched to *Thebes*, *Negropont*, and other Parts of *Greece*, for making Bisket; and to the *Mosca* for cutting and squaring of Timbers, and fetching Woods to fill up Trenches; in all which Rumor and Scare, there was no other Discourse but of *Malta*, and of throwing that Island into the Sea with the Shovel and Mattock, and rendering it the most dreadful Example in the World of the Ottoman Rage and Greatness.

With such Preludes as these, began a War of long continuance, maintained with various Successes for divers Years; the fatal Issue whereof, we our Lives have seen and heard. But it is strange to consider, that an Exploit so Martial as this, should commence in the Reign of a Sultan wholly given up to his pleasures, and so swallowed in Sensuality, that all those luxurious and wanton Actions which are recounted of *Sardanapalus* and *Heliogabalus*, are flat and faint Similitudes of that prodigious Effeminacy, in which this Sultan outdid all other Examples of former Ages.

Ambr was the common Perfumes which burned perpetually in the Womens Apartments, and the common Sauce to most of his Viands; nor perhaps because it so much pleased his Palate, as that it was a provocative, and incitement to his Luts.

And this puts me in mind of a Story I have heard of an English Merchant, living then at *Galatia*, who was Master of a rare piece of Ambr, the News whereof was told to the Grand Signior late at Night, when the Smoke of the Perfumes began to abate: Which so soon as he heard, though it was near Midnight, he dispatched a Messenger to call the Merchant with his Ambrogios, who being knocked out of his Bed in haste, by the importunity of the Officer, came to the Seraglio Gate two hours before Day; to the Seraglio Gate it was broad Light, and where he attended until it was broad Light, and where he attended more words, found a Market for his Ambr, and before his departure received 13 thousand Dollars. The Female Court was then extremely rich and splendid, all Italy was scarce able to supply it with Silks, and Cloth of Gold; so that the Trade was in those days flourishing above other Times, and gave great Employment to the English Shipping; and so impatient were the Women for their Gay Cloaths, that so soon as the News of a Ship from Italy came, and that she was arrived within the Castles of the *Hellipon*, but there detained by contrary Winds, Gallies were immediately dispatched to bring up their Silks, which they oftentimes forced away without any Account or Price made with the Merchant; of which that worthy Gentleman, Sir Thomas Bendish, then Ambassador, complaining to the Vizier, and finding no other Relief than good Words, relied on an Expedient of making known his Cause to the Grand Signior, which was this.

In *Turkey* they have a Custom, that when any one receives a notable Injury, or Injustice, from the Chief and Great Ministers of State, they

1644. put Fire on their Heads, and running to the Grand Signior, no Man can hinder or deny them access to his presence. In like manner the English Ambassador, not being able to obtain Satisfaction from the Vizier, in return to his many Complaints, drew out all the English Ships in *Galatia*, which were then thirteen in number, and drawing in their Guns, and fluting the Ports, put fire on every Yard-Arm of their Ships, and came to an Anchor just before the *Seraglio*. The Customer being the first that espied this unusual sight, immediately apprized the Vizier, and sent to acquaint the Vizier thereof in all haste; the Vizier likewise fearful lest the Complaints should by this means come to the Grand Signior's Ear, sent the Customer aboard with a considerable part of the Money, and desired that the Fires might be extinguished, promising faithfully to comply in payment of the rest; hereupon Consultation being had between the Ambassador and the Merchants, the Ships returned to their Stations, not feeling to have been taken notice of by those in the *Seraglio*.

And notwithstanding the great number of Women within the *Seraglio*, all which were at the Devotion of the Sultan; yet *Ibrahim* not being contented herewith, passing one day to *Sin-tari*, had by chance cast his eye on an object which much pleased him: what it was, becomes not the modesty of my Pen to relate; he sent Orders to turn to his *Seraglio*, he sent Orders to the Vizier, to seek out for him the biggest, and best proportioned Woman which was to be found in all *Constantinople*, and the parts thereabout. Hereupon Emiliars were dispatched into all Quarters of the City; at length they happily procured a huge tall Armenian Woman, well proportioned according to her height, and adorned with a pair of long and slender legs, and a fine waist, and as richly clothed and adorned as the shortness of time would permit: There was no great difficulty to persuade her to become Turk, having so high preferment in her prospect. So that being introduced to the Grand Signior's presence, he became immediately enamoured, and was so pleased with her Society, that he preferred her before all the Women of his Court; an Evidence whereof he gave, in that he could not deny her in any request she could make, and particularly about that time the Palhauck of *Damascus* being void, this Woman begged it for her self, substituting another in the Office, who was accountable to her for all the Profits and Emoluments thereof: By these particulars of favour the Queen-Mother becoming jealous, one day inviting her to Dinner, called her to be strangled, and persuaded *Ibrahim* that she died suddenly of a violent Sickness, at which he poor Man was greatly afflicted.

But not to insist long on these luxurious Pastimes, we shall return again to Matters of higher Concernment: *Ibrahim* had now understood, that the Venetians growing jealous of his Preparations, began likewise to Arm, and provide for the worst; while being in so wise pleasing to the Turks, who were apprehensive that their Marine Forces confined most in surprize, caused *Ibrahim* to complain of the Defensive Posture in which they Arrayed themselves, alleging, that Suspensions of this Nature argued no hearty Disposition towards their Friends; nor was any thing more contrary to a good Correspondence, or more disobliging, than such like jealousies, which oft-times beget that Enmity which was never designed; and farther it was judged necessary,

1644. fary, if possible, to disswade the Bailo from a belief of any Hostility designed against his Republic; to inculcate which, none was esteemed so proper an Instrument as the old cheating *Hogia*, who was the first Motive to the War; a Preacher who imagined that the excellency of his Religion afforded him a privilege to falsify, and commit any Act for advantage thereof, though never so contrary to Truth and Morality. This *Santone*, with the Testimony of one or two more grand Professors, with many Alleviations and Vows, endeavoured to persuade the Bailo, of the Grand Signior's good Intentions towards *Venice*, and his fixed Resolutions to destroy *Malta*. And though the Concernment which those golly Elders shewed, and the earnestness they used, whereby to inculcate a Credence to what they affirmed, were enough to discover their contrary Intentions; and though it is said, that the Venetians could not heartily believe what they so strongly suspected; yet hereby, and by the common vogue of the People, they abated much of their Caution and Heat, which they otherwise had used in due Preparations and Provisions against an Evil so fatal and destructive in the sequel.

The first Act of Hostility was committed by *Giacomo da Riva*, who being sent for Sopravveduto to *Tino*, was in his way to touch at *Candia*, there to deliver Ammunition and Provisions for the War; but being encountered by some barbarous Ship Vessels, who assailed him for a Merchants Ship, he fled, relating to *Constantinople*, that they had been ill treated by the Venetians, and that they gave the first Assault upon them, because they were called to the Alliance and Service of the Grand Signior.

The Fleet and Land Forces being already put to Sea, the Report and Opinion still continued, that the War was designed against *Malta*; wherefore such as apprehended the Hazard, and were acquainted with the Difficulty of such an Enterprise, began to inform the Grand Signior how impossible it was that this Action should be accompanied with good success. To which Arguments he made no other reply, than by a seeming obstinacy, resolved with the Ottoman Sword, to cut all those Knots and Difficulties which opposed him in the Work. At length one *Salah Efendi*, a Preacher, who had obtained some more than ordinary Esteem with the Grand Signior, advised him, That before he commenced a Work of that importance, he should inform himself of the true state of that Place, from a certain Aga, who was lately returned from *Malta*. The Grand Signior being very willing to hear any thing of this nature, called the Aga, who related to him how impragable both the City and Castle were; how the Knights were provided against all Assaults; that the Island it self is only a Rock, not containing Earth enough for an Army to intrench; that the Approaches must be made by the Pick-Axe and Mattock, it being all Stone. In short, it was not a place to be taken in one Summer, and the Winter coming on, it affording no shelter, nor provisions of its self, was not capable of relief in Seas so stormy, and from Countries so remote, without hazards, losses, and frequent Shipwracks. *Ibrahim*, who had designed all along to make War upon *Candia*, seemed little concerned or moved at this Discourse. The Gallies and Ships which were now all in readiness, being come forth to the *Seraglio* point,

1644. the Grand Signior entered his Grand Chiosk, situated on the Bank of the Sea; where the *Seclitar* Aga, Generals, and all the Chief Commanders, came to perform the usual Ceremonies of Obedience and Duty, before their Departure. At this solemn Assembly the Grand Signior declared, That his Intentions were to make War upon the Infidels, according as every one should understand by his respective Commissions, which should now be delivered unto them: That he expected the highest Demonstrations of Courage in them imaginable, and what was agreeable to the Conductors of the Ottoman Armies: That Reward and Punishment were in his Hands; and that he resolved to dispense them according to their Merits: That they should not doubt of all due Assistance and Succours; for he had so well contrived, and so justly fitted all his Measures, that he was already provided of Men, Timbers, Ammunition, and Money sufficient to maintain and carry on this War for Seven Years. At which they all gave a shout, and declared, that they were ready to spend their Blood and Lives in Execution of his Commands. Whereupon every one received a rich Coatan, or Velt, and the General a Scimitar set with Diamonds; who being a young Man of about 26, or 27 Years of Age, had a Council of six graver Palhas allowed him; and then the Consultation for the War was brought forth sealed, with Orders not to open it, until they were past the *Dardanelles*. Hereat the noise of great and small Shot from the Gallies and Ships, resounded through all *Constantinople*, and the Commanders repairing to their Velicks, the Assembly broke up, and every thing was put in a posture to make Sail.

1644. It was now the last day of April, 1643; old Style, when the Fleet first broke ground, which consisted of 73 Gallies, besides the 8 Gallies of *Barbery*, 2 Mahons, or Gallies, one great Gallion called the *Sultana*, 10 Ships of *Alexandria*, 2 of *Tunis*, and 10 of English and Dutch Ships, which coming to *Constantinople* for Trade, were there preffed into the Service, with about 300 Saiks and Caramullals, which carried Soldiers, Provisions, Ammunition, and Utchells for War. Their Militia consisted of 7000 Janizaries, 14000 Spahies, and about 50000 Timariots, and other Soldiery, with about 3000 Piciniers; these all were to Rendezvous at *Scio*; where they arrived the 7th of May. But before their departure from *Constantinople*, the Bailo *Soranzo*, or the Venetian Ambassador, thought fit, in Complement, and for discovery, to make a visit to the Captain-Palhas, by whom he was received with great Courtesy and assurance of Friendship; so that though he suspected the worst, yet could he collect no certain assurances of Peace, or War; however he advised Signior *Cornaro*, then Governor of *Candia*, that though he could not certainly penetrate into the bottom of the Turks Design, yet he apprehended that the Storm might fall on that Kingdom, understanding that the Captain-Palhas was not well inclined towards the most Serene Republick; wherefore, he ought to be watchful and circumspect, yet with as little demonstration of jealousy as was possible; so that if the Turks should there arrive, he should afford them all conveniences of Watering, Provisions, and other Refreshments.

The Fleet being departed from *Scio*, for *Napoli di Romagna*, the Northern Wind so freshened, and blew so hard, that the Gallies were separated, and forced to put into divers Ports, and the Saiks and Caramullals to Anchor at *Miseno* and

1645. and *Timo*. At the latter of which, belonging to the Venetians, they had licence to Water, and were refreshed with such provisions as the Island afforded; and now after this hurry of Wind, the Fleet being again united, they were sent off at Sea from *Cerigo*, an Island of the Venetians at the Mouth of the *Archipelago*, and sailing towards the Channel of *Braccio di Mama*; and the next day 9 Gallies, a Gallion, and a Brigantine, made towards the Isle of *Cerigo*, and sent a Letter a shore by a Boat to the Provider, from the Palha of *Rhodes*, demanding their usual present of Coffee and Sugar, which was given them, they assuring all Friendship, and real good Intentions towards the People, and Dominions of *Venice*.

But in the mean time a Sattia laden with Arms and Ammunition from *Venice*, bound for *Retimo*, unhappily falling into the Turkish Fleet, was intercepted by them, and taken, which unmasked all the Design, and made the Turks appear in their true Colours, notwithstanding all their religious Protestations, and outwardly fair Comportment, the usual disguise of the Mahometan Sincerity.

Towards the end of *May* the Turkish Fleet was discovered from *Carabuso*, a small Fortrefs of the Venetians, some distance off at Sea, standing to the Westward, which gave some jealousy to them at *Candia*; and being compared with some precedent Acts, as that of founding the depth of Water about St. *Theodore* with a Brigantine, (which is a small Rock lying off of *Canea*) which pretended to come from *Santa Maura* with Turkey Merchants, afforded undeniable grounds of assurance to those in *Candia*, that the War was designed against them; howsoever, the Ottoman Fleet rendezvousing again at *Navarino*, a place far distant from *Candia*, altered their Apprehensions at *Venice*, and elsewhere of this War, deeming it now certain, that this Design had no other aim or mark but that of *Malta*.

But this opinion was no sooner entertain'd, than it was confuted by open Acts of Hostility; for the Captain-Palha being arrived at Cape *Coloma*, by some called *Sunio*, immediately dispatched a Brigantine to *Constantinople*, with advice of his Proceedings and Intentions to pass directly for *Candia*; whereupon it was thought reasonable to publish the War against *Venice*, which was performed with committing the Ambassador *Soranzo* to Prison, and giving Orders through all the *Archipelago* to destroy or enslave all the Subjects of that Republick. And here the Turk practis'd his usual beginnings of War with more than ordinary Caution; for though with other Princes, whose Territories border on him by Land, he usually endeavours to strike at the same time when he begins the Salutations of Peace; yet here being to contend at Sea, where he is conscious his Forces are inferior to those of *Venice*, he practis'd all those feigned Artifices, confirm'd with as many holy Vows and Protestations, as their Religion allows, and makes lawful, when they can bring advantage and encrease to the Mahometan Faith.

But though the Venetian Republick was so politic as outwardly to demonstrate a Religious Confidence of their potent Neighbour, whom they were conscious not to have provoked by any breach of Capitulations; yet were not so secure of his Faith, and so easie to believe his fair Diffimulations, as not prudently to provide against the utmost Effects of his Power and Treachery. Wherefore, whilst the Turk pre-

pared, they armed likewise secretly, made considerable Levies without noise, commisioned thirty extraordinary Commanders of Gallies, took up seventeen English, and Dutch ships into their Service, armed out two Gallies extraordinary; and when the Turk had unmasked his Design, they then imparted their Condition to all the Christian Princes, craving their Succour and Assistance to maintain the common Bulwark of *Christendom* against the common Enemy. The Galleasses were commanded by *Giovanni Morosini*; the Gallies, of which fifteen were made ready, and afterwards put to Sea, all commanded by Noblemen, were the Conduct of *Antonio Capello*. *Francesco Molino* was made Provider General, a Person of untainted Justice and Honour, and extraordinary zealous and vigilant in the Publick Interest, whose indefatigable Labours and Care of his Country, promoted him afterwards to be Doge of *Venice*. By his Order and Council, extraordinary Providers were sent to *Candia*, *Cerigo*, and *Timo*, as Places most feared, and in danger; and Orders were dispatched to *Andrea Cornaro*, then General and Inquisitor in *Candia*, to arm out twenty Gallies from the Arsenal of *Canea*; and to promote this Design the better, he hired two English, and one Dutch Ship, then in Port of *Malemocco*, to carry unto *Candia* Timbers fitted, and already squared at *Venice*, for building Gallies; besides which he sent Cannon, Corn, and all Ammunition of War, with fifty thousand Zechins in Gold for encouragement of the Militia, with a recruit of two and twenty Companies of Foot, formed and collected out of divers Nations.

Intelligence being come of the imprisonment of the Bailo at *Constantinople*, the Senate by a common and unanimous Suffrage elected *Francesco Erizzo*, then Doge, General of the Sea; judging, that their Arms would prosper under his Command, which had formerly been successful under the auspicious Conduct of his Ancestors; and he, though a Person of seventy four Years, worn out with Age and Cares of the Publick, did yet cheerfully consecrate the remainder of his days to the Service of his Country. But whilst he prepared to crown the end of his Life with the Glory of this important and generous Enterprize, Death terminated all his Intentions, leaving him with the honourable memory of his past Actions, and with a Lawrel hanging over his Head, which had his Life continued, had been planted on his Brows. But that this Accident might not give interruption to the weighty Affairs now in hand, *Molino* took his place, and proceeded in his Voyage and Designs, and arrived with the Venetian Fleet at the Island of *Cork* of the Kingdom of *Italy*. The Turkish Fleet careened and fitted themselves at *Navarino* with all Necessaries to assault *Candia*; in which interim advice came to *Canea*, that the Bailo was imprisoned at *Constantinople*, by a Letter from *Soranzo* himself, which he had dropped from the Window of his close restraint, and dispatched by one of his Confidants with a Vessel express; which was not longer arrived, than it was that Night consumed by all the Becons of Watch-Towers of the Country; who having discovered the Turkish Fleet far distant at Sea, gave a general Alarm by the Fires they made.

The next Morning being the 2^d of *June*, they discovered the whole Fleet, near Cape *Spado*, which being drawn up in the form of an half Moon, took up a vast tract of

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Sea;

1645. Sea; and sailing slowly with fair Weather, and a smooth Sea, displayed themselves with the greatest terror imaginable to the Islanders. At length the light Vessels began to edge in with the Fleet of *Genna*, (which is a place distant about eighteen miles from *Canea*) and were followed by the grosser and heavier part of the Armata.

And now, before I proceed farther, I should make a pause, and describe the Antiquity, the Geography, and the present State of this famous and renowned Island, but that is already performed so distinctly and elegantly by other Pens, that it shall be sufficient for me to declare in brief terms, how this Kingdom became the Patrimony or Possession of *Venice*. In the Year 1204, a Sale thereof was made to this Republick, by the Marquess *Bonifacio di Monferrato*, by an Instrument sealed the 12th of *August* at *Adrianople*, and signed, and delivered, in the presence of *Marco Sando*, and *Ravano du Perona*, Ambassadors in the time of *Erigo Dandolo* Doge; but the People of this Island not consenting unto the sale, opposed themselves against it, until the Venetians by force of Arms procured their Obedience, and confirmed their purchase by a double Title. Hereupon such noble Citizens as adventured their Lives in this acquisition, obtained the Estates of the Rebellious Greeks, being obliged in proportion to the Lands they held, to maintain Men and Horse at their own Charge, and were therefore called the *Federary Cavalry*. So that the whole Country is divided into three parts; viz. the noble Venetians or Cavalry; secondly, the noble Candioti, or Colony, which were Infantry that came to inhabit from *Venice*; and thirdly, the Greeks or Natives of the Country which never rebelled, but took part with the Venetian State: the first two speak Italian, and are of the Roman Church; the others speak Greek, and conserve the Right of that Religion.

The Ottoman Fleet now touching the Shoar at *Genna*, took Livery and Seizin quietly of that flourishing Isle of *Candia*, where they Encamped a while to refresh their Forces, and prepare all things in order to their Conquest. In the mean time, the news hereof alarmed all *Venice*, and not only halstened them in the expedition of their Fleet, but warmed their applications to the Christian Princes, from whom they craved help in the general defence of *Christendom*: which some at first imagined would have been granted, as it was once in the time of the Holy War; or that those whom the Declaration of a common Crusade, or Devotion, or sense of Religion could not move, yet at least the consideration of their Countries Defence, or the maintenance of the Bulwark of *Christendom*, might perswade to wage Arms against the Turk, as a Common Enemy: but what cold Apprehensions the Christian Princes entertained hereof, both the faint Supplies and Assistances they administered, and their bloody and vigorous Wars one against another, have abundantly testified to the fatal loss and ruin of that Country. And though in the beginning there were better hopes, by means of the Pope's earnest intercession with all the Princes of *Italy*, to whom he shewed a fair Example by uniting his own Gallies with the Venetian Fleet, and amongst the rest prevailed also with the Republick of *Genova*, to employ their Gallies in this Noble Enterprize, which tended to the Glory of God, and the common Safety and Preservation of *Italy*: yet the Leaven of vain Pundtilios, which hath so often betrayed the

Christian Cause to the advantage of the Turk, gave a stop for some time to these Proceedings. For before they would enter into Arms, they desired the Genoese, that the right of bearing the Flag should first be determined in favour of their Admiral, before that of *Tefany*, or *Malta*: And though the Pope, to take away this occasion of dispute, proposed to have no other Flag worn besides his own, under which all Italian Princes, without impeachment of their Honour, as Auxiliaries, and Military Adventurers might promiscuously wage War; yet this could not appear satisfactory to the Genoese, who not only took this occasion to demand the precedence before *Tefany* and *Malta*; to which the G. Duke (who was not inferior in State, and superior in Title) and the Maltese (who time out of mind, and by Decree of *Charles* the Fifth, claimed Precedency on the Seas before them) would never assent; but also thought fit to avail themselves in this Conjunction, to obtain from the Pope the Grant of a Royal Court, and that Treatment which is given to Kings, or Crowned Heads. But because these Demands seemed to contain those Difficulties in them, which could not be granted without the manifest displeasure of other Princes, the Pope refused to afford what assistance he could from himself, and therefore granted a Levy of a thousand Foot out of his own Dominions, with free liberty to buy what Ammunition and Provisions were to be found in the Ecclesiastical States, with imposition of a double Tith, or Tenth on the Goods and Dominions of the Clergy; so that these Succours of the Pope, and the Auxiliary Forces of *Naples*, *Tefany*, and *Malta*, under the Command of Prince *Ludovico*, General of the Church, being united to the Venetian Fleet, did speedily compose a most puissant and formidable Force; however, by reason of Difficulties amongst the Commanders, and other Misfortunes derived from treachery, the Christian Arms, nothing succeeded fortunately this Year. For the Turks having gained their landing at first without opposition, overthrew the Christians in several small Skirmishes, and afterwards forced *Canea*, the second City of that Island, which they took with much blood and laughter of the Christians.

The Turks having made so successful a progress this first Year, as to put themselves out of one of the most considerable Cities, took Courage to proceed in their Conquests; in which they had the fortune to make themselves Masters in the next place of *Retimo*; in defence of which, the General *Andrea Cornaro*, lost his Life by a Musket shot. Nor more successful were the Venetians this Year at Sea; for what with Vessels amongst the Commanders and with their coldness and negligence in their Business, they suffered the Turkish Vessels to pass freely, without giving them that interruption which was very fatal to Men resolute and concerned: Nor was the opportunity which presented to ruin the Turkish Fleet made use of, then lying half disarmed, and ill provided, at the Isle of St. *Theodore*, (which is a Rock opposite to *Canea*) where at that time, it is believed, they might all have been burned, had the occasion been improved, agreeable to that Advantage which then offered: so that towards the latter end of the Year, the General *Molino* returning Home, either by reason of some distemper, or by revocation from the Senate, which seemed to be ill satisfied with his ill Fortune, or his ill Management of the Publick Affairs; he was dismissed from

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1646. from his high Charge. And *Gio. Capello*, Procurator of *St. Mark*, was constituted in his place.

This Year was remarkable for the ruinous Differences between *Sir Sackville Crow* Baronet, our King's Ambassador then residing at *Constantinople*, and the *Turkey Company*. The Original of which seemed to arise from the Civil Difficulties at Home; for unhappy were those Times, and so ill affected were English Minds with Rancour and Malice against each other, that this Leaven of Discord could not be confined within the Banks of *Great Britain and Ireland*, but seemed to diffuse it self over the Seas, and as Contagion, infected the Minds, Goods, and Interests of the English, to what Quarter or Climate soever they were transported.

In the Year 1638, *Sir Sackville Crow* was, with the Consent and Approbation of the *Turkey Company*, dignified by his Majesty with the Title and Authority of his Ambassador to the Grand Signior. For Maintenance and Support of which, the said Company were to pay him the yearly Sum of five thousand Zechins, in four equal Proportions, which is above the value of two thousand Pounds Sterling. And farther, before his departure from England, paid him six hundred Pounds Sterling toward the Furniture of his House, Plate, and other Necessaries; defraying all the Charges expended for Transportation of his Lady, Followers, and Provisions to *Constantinople*.

Sir Sackville Crow, from the time of his arrival at the Ottoman Court, until the end of the Year 1645, managed the Affairs of the Company to their general Satisfaction, and with the Esteem and Honour of the Turkish Ministers, who considered him as a Person of Courage and Resolution, and in every way qualified for that Employment.

At length Differences arose between this Ambassador and the Company, touching the Right and Title to that Benefit which is called *Strangers Conflagration*; the first pretending to the same on a Grant made to him thereof by his Majesty, and the Custom of *Sir Peter Wyche*, and other preceding Ambassadors. The others challenging the same, as the chief and principal Means they had to ease the vast Expences they were at, for maintenance of their Trade and Government, for which they had always contended and struggled with the Power of preceding Ambassadors, and which *Sir Sackville Crow* himself feigns, by an Article which he had made with the Company to have relinquished to them in their words.

That during the time of his Employment as Ambassador, he would content himself with such Allowance from the said Company for his Pains and Care to be taken in their Business, as is specified in the said Articles, being 5000 Zechins per annum.

This Right of *Strangers Conflagration*, is now confirmed to the *Turkey Company*, by virtue of their Charter which his Majesty was pleased, in the Year of his Happy Restoration, graciously to Renew, Confirm, and Amplify to them; which was more easily granted, by the concurrent Assistance of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Winchester*, then designed for Ambassador at *Constantinople*, who on some Considerations offered from the said Company, alienated thereunto.

But Matters of a higher Nature than this, inflamed the Accounts and Differences between the Ambassador and Company. For first, one *John Wolfe*, at that time Treasurer at *Constantinople*, becoming Insolvent for great Sums of Money,

Sir Sackville Crow alleged, that those Debts were National, arising from the late Changes of State Officers, their extravagant Exactions, and Avacious Practices; and therefore to extinguish this Publick Debt, he made a Leviation of one hundred and ten thousand, nine hundred and fifty Dollars on the English Estates at *Constantinople* and *Smyrna*, detaining the Companies Ships in those Ports, until the aforesaid Debt was satisfied and cleared. The Ground and Cause of which, will more plainly appear by this following Warrant.

Sir Sackville Crow his Order, dated in *Pera* of *Constantinople* the 26th of January 1645. Directed to all Captains, Commanders of Ships, &c. Prohibiting the lading of any Goods or Estate on their Ships.

Whereas by the unhappy failings of some of our Nations here, and at *Smyrna*, and through the many late Changes of this State's Officers, and their extravagant Exactions on us in those Difficulties; and by sundry other avacious ways, our Nation is brought into a great Debt: For which We, or those, and that Estate which shall remain on the Place, who, and whatever, in case of Exigent, and force of Payment, when-ever that shall happen, must (if not otherwise provided for) in all probability, and according to the rude Customs of this State in like case, look to be made liable unto. There being at present a full and competent Estate of the Levant Companies arrived here, and at *Smyrna*, which as well by the Obligations of their Charter, as by the Laws of England, the said Companies own Institutions and Customs in cases of like Nature, ought as well to bear the said extraordinary as ordinary Charges, and so pay those Debts, which either are, or shall be adjudged and declared to belong unto them. We having taken pains in drawing the said Accounts to a Head, and for discovery of the Truth thereof; and (after a Certificate being directed thereon) for the more formal Satisfaction only of the said Company, being advertised that some of those who with us have had the view, and been present at the Examination of the said Accounts, whom it concerns on the Companies behalf to make such Certificate, on our Order; for some private Respects, make scruple to certify the said Debts, as they appeared before us and them: And hearing also that the General Ships here in Port, and that at *Smyrna*, prepare, and make haste to be gone: In Providence, as well for our safety in the Premises, as for that due regard we owe to his Majesty's Honour, and the Publick Interest for the future, We find it requisite, and hereby order and require, that until the said Debts shall be fully declared, and their payment settled by Leviation, and the same paid or

1646. or undertaken, in, and by some such fitting and secure way, or ways, as in such case is requisite, and by us shall be determined and so declared: That none of the Factors of this State, or that of *Smyrna*, by themselves, or others whoever, after publication hereof, here and there respectively, lade on Board either of the General Ships, or other Ships whatever, any Goods, Faculty, or Estate whatever, for themselves or other whoever. And that the Captains and Commanders of the said Ships, in the mean time, and until Our farther Order in this behalf, not only forbear to take in, and lade aboard either of their Ships any such Goods or Faculties for any of his Majesty's Subjects, or other Strangers whoever; but also that they abide and depart not, either this Port, or that of *Smyrna* respectively, until our farther Order and License in that behalf: Whereof not only the Merchants, Factors, Masters, and Commanders aforementioned; but our * Druggermen, and other Under-Ministers here or there, are to take notice, and observe accordingly; as they, and every of them concerned herein, will answer the contrary at his or their Peril. Dated in *Pera* of *Constantinople* the 26th of January, 1645.

* Interdictors.

To all Captains, Commanders of Ships, Merchants, Factors, Druggermen, and all other his Majesty's Subjects and Ministers whoever, in the Ports of *Constantinople* and *Smyrna*.

SACKVILLE CROW.

The *Turkey Company* was altogether unfatisfied with this Leviation, alleging that a great part of this Debt arose from Monies lent by *Sir Sackville Crow* himself to *Wolfe*, at a high Interest; for securing of which, aid of his Principal, he had in this manner taxed and charged their Estates. But Troubles and Differences ended not with this Payment: for still the Controversy about *Strangers Conflagration* was depending, which with other Matters, caused great Heats and Animosities on both sides: So that some of the *Turkey Company*, Men of the better Principles, thought it most advisable to Petition his Majesty to constitute another Ambassador, with Letters of Revocation, to recall this; but others, who were the zealous Men of those Times, who had tasted the sweetness of Sequestration, and proved it to be the Grand Catholicon of all Remedies, perfwaded that his Estate should be Sequestered. This, I say, may perhaps have been the attempt of some few; though the generality of the Company have so far disavowed the Seizure of his Lands and Estate in England, that they declared themselves ignorant of any Estate he had there. Howsoever this Apprehension being fixed in the Mind of *Sir Sackville Crow*, he proceeded to strange Extremities against the Company: For he not only caused all the Goods and Monies belonging to them, within the Grand Signior's Dominions, to be sequestered and seized by his Agents, but also imprisoned the Persons of all the English Merchants and Factors which were considerable, either at *Constantinople*

1646. or *Smyrna*. The Particulars of all which will appear with more clearness by this following Warrant.

Sir Sackville Crow his Second Warrant, dated in *Pera* of *Constantinople* the 30th of April 1646, directed to *John Hetherington*, *Lorenzo Zuma*: Enordering (upon false Pretences) the Sequestration of the Merchants Estates at *Smyrna*, according to a Schedule.

Whereas the Levant Company, sometime before our coming to this Place, by a Court of their Affiliants, thereto especially authorized, treated with Us touching a yearly Allowance for our Care and Pains during our residence here as his Majesty's Ambassador; to be had and taken in such Particulars as might have relation to their Trade and Occasions: And for a conclusion of such Treaty as aforesaid, did offer unto us the election of any one of their Agreements, formerly made with any of our Predecessors in like occasion. And for a further manifestation of their sincerity in their said Offer, upon our accord therunto, did, at the Court aforesaid, in publick give unto our Hands and Possession the Copies of five of their Agreements, made with our said Predecessors, with Power to chuse which of them we should best like of, to be a Rule and Pattern for an absolute Conclusion and Condition to be drawn up between us and them; thereon also promising that they would make, grant, and confirm the like unto us. And whereas we thereon, and to the Purposes and Ends aforementioned, chose and fixed upon that Agreement, which the said Company had made with *Sir Thomas Glover*, formerly Ambassador, Resident for the Crown of England, with this State: And his Majesty by his Favour, did assure the same unto us, graciously promising to make his Employment of us here, as good and beneficial in all the Allowances and Perquisites thereof, as it had been to any of our Predecessors whoever, and we expected no less. The said Company finding themselves mistaken in their Offer, (as they pretended) first retired from the same, denying their said Agreement, (though sufficiently proved before his Majesty); and then by force of Presents and Money given under-hand to the Officers of that Time, so prevailed against us, that we could not only not obtain that Right, which since hath appeared unto us, and (as well by their own Agreement, as by his Majesty's Judgment then, Custom, and their former Contrasts) was due unto us; but were forced after to other Agreements with the said Company, by which (over and above all such Rights, Privileges, and Perquisites, as then were and should be granted unto

1646. unto us by his Majesty's Capitulations; and besides all other Gratifications and Allowances accustomed to be given to his Majesty's Ambassador, (which in Household Provisions only the said Company assured us, were to the value of 800 l. per Annum Sterling, at least) and over and above such Plate and Household-Stuff as they assured us, we should find of theirs here, and hold to our use during our Residence, (of which we found not the value of an Asper) the said Company did covenant with us, (for and in respect of our Pains and Care only therein agreed to be taken by us, in their Affairs and Occasions as aforesaid, for and during all our time as his Majesty's Ambassador with this State) they would pay, or cause to be paid unto us, the Sum of 5000 ^{or 1000} Chickens per An. to be paid by equal Proportions quarterly before-hand; by their failing wherein (besides our other Engagements for them to a very good Value) twenty and five thousand Dollars or thereabouts, rests at this day due and unpaid unto us: And whereas also after the Agreements aforesaid, upon several Arguments held before his Majesty, concerning the Rights of that Consulate, which amongst other things is granted by the Grand Signior, and payable by his Capitulations to his Majesty's Ambassador Resident at this Imperial Port from Strangers, (to which the said Company could show no likely or probable Title) the said Company were adjudged to relinquish their Pretences to the said Consulate; and a Grant thereof under his Majesty's Royal Hand and Signet, was thereon made and given to us, for our better support during the time of our Residence here. The said Company (upon Conditions between them and us agreed) did also promise to give us Content therefore; with intent nevertheless thereby to get advantage of our credulity and absence, and to draw us out of suspect of their evil Intentions towards us, which hath since as well by their several interruptions and hindrances here in the Collection thereof, as their practices, and endeavours at Council Table before his Majesty, and by their other Appeals to the Courts of Parliament, where in these Times of Distractions, they presumed of some better advantage) hath appeared unto us: Whereby, and by suggesting several Untruths against us, and by other sly ways they have endeavoured not only to deprive us of the Strangers Consulate, and benefit thereof; but under that colour also, and these their Pretences, to keep themselves from paying, as us from taking such other Consulate, as was, and is as much our right and due unto us from themselves, by the said Capitulations, and the Grand Signior's Grant thereon, for all their own Goods traded in: And now of late, but suspecting our just Intentions of making a claim therein, (for until this present day we never made any demand thereof, or publick pretence therein) to prevent what they suppose we might

1646. justly do in our own Right, (for we take God to Witness we knew no other cause): under like unjust and scandalous Pretences, we are certified, that they not only go about to get us removed from our Employment here, but upon false Suggestions, loose and bare Suspicions only, have gotten Order for the seizure of all our Lands and other Estates in England into their power; as some of their own Servants and Factors here have the confidence to report and affirm: and as we are assured from thence, without hearing of us; nay, so much as intimation to us of the Grounds thereof, or such Matters and Things as they pretend at least to have against us, whereby we might answer for our selves; and so, whilst we are labouring (as for these many Years we have done, with all fidelity) for them and their publick Interest (whereof, as we have proof sufficient in our Actions, so we have him that is Judge of the World for Witnesses to our Conscience) they are contriving the ruin of us and our Posterity. Which manner of proceeding, so unjust, horrid, and odious before God and Man (as in all reason we ought) taking to heart, and our serious consideration, and as well that Violence which is offered to the Laws, and his Majesty's Honour and Interest therein, as our Self and our Family; not pretending to extend that Authority which his Majesty hath put into our Hands to unlawful Ends, but only to make a just use of it for the right and lawful defence of our selves and it, in the several Occasions aforesaid; finding by Account under the Hands of the Treasurer of the said Company here, that for such Goods as they have brought in and carried out from the Port of Constantinople, there is due unto us according to the Capitulations, and the Grand Signior's Grants therein, to the value of Dollars Ryals of 1, seventy four thousand: and that for the like in Smyrna there is due Dollars Ryals of 1, one hundred thousand in circa; and rating that Estate in Land which they have gotten into their power as aforesaid, but at the value we were offered for it, viz. at ninety seven thousand and five hundred Dollars; in all, two hundred seventy one thousand and five hundred Dollars. Besides, (for ought we know to the contrary) they may else have prevailed themselves upon of ours, and as due to us by Privy Seal to the value of one hundred thousand Dollars; and Leases under the Great Seal to near as great a value more. We, hereby enjoin Sequestration of all Monies, Merchandizes, and other Goods and Faculties whatever, within the Dominions of the Grand Signior wheretoever, belonging to the Parties and Members of the said Company, in the Schedule hereunto annexed, the chief Rementors, Contrivers, and Actors of these unjust and horrid Proceedings; requiring you, John Hetherington, and you Lorenzo Zuma, or both, or either of you, by the help

1646. and means of that Officer sent by the Vizier, and those Commands in your Hands, (being now at Smyrna on other like Occasions) according to your Instructions herewith sent, to board and enter all Ships and Vessels, and to break open, and enter into all and every of the Houses, Ware-houses, Counting-houses, of all and every of the Parties in the Schedule hereunto annexed and aforesaid; and there to Attach, Arrest, and take into your custody and possession; and as arrested and sequestered, to take, carry away, and put into safe custody, all such Monies, Merchandizes, other Goods and Faculties of what Nature soever that you shall discover, find out, and get into your power, belonging to any of the Parties, or under the Marks of the Schedule hereunto annexed; and the same to keep, so arrested and sequestered, for our better Indemnity, Satisfaction, and Defence, against all Pretences of the Levant Company before-mentioned whatever, until we may be heard therein by due course of Law, and till farther Order from us in that behalf; for which this is to be your Warrant. Dated in Pera of Constantinople, this 30th of April, Anno. 1646.

To our loving Friends and Servants, John Hetherington, and Lorenzo Zuma.

Sackville Crow.

To perform and put in execution the foregoing Warrant, it was necessary to make use of the Turkish Officers Power and Authority: Wherefore Sir Sackville Crow demanding Audience of the Grand Vizier, and representing Matters unto him in that manner; as he judged most agreeable to his Cause, was heard by him with a gentle and gracious Ear; and assurances made to him of all Respect, Favour, and Assistance imaginable. For the Turks had now found out a Cause in Transaction, which with good improvement might be worth them many Purfes of Money; and was of such a Nature, as that their Religion, and Doctrine, obliged them to nourish, having the prospect of gaining Money, and enflaming Christian Discord. On these Grounds Sir Sackville Crow easily obtained Commands from the Vizier, directed to the Kadi of Smyrna, to do all things according to direction of him the Ambassador; and to enforce Matters with better execution, a Chagou, or Pursuivant, accompanied with John Hetherington, and Lorenzo Zuma Interpreter, was dispatched to Smyrna, with Commands to carry up the Consul and Factors to Constantinople, and to break open the Ware-houses, and make seizure on such Estates belonging to the Turk Company; as would answer the Demands and Pretensions of the Ambassador. Accordingly the Consul and Factory were carried up, and with that other of Galata, imprisoned in the Ambassador's House.

In the mean time the Agents at Smyrna, with assistance of the Kadi, sealed up all the Merchants Ware-houses; but when it came to execution and Seizure, more Difficulties arose; for the Turks, Armenians, and Jew-Merchants, made high Clamours to the Justice, that many of the

1646. Goods belonged unto them, some were not yet paid for, others were only Pawns in the English Hands; and all the Town being desirous to favour the Cause of the Merchants, a great Up- roar and Hubbub arose amongst the People: The Kadi affrighted hereat, grew more slack and faint in his Proceedings; but the Cordial of 1500 Dollars, and Gratuities to his Servants, overcame the Difficulties, and gave him new Resolution; so that at length, being attended with the Principal Officers of the Town, he began first with the Consul's House, making Seizure, and delivering out of the Ware-houses all the Goods found there; with some Caution however, and respect to those Pretensions which Stranger-Merchants made thereunto; as appears by the following Letters.

John Hetherington and Lorenzo Zuma, their Letters to Sir Sackville Crow, advising further of their Proceedings; dated in Smyrna, June 16. 1646.

Right Honourable,

Yesterday we received your Lordships of the 3d. And to day we received your Lordships of the 8th, and rejoice to hear your Lordship is in such a readiness for your just Demands, and with your Lordship less Trouble, and better Success than we this day have had, and we doubt for many days shall encounter here. This morning the Cadie's Son, with his Neipe and principal Officers came; and we began first with the Consul's House. But before we began, 'twas spoken in the Kadie's own House, and all over the Town, our Design to seize what we could find; about seven a Clock his Son came and entered the Consul's House, and opened all the Warehouses, and took from thence, with Elford's and Keble's, some four hundred Clothes, and nine Bales Mohairs; we left behind us 38 Bales of Silk, 13 Bales his Servant pretended were sold by his Master to Mr. Brent, to be paid by Bill of Exchange at Constantinople, and when advice came the Bills were paid, the Goods should be delivered; in the mean time they lie in Mr. Lancelot's Warehouse, with some 40 Clothes, 60 Barrels of Tin, which Tin belongs to Mr. Sainthill, and sealed up by the Neipe and us. Before we had ended at this House, the whole Town was in an Up-rore, being fomented by Jews, and some of the young Fry left behind, and proclaimed in the Streets, that the Town would be undone, the Trade lost and go to wrack, if this was suffered; so that before the Consul's Door were so many of the scum of the Town, the Streets were packed thick of them. On the other side, a more unruly Enemy threatened worse things, the Master of the Golden Lion, who had before given Barnardiston 9000

K Dollars

1646. Dollars at *Cambio*, and had no Goods in his Possession, hearing how it would fare with them, Lands forty Men at *Barnardifon's* Houfe, and vowed he would have his Money or Goods, or fware he would beat down the Town; fo likewife the *Jonas* got her Sails to Yards, that the *Caddie's* Son and the *Chiouz*, defired to let it alone until another day, for fear of worfe Events: So when they had made an end at *Lancelot's* Houfe, would ftay no longer, but promifed to come another day. The *Eftate* before mentioned we carried away in fpirit of Envy, and have put it up in a safe Cane. As foon as this was done, becaufe the Captain would not come afore, I got *Jordan* to go aboard the *Golden Lion*, and know the Mafter his Intent, and to acquaint him with the Danger might enfue thereon; all we could urge was nothing, except he had fatisfaction for his 9000 Dollars; at laft told him, if we knew where his *Eftate* lay, we would endeavour to help him to it; fo he found it out, and we delivered it to him, and the Man was very well fatisfied. And now we hope to find little Impediment, and to morrow Morning the *Caddie's* Son promifeth to come again, and we doubt not the fame day but to make an end. If your Lordship faw the little regard thefe People bear to the Grand Signior's Commands, the *Caddie*, or ought elfe but their private Ends, your Lordship would (as we hope your Lordship will) not blame us if we procured but the half of what your Lordship's Letter mentions. To morrow (if God blefs us) we fhall fend your Lordship more punctual Advice, and for the prefent crave leave to fubfcribe our felves,

Smyrna, June 16. Your Honours
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Moft faithful, moft obliged,
and moft humble
Servants,

John Hetherington.
Lorenzo Zuma.

John Hetherington, and Lorenzo Zuma's Letter to Sir Sackville Crow; dated in Smyrna, June 19. 1646.

Right Honourable,

Ours of the 16th advifed your Lordship, how with the *Caddie's* Son, his Niece, and *Chia*, we had entred the Houfe of Mr. *Lancelott*, and taken into our poffeffion the Goods we found therein, not pretended unto by Strangers; and how by the infolency of *Nicholas Terrick*, Mafter of the *Hopewell*, (formerly the *Golden Lion*) we were interrupted that day from

proceeding any farther; and how by the means of Captain *Jordan*, we had pacified that young, rafh, and undifcreet Man; and that we hoped the next Morning to proceed without interruption, but it fell not out fo: for the next Morning we went to *Barnardifon's* Houfe, thinking to make all fure there; and when we had begun, in comes the Mafter with a Crew of his own, and faid, thofe Goods he had received were not fufficient to give him fatisfaction, and demanded of us the reft. We answered, We could nor give him thefe Goods we had fealed up before he came into Port, for what he demanded; but affured him, if he knew of any thing ftanding out, we would endeavour, the beft we could, for his Satisfaction: Upon this, as we underftood fince, a young Man of the Houfe whifpered the Mafter in his Ear, and told him, if he were not fatisfied before the Goods went out of the Houfe, all was loft, he would never have a Penny of it: Upon this, away goes the Mafter aboard, with this young Man in his company, and loofed his Sails, but threatned nothing. Upon this comes in the Jews, and told the Niece and the *Chia*, that the Mafter would fhoot down the Town; but for all our perfwaſions that he durft not, away runs the Niece & his Company, and leaves us there alone: fo we refolved to have done it our felves; but the Merchants had fo worked with the *Hamalls*, that there was not one to be feen; fo being alone, and feeing his Boat coming afore, well mann'd, and fearing a furprize, we prefently repaired to the *Chiouzes*, and defired him to go with us to the *Caddies*, to fee if we could have any better affiftance from him. By this time the Town was in a great Uproar, and the People ſomething too infolent; the *Caddie*, to prevent the worft, prefently caufed the Shops to be fhut up, and immediately fent for all the chief Men of the Town, (who by Prefents before we had made our Friends) and there before them all, and a great company of the Townfmen, caufed the Commands to be read, and told them how much they were bound to fee the Grand Signior's Commands put in execution, and what difhonour it would be for one Ship to command the Town. So after they had difputed the Buſinefs, the *Caddie* fends an Officer aboard (accompanied with the Druggermen to the Nation) to know whether he would hinder the profecution of the Grand Signior's Command, or no, and to know his Anfwer? He prefently denied he ever intended to fhoot at the Town, only defired his own: So prefently after the People were a little appeafed, we went to work again, and fo this day have finiſhed all: it being done in fuch confufion, we cannot give your Lordship that exact Account you

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1646. you may expect within a day or two; for then we will fend your Lordship the Particulars, with the Values; in mean time we ftand upon our Guard, having ſome 20 or 30 of the Souldiers of the Caſtle to keep watch every night; for (my Lord!) here is no ſmall Hubbub in the Town, and threatening both of us and the *Eftate*, but we will ſecure both as well as we can. We have ſent your Lordship a rough Draught of what we have, and what we have left ſealed up, and find it fall ſhort far of what your Lordship expected: the ſooner your Lordship diſpoſes of it, the better; for affure your ſelf, there is daily ſome Deſign or other hatching: We ſhould be very ſorry, after all this, to have it miſcarry, therefore pray (my Lord!) diſpoſe of it (to prevent the worſt) as ſoon as you may. Your Lordship was pleaſed to inſorder us to change our Lodging, being too near the Water-fide, and in a Merchant's Houſe; which, as ſoon as we can get a ſecure Houſe, we will; but the farther from the Water-fide, the more dangerous, if the People of the Country ſhould intend us any ill.

The French, and many others, pretend Debts of many of thoſe People that are gone up, and would know who ſhall pay them, and pretend to be paid out of their *Eftates*; but we have put them off, telling them, we believe your Lordship will hardly let your *Eftate* go to pay their Debts; nevertheleſs, ſhall adviſe your Lordship of it: fo have ſecured none, only to one *Hu-zoon* Amet Aga, one of the chief Men in the Town here, Mr. *Lancelott* having given him a Bill of Exchange for 475 Dollars, and the Bill returned unpaid, we were forced to deliver into the Hange's Hands, for his Security, 10 Cloathes.

We have given the Ships liberty to lade, by reaſon of their continual grumbling, but fear our Deſign on the *Jonas* will not take; for the *Caddie* ſeeing the ſtubbornneſs of *Terrick*, will not aſſiſt us as he promiſed. We have not ought to enlarge at preſent, but to ſubſcribe our ſelves,

Your Honours,

John Hetherington,
Lorenzo Zuma.

Matters running thus high, and the Breach made ſo wide, there remained little hopes of an Accommodation: For now the Merchants at *Galata*, having obtained their Liberty from the Ambaſſador's Houſe, by the Vizier's Command, entred into a Conſultation in what manner to govern their Affairs, electing ſome particular Men to that Employment, which they called by the Name of the *Sealed Knot*, which much provoked the Anger of Sir Sackville Crow, and more, becauſe that deſerting his Protection, they made Applications to the Heer *Copper*, A-

gent for the States of *Holland*; who readily embraced the defence of their Caſtle, and willingly repreſented to the Grand Vizier the Aggrievances, and ill Treatment of which they complained. The French Ambaſſador, on the other ſide, being a great Favourer of Sir Sackville Crow and his Proceedings, aſſiſted him both at *Smyrna* and *Conſtantinople*. All which will more particularly appear by the following Letters.

The Factors General Letter to the Levant Company, dated the 28th of June, 1646, in Conſtantinople.

Right Worſhipful,

Sirs, at preſent we have our Heads and Hands full, and all little enough to preſerve your *Eftates* from devouring, and our ſelves from that Evil Conſequence might enfue upon ſuch unheard-of Proceedings and Intentions, as have been long in private agitation; but when the Monſter came to the Birth, there wanted ſtrength to bring forth; fo, in a good hour we may ſay, the Snare is broken, and doubt not the Devices of the Crafty is fruſtrate by him, whoſe Almightyneſs ſhews it ſelf moſt, when we Mortals are leaſt capable to help our ſelves. We ſhall, according to our Obligation, give your Worſhips ſome account of the laſt Progreſſions of his Lordſhip Sir Sackville Crow, whom his Maſtey ſent hither Ambaſſador, and to be a Protector of your *Eftates*, and our Perſons; how he hath performed this Charge and Duty formerly, your Lordſhips have in part heard; what hath happened of late, we ſhall now chiefly inſiſt upon.

After his Lordſhip had cauſed the ſtay of the Ships in this Port, and at *Smyrna*, under pretence of this State's requiring it, in reſpect of their Wars with the Venetians, the *Samphon* and *Smyrna* Merchant, having been here almoſt ſeven Months, to the great loſs and damage of Ships and Goods; he picks a quarrel with the Factory of *Smyrna*, for not complying according to his Order, in the payment of their Parts of the laſt Leviation-Mony; and hereupon ſends down John Hetherington one of his Servants, a moſt lewd, debauched, prophane, riotous Fellow, (yet his Lordſhip's Kinſman) accompanied with two *Chiouzes*, two Druggermen, a Janizary, and other Servants, to proceed with thoſe who ſhould reſuſe to pay their Leviation according to the Inſtructions he had given the ſaid Hetherington, and Lorenzo Zuma, Druggerman: But before the arrival of theſe Agents, the Nation there had undertaken the payment by an Obligatory Letter to his Lordſhip; this would not ſatisfy, nor depofition of Goods for Security, until Anfwer ſhould come from hence of the payment of their Bills of

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1646. Exchange, which was tendred; but the second day after their arrival, *Herberington* and his Retinue goes to the Caddie's, and thither causes the Consul and all the Nation to come; where it was pretended they had laden the *William* and *Thomas* with Corn, and sent her away; and therefore, by virtue of an Imperial Command, (very privately here procured) the Consul, and six more of the Nation, were delivered into the Hands of the Chiouz, and so brought up hither, not being suffered to return to their own Houses, but put a day and a night into an offensive dark place, the Doors and Windows not only shut, but nailed upon them, not suffering either their Friends or Servants to come at them, or a Window open till the evening, for which also they paid Dollars 100. In this disgraceful manner they were brought hither, where they have been since the 22d of the last Month, Prisoners in his Lordship's House: to the 21st present, notwithstanding they had complied in paying the Leviation Monies in less than a Week after their arrivals; and by fair Promises, put off from day to day, for their dispatch to their Business at *Smyrna*, which could not but much suffer by their absence: Their Magazines and Counting-houses continued sealed from the time of their Attachments; the Ships not permitted to lade, or depart, though empty; and no Debts due to them would be paid in their Absence and time of Distriction.

The Leviation Monies being satisfied, (of which Dollars 31000, his Lordship forced into *Cancellaria*); and we of *Smyrna* expecting no more rubs in the way, his Lordship, the 16th Instant, calls a Court, and there declared, That of what Monies had been collected, there would not remain much on the old Account; that therefore provision must be made for the future growing Charge, for so much as upon this pretended Imbargo, no Ships would come in haste, and he and his must be maintained, which he would provide for: Hereupon, when we could not do otherwise, Dollars 25000 was promised, half by this Factory, for which his Lordship caused us to enter into Bond, as he did those of *Smyrna* for the other half; this being effected, which we should not neither altogether have been so ready to have complied in, but thereby to put a period to all other Demands, and enable our selves to proceed in our Business for your Worship's better Service.

The 18th present his Lordship calls another Court; and after arguing of some General Matters, with a seeming fairness, tells us how that he had been wronged by false Information from hence and *Smyrna*, (but he was so far from proving it, as that he would not discover so much as whom he suspected) and thereupon the *Levian*

Company at Home had, by means of the Parliament, procured Sequestration of his Estate and Lands in *England*, and endeavoured to surprize his Person; and therefore, according to Religion, Reason, and common Policy, he ought to secure himself and his Hostages; and thereupon he departed from us, requiring the Nation speedily to resolve of some present Satisfaction that might secure his Estate at Home, and Person here, otherwise he vowed to God, he would suddenly do it himself, with no little disadvantage to our selves and Principals. These strange, unreasonable, and unexpected Demands, filled us with amazement, not knowing what Answer to give to such a groundless demand; we desired the Secretary Signior *Dominico* to know his Lordships more particular Desires therein, that so we might better understand him, and to put his Demands into such a moderate way, as he might receive some Satisfaction. He returned us Answer, that we must resolve to satisfy his aforesaid Demands before we went thence: Whereupon the Gates were shut, and also Guards set upon us, that we should not converse with any, or convey so much as a Paper out of Doors. Thus we are all surprized, made close Prisoners, and our Counting-house, Ware-house, and Chambers sealed up, to make sure of our Goods and Estates there also. Continuing in this sad Condition all Night, and finding no Motion to proceed from his Lordship to declare himself farther, four or five of us was appointed by the generality, personally to crave his Lordship's particular Desires and Demands of us: Whose Answer was, That the lowest value he could put upon his Lands the Company had sequestred, was 25000 pounds *Sterling*; and for the loss he should sustain by being put out of the Ambassadorship, which he saith his Majesty hath granted him for his Life; therefore the Strangers Confilage he rates at Dollars 5000 *per Annum*; which for the clear Gain of seven Years to come, is Dollars 35000; for which he declared that he would not accept of any Personal Security or Obligation whatsoever, but a present disposition of Dollars 160000 in Money or Goods, into his own hands must be made. And if to this we would not consent, he told us, That he at the last Sacrament had vowed to God (as he doth now) to sacrifice his Estate, himself, Wife and Children, for the execution of this his absolute Intent; and till then, neither our Persons, Estates, Ships here, or at *Smyrna*, should be free. We told his Lordship, that finding not any of us had heard of any such Things was (or intended to be) done against him by the Company, it would give us great Satisfaction, to shew us

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1646. us those Advices he grounded this Pretence upon. To this no Answer was then given by himself, but dismissed us, leaving it to our last and speedy Resolution, because he was resolved to strike home. Immediately after he sent us word by a second, That he could not let his Honour descend so low, as to shew his Advices to any. This empty Reply, gave us too much reason, not only to conclude this to be a feigned Pretence, but made us suspect his Intention and Aim was at all the Nation's Estate in the Country; and therefore we returned him this reasonable and defensive Answer, as your Worships will particularly perceive by the inclosed Paper: whereunto is adjoined his Reply to that our Answer, as he pretended; tho it appears it was intended before, it being dated a day before our Answer. Whilst thus we continued, it happened that those four of us were fortunately absent from Court that day, who hearing of our Conditions, wherefore, and why we were thus detained, and what an ill Period these Proceedings tended unto, if not timely and prudently prevented; they used their best endeavours to free us and your Livelihoods from the Claws of Tyranny and Covetousness; they applied themselves to Signior *Illustrissimo* Copper, the States of *Hollands* Agent: who as he was ever a Friend and Favourer of the Nation, so now he gave us good and great testimony thereof in this our greatest Need and Extremity: and chiefly by his means was a Sum of Money; together with the Clamors of the Jews, and many other of the Grand Signior's Subjects against this our present Abuse, and destruction of future Trade: The Vizier (whom they had well and fully possessed with the Truth of all Things) after three days Imprisonment, sent a Chiouz for us to his Lordship's House, from whence we were carried before the Vizier, who much upbraided his Lordship, saying, He never gave him Commands for such Proceedings, notwithstanding his Lordship's avowable Allegations against his own Nation, by saying, an English Ship at *Smyrna* was laden with Powder, Ammunition, &c. and there resided for assistance of the Turks Enemies; and other the like Abuses, and destructive Courses against those here; tending not only to the confiscation of Ships and Estates, but the risk of enslaving our Bodies, if not the loss of all or some of our Lives, had his Hellish Plots taken effect. The next day after our general Commitment, arrives five more of our fellow Factors from *Smyrna*, there seized upon and made Prisoners; and so by his Lordship's Command, in that nature brought to his House, and put amongst us, notwithstanding the advice from their

1646. Correspondents hence was at *Smyrna*, (before their departure thence) that their part of Leviation Money was all paid in here; yet their Leviation, with one third more in Monies and Goods, was taken again from them by his impudently impious Ministers there, and all the rest of their Goods continued sealed up: So the Intent (as your Worships may plainly perceive) was no other than first to get the Monies here paid, then to seize upon their Persons, and next to take away and secure their Estates; thereby to prevent a just, reasonable, and natural Defence; and now it too plainly appears, (because his Lordship's Employers had taken course no Messengers should come unto us); Horsemen are daily dispatched unto us by our Friends at *Smyrna*, advising us to the 20th Instant, of the unnatural and devouring Progressions they had there made; which was done by the assistance of the Caddie, whom they had well bribed, beginning to act there at the same time as we were here all imprisoned; so there was no intent of staying for our Answer to his extravagant Demands. They first fell upon Mr. *Lancelot*'s House, thence proceed all throughout the Nation; so that they have not only taken away all the Goods, Monies, and Effects whatsoever they could find in their Houses, at Home or Abroad, but broke open and ransack'd all our Chambers, Trunks, and Counting-houses, which mounteth to a far greater value than his demands of Dollars 160000; and by large Promises to Informers, endeavour to discover and take what is owing them abroad by People of the Country; and have so threatened our Friends and Servants to deliver our Books, and declare where's more of our Estates, that they are constrained to leave our naked Houses to the open World, and betake themselves to the Ships in Port for Refuge. All this it seems contents them not, but are contriving Provisions, by policy and force of some Rogues of the Country, to unlade what Goods the Nation had put on board the *Jonas*. For all which, we have not only the advice of our distressed Friends there, but such infallible Information, as your Worships may perceive by the inclosed authentick Copies of Letters from his Instruments at *Smyrna* to his Lordship here; by which you will too plainly perceive his Lordship did, and still doth aim at all the Estate the Nation had in the Country; and for that cause he was so much enraged for the departure of the *Heracles*, and *William* and *Thomas*, whose Goods he esteemed as so much loss to him.

We have been now seven days out of his Lordship's hands, and are endeavouring to free that Estate they have already taken at *Smyrna*, as also to defend our

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1646. our Selves and your Estates in future from him, and free the Ships out of Port, (which no question at last will be proved have been detained by his Lordship to this ill purpose) and if possible, to procure the return of Dollars, 20 in 30000, his Lordship hath unavoidably forced from us in the Leviation Account, upon strange Pretences. All which (by the assistance of our obliged and worthy Friend *Signior Illustri-simo Coppes*; together with the expence of Dollars 30 in 40000, to the Vizier and other Turkish Ministers) we doubt not but speedily to effect; for without this honest defensive Remedy, we can expect nothing but ruin to all your Estate in the Country, which still he threatneth, and endeavours by all his devilish Policy and Means to effect: But the Vizier, and the two Caddeleskiers, who are our Judges, are so possest with the Truth and Reason of our Cause, as well by the People of the Country, as our Selves, that they have given us full assurance, by Promises, Protections, and found Probabilities, that our just Demands shall be accomplished; for which we all faithfully and earnestly endeavour Night and Day, and so do hourly expect a good determination of it: and till there be an Issue or Settlement given to this our confused Condition, (which we hope will not continue for many days) no particular Principal must expect Advice from any Factor here, because no private Man can fitly advise any thing, till the general Business be better ordered: And as we proceed therein, we shall by all Ways and Conveyances give your Worships a true and exact Account. We do humbly beseech your Worships to acknowledg the good Offices of the State's Agent to their Ambassador with you, and so fully certify him, that *Illustri. Sign. Coppes* appeared no ways against his Lordship as Ambassador, or trenching on the King's Honour, but respectfully and modestly for the safety of your Estates.

To particularize all Passages and Circumstances in this Business, would prove more troublesome than needful to your Worships, so please to accept of this Relation; for this is the present state of yours and our Condition; which though not so well as we could wish, yet better than we could imagine; for the Hand was up, the March lighted, and a little more time would have blown up all. We need not put your Worships in mind speedily to send us another Protector, seeing the Necessity of your Occasions craves it too plainly; and in confidence of your speedy Resolution thereof, we shall continue, hoping our Desires will be satisfied, and the Estates in better security, by his speedy arrival here, which God in Mercy grant.

His Lordship's Cause is so bad, that *Signior Dominico* your Secretary, *Signior George*, and all other Druggermen, have not only declined his Lordship, but apply themselves to us, (and especially the former). In fine, we conceive his Lordship finds his former bad Proceedings have made him incapable to return into *England*, and also uncertain of his Residence here; which, together with the improvident use he hath made of his Golden Time, that he intended to seize upon all He and his unworthy Instruments could catch hold of; for to this purpose he diverted the *Golden Fleet's* advantageous Design for *Venice*; which at first was approved and caused by his own consent; and occasioned her Factor here, to whom she was consigned, to let her him to freight, that fo Himself, Family, and undue gotten Estate, may be conveyed (as is supposed) into *France*, with whose Ambassador, there hath been often a more than ordinary correspondence of late.

Galata of Constantinople,
June 28. 1646.

Before the sealing up of our Letter, we have procured an Imperial Command for the recovering of the Estate into our Hands, taken away at *Smyrna*; as also for the attaching the Persons, and bringing those good Agents of his Lordships hither, to answer their Proceedings and Behaviour: the obtaining of which Command, we are not a little glad of, being our Obligatory Testimony of the Vizier's being our Friend, and ties him thereby to continue so, which we hope effectually to find, two days hence, when his Lordship is to appear with us before him; but in case he refuseth (as already he hath done) the Vizier will give Sentence against him.

Your Worships may be pleased to take notice, that his Lordship's chief Counsellor, in these his undue Proceedings, is *Mr. Henry Hyde*, of whose good Service in your former Occasions at the *Mores*, we need not to give testimony; but can assure your Worships, that since his coming hither, he hath occasioned great Disturbance among the Nation; and now at last (had the Design before mentioned taken effect) might have raised his decayed Fortunes, by the ruin of Yours and our Estates; but, thanks be to God, the Council of *Achiophel* is turned into Folly. And for your late Treasurer *John Woolf*, the satisfying of whose Debts hath so mounted the last Leviation, he is so far from acknowledging the Courtesies done in acquitting him from his Creditors, that he is become Assitant (though a weak one) to his Lordship in the Proceeding aforementioned: And having deferred *Galata*, with *Mr. Henry Hyde*,

1646. *Hyde*, resides at his Lordship's, laying their Heads together in contriving Mischief against those from whom they have had their Maintenance.

In case your Worships should not be in a posture to procure an Ambassador so soon as you may desire, that you would please in the interim, and as soon as may be, to obtain a Letter from his Majesty to the Grand Signior, or Vizier, in approbation and acknowledgment of what is done; and that his Lordship be not nimbler than your Worships in getting the like against us, which doubtless he will endeavour. We shall not farther enlarge at present, but intend shortly, when all things shall be fully and absolutely settled, to write to your Worships again. So we reit.

At Instant a Copy of his Lordship's Letter, with others directed to him, being come to hand, we send them herewith; and from *Smyrna* are advised that the Persons of *Hetherington* and the Druggerman are detained aboard our Ships there; and by this time the Command is with them, which will warrant the bringing them up with their Papers, that are also aboard; by which the Plot will more plainly appear. To morrow we expect his Lordship's appearance before the Vizier, when we have hopes to reward the Trouble he intended others, &c.

Kept until the 6th of
July, 1646.

Your Worships most obliged and
humble Servants,

John Wyld,
John Lancelot,
Nicholas Read,
William Abley,
Thomas Berkeley,
Dixwell Brent,
Nath. Barnardiston,
James Moyer,
James Modyford,
Daniel Edwards,
William Chappell,
Roger Fowke,
Gyles Ball,
John Tye,
John Ball,
William Pearl,
John Pixley,
George Hanger,

Samuel Barnardiston,
John Swift,
William Gough,
Thomas Pigot,
John Abney,
Francis Ashwell,
Robert Frampton,
Gyle Davis,
John Plomer,
James Davison,
William Osburn,
Henry Davy,
Richard Strode,
Philip Farewell,
John Erisley,
Jonathan Dawes,
Ralph Gosnold.

Your Worships most obliged, most
humble, and faithful Servant,

Domenico Timone,

Secretary.

The Factor's General Letter from *Smyrna*, dated the 4th of July, 1646, to the Levant Company.

Right Worships! Sirs,

IT may please you, our last from hence was by the Ship *William and Thomas*, advising his Lordships Proceedings for another Leviation, for discharging your Debts at *Constantinople*, being then informed that the whole amounted unto Dollars 118109; and how we were relieved to withstand it, until your Worships further Pleasure should be signified unto us concerning the same, for such Reasons as we then presumed to lay open unto you; and that in the mean time we had presented our Grievances to his Lordship's gracious perusal, the Copy whereof went annexed to our said Letter, to both which you may please to have reference.

The 24th of March following, our Confil called a Court, and declared his Lordship's Answer to our said Letter, disliking our Proceedings; and by a new Order prohibited the lading of Goods, and receiving them on Board, and the departure of Ships, until the said Leviation were paid, according to his former Order, and Schedule now set down, shewing each Man his proportionable part for his Factory of *Smyrna*, amounting in all to Dollars 54950, and for the Factory at *Constantinople*, to Dollars 56000, is together Dollars 110950. Whereupon, we generally desired that his Lordship would be pleased to suspend the execution of the said Order of Leviation, until such time we should receive your Worships farther Order about it, without which we our selves were like to pay it out of our own Purcs, as in the last Leviation; receiving fine particular Orders from some of our Principals, not to pay any Leviations, otherwise it should be for our own Accounts, and not theirs.

The 24th of April, the Confil called another Court, signifying unto us, that his Lordship did require an account for the departure of the Ship *William and Thomas*, and Success, contrary to his Lordship's Commands, there being an Officer of the Vizier's come down to apprehend Captain *Tho. Porter*, and to carry him up to *Constantinople*, (which Ships departed at their own pleasures, being not in our powers to stay them). And that concerning the Leviation it was inevitable, and his Lordship was resolved upon it, and therefore would force us unto it, and expect repair of Honour from the Delinquents. Whereupon fearing his Lordship's farther displeasure, which might beget some greater Inconveniences amongst us, we presumed to yield unto his Lord-

1646. Lordship's Commands, by way of a submissive orderly compliance, and conform our selves unto the payment of our parts of the said Leviation, in proportion to the Estates were received on the last general Ships, *Hercules*, *Samson*, and *Smyrna-Merchant*, according to our particular Afflictments; as appeareth by our general Letter presented to his Lordship, and entered in *Cancellaria*, grounded upon the result of this days Court; desiring his Lordship would be pleased to allow us four Months time for payment, for such Reasons as we have alledged in the same.

The 6th of May, the Consul told us he had received other Letters from his Lordship, prohibiting not only the Lading of Goods, and the Departure of any Ships, until the Leviation be settled; but also therein more fully signifies and declares, That until the Grand Signior's Fleet be gone forth, he cannot permit any Ship, either at *Constantinople*, or here, to lade or be dispatched; and that accordingly his Lordship is to require of this State. And in like manner hath ordered and commanded those whom it concerns, both above, and in this Port, to observe the same. And moreover farther witnessing, which accordingly (as he said) he was bound to acquaint us, how that the Embargo at *Constantinople*, and here, was seconded; and his Lordship, to avoid farther Dangers and Inconveniences to the Publick, could not refuse his Consent thereunto.

The 10th of May arrived here Mr. John Hetherington, a Servant to his Lordship, and Signior *Lorenzo Zuma* a Greek, one of his Lordship's Druggermen, from *Constantinople*; who the next Morning moved our Consul to call a Court for the Nation; where being assembled, the Consul told the said Hetherington and Lorenzo, That their Desires were performed, and therefore required them to deliver what they had in Commission from his Lordship: who produced an Order of the 27th of April, directed to the Consul and Us, for payment of the said Leviation forthwith, or else to proceed according to his farther Order, Warrant, and Instructions in such behalf; and we to be answerable to such Loss, Damage, and Inconveniences as may ensue thereby. To which we answered, That the Leviation was subscribed unto, and therefore desired the said Hetherington and Lorenzo to stay four or five days, until his Lordship should return. Answer to our Letter of the 24th of April. The said Lorenzo told us, He would retire and peruse his Lordship's Commission, and in two hours return, to have a more full and satisfactory Answer from us: which being expired, he declared, That his Lordship's Commission required forthwith ready

1646. Money or Goods, (being his Instruction, from which he could not vary). Whereupon Mr. John Lancelot first answered, (as he was a Merchant) He could not deposit his Cloth, for his Credit's sake, but would give his Bills for his and Mr. Diswell Brent's proportionable part of the Leviation, payable at *Constantinople* per Mr. Thomas Pigot, at five days sight, into his Lordship's *Cancellaria*; which was refused, unless they would deposit the value in Cloth, and one third part more towards Charges, in the possession of him the said Lorenzo; which they said again, for their Credits sake (as they were Merchants) could not consent unto; so referred themselves unto the said Lorenzo's farther proceedings, if these Proffers would not be accepted of, being not possible for them at present to procure Monies at Interest, or otherwise.

The like Conditions we all in general proffered for our proportionable parts, but were refused by the said Hetherington and Lorenzo. Whereupon the Consul told them, they had all our Assents for payment of the Leviation; and if that, with such Reasons and Proffers as we propounded, might not be satisfactory, the Consul, and we in general, referred our selves to the said Lorenzo's farther Proceedings.

After this, the said Hetherington and Lorenzo presently repaired to the Caddies, accompanied with a prime Chioüz of the Vizier's, and declared their farther Commiſſions: After publication whereof, the Caddie sent for the Consul, and all our Nation, where the Capitulations were first taken away by Warrant, and the Consul in a most barbarous manner was laid hold on; with Diswell Brent, Daniel Edwards, John Pizley, Samuel Barnardiston, George Hanger, and James Moyer, and committed Prisoners into the Custody of the said Chioüz and Officers, and transported to a House (taken by them on purpose) where they were violently, and in a formidable manner, thrust into a dark Chamber, and at length were forced to present Dollars 300, to have a Window set open to give them Light and Air; the Consul telling the said Hetherington and Lorenzo, before he was surprized, in the presence of the Caddies, That neither he, or the Nation, had any ways transgressed the Grand Signior's, or his Lordship's Commands, and that he did not fear what they could do unto him, no not so much as to die, in performance of his Faith and Trust to the *Levant* Company, whom he had truly served; as likewise for his Love and Affection he bore to the Nation here under his Charge, whom he would never betray, hoping shortly to see his own Country again. And in two hours after, the said Hetherington, Lorenzo, and Chioüz, Caddie,

and

1646. and Neipe, sealed up all the Counting-houses, Magazines, and some Chambers; and in two days after, transported the Prisoners over-land up to *Constantinople*, where they were delivered to his Lordship's Power and safe Custody; we in the mean time being left like so many Sheep without a Shepherd, and ignorant where to seek protection.

The next day after departure of these Prisoners, the said Hetherington and Lorenzo sealed up our Cloth in our own Warehouses, for what concerned our proportionable part of the Leviation, at the rate of Dollars 45 per Cloth, and one third part more towards Charges.

The 18th day of May, at the instance of the said Hetherington and Lorenzo, the remainder of us left here behind met together, where the said Hetherington told us we had not brought in our Bills of Exchange for *Constantinople*, for the parts of our Leviation, and one third part more; unto which we answered, We had complied with his Lordship's Commands, in all willing and obedient manner, according to our present Possibilities, until we should be able to satisfy the same with our ready Monies here, or by our Bills payable in *Constantinople*, at five days sight, where-in we promised to use our utmost Endeavours, hoping to redeem our Cloth again, which we had deposited, and they sealed up, for our proportionable Parts of the Leviation.

In few days after arrived here one of the principallest Chioüzes of the Grand Signior, with new Commands sent down by his Lordship; by virtue whereof the said Hetherington and Lorenzo seized upon the Persons of John Ball, Henry Davey, Phillip Farnwell, Nathaniel Barnardiston, and John Ingoldsby, who were committed Prisoners to the said Chioüz, who used them with some humanity, and sent up the next day to *Constantinople*, to be delivered unto his Lordship's Power; after whose departure (all Law being set aside) the said Hetherington and Lorenzo by this Command came down, opened all our Warehouses, and by Violence carried all our Goods away into several Canes of the Turks; as well what they had sealed up, for the Leviation, as all other Goods of what nature soever they could find, unless it were such as was sealed up, and belonged to Turks, and other of the Grand Signior's Subjects; and left many of us so bare, that we had not wherewithal to afford us a piece of Bread to keep Life and Soul together, only bare Promises. The said Chioüz remaining behind, put us daily into great Fears that we should all be sent up, or clapt up here in Prison, which caused many of us to repair on board the Ship for Succour, here being in

1646. Harbour the Ships *Rainbow*, *Jonas*, *Hopewell*, and *Triangle*.

In all which time of this Diffraction and Sufferings, our Miseries have been much consoled by the chief Turks and Inhabitants of this Place, who seem to sympathize with us in our sad Conditions; and had not the Commands been so powerful, the whole Town would have risen up in our Defence and Protection, who have privately advised of these Abuses; which as they themselves confess, are like to ruin, not only this Scale, but that of *Aleppo* and *Constantinople* also, to the Dishonour of the Grand Signior, and ruin of many of his Subjects; and of a profitable and acceptable Friend (our Nation) to become a potent Enemy against them.

The 28th of June came Letters from *Constantinople*, advising the Vizier's Order for retuing both Factories from his Lordship's Imprisonment, and particular Advice to some of us here left, for apprehending the Persons of the said Hetherington and Lorenzo, and to keep them in safe Custodies on board our Ships, fearing (we having no Order as yet to receive our Estates out of their Possessions) they might convey our said Estates away, or sell them for half their Worth, and so make their private escapes out of Town, expecting daily a Chioüz to carry up their Persons to *Constantinople*, and to free our Goods, hoping all will go well again for us. Hereupon the very same day, the said Hetherington and Lorenzo, (without any noise or rumour) were by the Mariners conveyed on board several Ships from the said Hetherington's Lodging, viz. Hetherington on board the *Triangle*, William Hodger Commander; and Lorenzo on board the *Hopewell*, Nicholas Terriek Commander; where now they remain, to the contentment of the Inhabitants here, who daily expect their sending up to the Port, there to answer to such Crimes and Insolencies as shall be objected and proved against them.

Thus we have presumed plainly and distinctly (accordingly as we conceive it becomes us) though briefly, to present unto your Worships perusal, the whole Process of his Lordship's Proceedings against us here in *Smyrna*, (since our last) according to our experience of the Passages; by which your Worships may easily conjecture his Lordship's farther Intentions. And for what hath occurred at *Constantinople*, your Worships will receive by this Conveyance, advice to both which we pray you to be referred; which being taken into your deliberate Considerations, may afford such future Means of Protection, and encouragement to enter into a way of settling this Turkey Trade in such a

I. posture,

1646. posture, that we hope these Losses may be repaired with advantage.

And so we humbly take our leaves, having given your Worships testimony of our Concordance, in the discharge of our Obligations and Duties; and in conformity we subscribe, evermore resting,

Smyrna, July 4.
1646.

Your Worships humble and
obliged Servants,

Robert Koble,	Arnold White,
Thomas Lancelot,	Daniel Bassano,
John Wild junior,	William Whetcombe,
Lawrence Chambers,	Robert Dawes,
Will. Oswick,	Samuel Browning.

But not to insist long on a Subject so ungrateful, as the Difference was between the Ambassador and his Merchants; the Conclusion, and Issue of all was this. After Sir *Sackville Crow* had spent at the least seventy thousand pieces of Eight of good ready Money, and the Turkey Company two hundred thousand; the Turks finding the Ambassador's Exchequer to be almost exhausted, for that Presents and Purges of Money came not in so plentifully as at first; and on the contrary, feeling the Spring of the Levies Companies Treasury still to run fresh and quick, their Inclinations towards the Ambassador grew more cold and faint, his Agents were not admitted so readily to Audience as formerly, nor his Petitions and Addresses received with that candour, as when Money and Interest made their entrance easy; in the mean time, the Merchants were heard with great patience, their Cause and Complaints esteemed reasonable; and in short, Sir *Sackville Crow* was dismissed from Constantinople, in a manner not usual for Ambassadors, nor agreeable to that Quality and Character: and was succeeded by Sir *Thomas Bendish*, who was Authorized and constituted in that Embassy, by Commission from his Majesty King Charles the First of ever blessed and glorious Memory.

1647. *Gio Capello* being constituted General in the place of *Molina*, as we mentioned at the end of the preceding Year, departed from Venice early in the Spring, having under his Command fifty Gallies, six Gallies, and forty Ships of War, and four Fire-ships, besides other Vessels, which are necessary Attendants on so great an Armata; which grand Preparations raised the Minds of the Christian World to expect the abatement of the Ottoman Pride, and other Effects equal to the magnificent Ostentation, and triumphing Glory of this mighty Power: But God, who gives not always Success to the Powerful, nor the Battle to the Strong, was not, it seems, so well satisfied for the Sins of Christendom, as to judge it worthy to be delivered from the Scourges of its Grand Oppressor.

Whilst *Capello* remained with the best part of the Fleet at *Candia*, *Tomaso Morosini*, Admiral of the Ships, shewed himself in a Bravado with twenty two Sail before the Castles of the *Hellepont*, called the *Dardanelli*, defying the whole Turkish Power, with Colours flying, and Drums beating: nor did they dare to answer the bold

1647. Challenge, until in a dead Calm, some few light Gallies presented themselves in a seeming Battle, with whom, for want of Wind, the Ships were on the disadvantage, and rather received Prejudice than gave it; so that both sides were contented with the Action.

Morosini withdrew from that Station, and returned to his General at *Candia*; to whom having joined his Forces, he earnestly persuaded him, together with the Provost *Grimani*, to engage the Turkish Fleet, which they assured him was much inferior to them, both in number of Vessels, and in Skill and Courage of the Combatants; and that the Success of this Year consisted in the cutting off the Enemies Successors, which was their sole Relief and Dependence, without which they could no longer maintain the Ground they possessed, but must deliver up that and themselves to their pleasure. But the cautious General would not assent to this Resolution, judging it over- rash and precipitate; for that the Fortune of *Candia*, and other Isles of the Archipelago, was not to be hazarded on the Success of one Battle.

During which Dispute, and irresolution of Affairs, the Turkish Fleet, consisting of three hundred Sail, arrived at *Canea*, where they landed forty thousand fighting Men, which turned the Scale of the War, and rendered the Turks so powerful, as not ever more to be expelled, or their Off-spring extirpated from the Confines of that Island. By this time the Pope's and *Molina*'s Gallies were to their Assistance, and united with the Venetians; so that *Capello* setting sail from the Port of *Suda*, resolved to engage the Enemy at St. *Theodore*; which was expected accordingly, though with little Success, for the Turks had fortified themselves, and secured their Gallies with that advantage, that they could not be allured without great hazard of the Christians; and when they endeavoured to burn them, their four Fire-ships took fire too soon, and proved of more fear and alarmment to the Turks (to whom this Invention was as yet unknown) than of real damage. After this the Venetians returned again to *Suda*, where having intelligence that thirty Turkish Gallies, with Men and Provision (which they had collected in several parts of the Archipelago) were on their Voyage to *Canea*, *Capello* preparing to intercept them with a Force of Gallies and Gallies, and leaving *Grimani* and *Morosini* to command the main Body of the Fleet, he in Person bent his Course towards *Cerigo*.

In the mean time *Mustapha* Pasha departed from *Canea*, in order to his return to *Constantinople*, with fifty seven light Gallies, two Ships, two Gallies, and many Sails; but meeting in his Passage with a hard storm of Northerly Winds, he lost seven of his Gallies, and several other Vessels, so that he resolved to divide his Fleet, and send part of them to *Scio*, and himself with the other part to make for *Negropont*. This Fleet was followed by some other Vessels under the Command of *Mahomet Celebes*, Brother of the Pasha of *Algier*, who being as far in his way as the narrow Straights of *Andra*, he was there stopped by the Fury of the Northern Winds, (which are the Master-Winds of those Seas) and by the impetuous rage thereof, was carried to the Island of *Zia*; where having given Licence to the greatest part of his Southerly Land, they carefully frayed abroad, and without suspicion of Surprise, merrily passed their time in eating and drinking. In the interim, advice hereof being carried to *Tomaso Morosini*,

1647. *Morosini*, then with some Ships in the Port of *Mileto*, he immediately, without loss of time, applied himself to assault the Turks; and being followed by the Provost *Grimani*, he took two of their Ships, whilst *Mahomet Celebes*, with about two hundred of his Men, betook themselves to the weak shelter of an old demolished Fort, and afterwards surrendered themselves to the discretion of the Conqueror.

Morosini and *Grimani*, encouraged with this Success, resolved to pursue the Enemies Fleet; in order unto which, *Morosini* first putting out to Sea, was instantly carried away by a fierce gale of Wind towards *Ambro*, and separated from the rest of his Fleet, and thence again was rolled by the impetuosity of the Storms into *Rafio*; of which *Mustapha* Pasha having Intelligence, made haste to attack this single Vessel, with forty Gallies; giving order to the Bey of *Rhodes*, to lay him aboard with fifteen Gallies, the strongest and best armed of all their Squadron: *Morosini* nothing dismayed, bearing the same constancy of Mind in the midst of his Enemies, as at a distance, boldly shewed himself on the Quarter Deck, encouraging his Men with his words, and by his Example, to Actions worthy their Religion, Faith, and Country for which they contended. The Turks continued for some time to batter the Ship at a distance with their Cannon, but with little damage to the Christians; who returned their Shot to better advantage. Hereby the Turks perceiving that Blows given so far off did little Execution, resolved to Board the Vessel, and subdue her by force of Arms, and being come to the side of the Ship, the Soldiers were fearful to enter, suspecting some trains of Powder to blow them up, until *Emurat*, one of the Captains, struck off the Head of one or two of his own Men, whom he perceived backward in the Assault, which affrighted the rest into the greater danger, and forced them to enter the Ship, who were soon followed by the Gallies of the Bey of *Rhodes*, of *Mileto*, of *Mahomet* Bey, and others; so that now two hundred of the Enemy were Combating with Swords and Half Pikes upon the Deck; in which storm, *Morosini* fighting amongst the thickest, was shot through the Head with a Musket Bullet, and so gloriously finished his Days in the Service and Defence of his Country; gaining to himself a Laurel, and an immortal Name of Glory and Renown.

The Christian Soldiers little regarding all this time the fall of their General, stoutly maintained their Fight, in which they received encouragement from the prospect they had of two Gallies making haste to their Succour; at whose nearer approach, the Turks desisted from their farther Attempt; being unwilling to purchase a Victory at the dear rate it would cost them.

The Body of *Morosini* was transported to *Venice*, and his Obsequies Celebrated in a manner more Triumphant than Funerous; the Provost *Grimani* was likewise declared Captain General in the place of *Capello*; who having, as it were, besieged the Castles at the Mouth of the *Dardanelli*, taken several places in the Archipelago, and put the Enemies Fleet often unto fights, he thereby, and by other Acts of Valour, rendered him justly renowned through all Christendom.

These were the chief and most memorable actions by Sea, performed this Year; To be by Land were acted chiefly in *Dalmatia*, where the Turks poured in their Forces on the Venetian

1647. Dominions, but were bravely repulsed by *Leonardo Foscato*, who took Ali Bey Prisoner, the Commander in Chief of the Sangiac of *Lissa*, and slew his Son; besides which, he took *Scavara*, *Pollanza*, *Ilano*, and other Fortresses and Castles, full of Arms and Ammunition, which were the Magazines of the Country; he also recovered *Nevegrade* out of the hands of the Turks, which was afterwards demolished by Order from the Senate; which Victories were followed with other Successes; nothing being able to oppose the Valiant and Prosperous Arms of *Foscato*; for besides the taking and sacking of several other Forts and Castles in *Dalmatia*, *Obrazina*, *Carina*, *Grossina*, *Visina*, *Nadrino*, *Oravina*, *Tina*, and *Salama*, in the Confines of *Croatia*, and *Bosnia*, became a Prey to the Venetian Arms.

But to this successful Progress of the War, a stop was given for some time by the sickness of *Foscato*; in which interim, the new Pasha of *Bosnia*, called *Mahomet Tschiti*, a Circassian born, a Person both Generous and Valiant, with an Army of forty thousand Men, besieged the strong Fortress of *Srebrenica*; but was bravely repulsed by the Valour of the Inhabitants, the very Women exceeding the imbecility of their Sex; and Children and old Men, with the weakness of their Age, strengthened themselves with Resolution against their Enemies, and so valiantly behaved themselves in defence of their City, that the Turk was forced to raise his Siege, having gained nothing but the loss and slaughter of many of his People, and the best of his Soldierly; whereby he gained an assurance of the Invincible Strength of that place; and the Valour of the Inhabitants.

Foscato in like manner recovering his Health, continued the un-interrupted course of his Victories, and thence added the taking of *Scardona*; so that in *Dalmatia* the Venetian Affairs ran so prosperously, nothing could be desired to render them more happy and glorious. For the Turks not only were expelled from the Confines of *Dalmatia*, but likewise that Province became more quiet and secure than ever it had been in the Times of Peace.

But the joy of these Successes was very much alloyed by the unhappy Fate of a great part of the Venetian Fleet, at the Island of *Flora*; which being launched from *Candia* with intention to assault the Turks within the *Dardanelli*, unfortunately were driven by contrary Winds to that unsecure shore; where contending with a most furious Storm, a great part of the Fleet was cast away, and the General *Grimani* himself drowned. About which time, the Turks, for the greater Terror of the Christians, laid close Siege to the City of *Gandia*, and made many and various Attempts thereon, carrying on their Assaults with the height of bravery and Resolution; the Particulars of which require a distinct History; but by the invincible Fortitude and Courage of the Christians, they were repulsed with that slaughter, and with the loss of many Men, by Sallies and other Stratagems of War, that the Turks were at length constrained to raise their Siege with dishonour and confusion; during which time many of the Nobility and Persons of Quality lost their Lives; amongst which, the principal were, *Vicenzo della Morra*, Governour General of the Arms of *Candia*, and Count *Remorantino*, natural Son of the Duke of *Lorraine*, Commander in Chief of the Forces that came from beyond the Alps.

L 2 General

1647. General *Fefale* encouraged by the many glories Enterprises that he had obtained, resolved to consummate all by taking the strong and famous Fortrefs of *Cliffa*, fittuate in the Confines of *Dalmatia*, and Borders of *Bofna*, on the top of a fteep and craggy Mountain, invironed with Rocks, and unacceffible Pallages, the difficulty of the attempt rather inflamed than abated the Courage of *Fefale*, fo that he valiantly befieged and Affaulted that Place during which time, the Priest *D. Stephan Sorich*, Captain of the Morlachs, intercepted the Succours which were fent thither, and *George* the Provender, overthrow *Trebbia* Paffa in a Field Battle, fo that the Inhabitants defpairing of Relief, furrendered up themfelves to the mercy of the Venetians; and thus *Cliffa* being taken, the Senate Commanded that it fhould be more regularly Fortified.

And here the Chriftian Arms met fome interruption. For the Morlachs defirous to caft off the Turkish Yoke, and return to the protection of the Venetians, defigned to fuprize *Senari*; and at the fame time the Arch-bifhop of *Durazzo*, with feven thoufand Albanians, was to feize upon *Crina*, and *Stella*; but the Defign being difcovered by the traitorous practices of fome faine Brethren, before Matters were maturely grown, or the time of Execution, it had certainly coft the Life of all the Morlachs, and feven hundred Venetian Souldiers joined with them, had not the increafe of the Waters hindered the fpeedy March of the Turks, who refolved to cut them all off without mercy, or regard to any; fo that having time to difperfe themfelves, and take refuge in the Mountains, the moft of them preferved their Lives from the Cruelty of their Enemies; only fome certain Ecclefiaftical Perfons falling into their Hands, they imputed unto them the caufe of the Rebellion, and in a barbarous manner impaled them on Stakes.

The Turks enraged for the lofs of *Cliffa*, difpatched *Derwis* Paffa into the parts of *Bofna*, with a potent Army, threatening to Affault *Spalato*; whom to divert, *Fefale*, together with Priest *Sorich*, Captain of the Morlachs, entered into the Enemies Country; fpoiling, burning, and deftroying wherefoever they came. The Morlachs more greedy of Prey than ambitious of Glory, divided themfelves into fmall Parties to rob and pillage; in which Intreem they were affaulted by the Turks, but being fcattered, that were fo far from making a ftout refiftance, that they committed themfelves to a fhameful flight, in which great numbers of them were miferably Butchered; nor could the valour of *Sorich*, nor of the Governour *Poffideria*, reduce them by their Examples into any Order: whilft together with fome few valiant Dalmatians, the Morlachs Captives, they endured the fhock of all the Enemies Fury; in which Skirmifh the Turks loft feven Agas, and about feventy Souldiers; On the Chriftians fide were killed four hundred, fome few Slaves, and about feventy *Ensigns* taken; among the reft the good Priest *Sorich* fcorning to turn his back, had the misfortune to fall into the Enemies hands, whom they fead alive, and afterwards impaled; and though they fubdued his Body, yet he was ftill matter of his mind; bearing the fame confidence in his Torments, as he had hewed Magnanimity and Courage in the Face of his Enemy.

Whilft thefe Martial Affairs were tranfading with the Blood and Life of many thoufands on both fides, Sultan *Ibrahim*, like a ftout Souldier

of *Venus*, waged another War in the Elysiums of *Cupid*; and cafting afide all the thoughts of *1647.* *Candia*, remitted the fole care and management thereof to the Vizier and Paffas of the Divan; following a Life fo lafcivious and fenfual, as can neither be imagined with a chaff Francy, or defcribed by a modest Pen.

A principal Inftrument of his Delights, and Engine to compafs his Amorous Defigns, was a certain caft Wench of his, which he named *Shechir Para*, which fignifies a little piece of Sugar; for fo it seems he was fo complaifant and dulcid in her Humour and Difcourfe, as merited that apt Name to exprefs the fweetnefs of her Con verfation; this Woman having the con vection to vifit all the Baths in Town, took notice of every Woman which the faw of more than ordinary Features and Proportion, and having enquired her Condition and Dwelling, prefently reported the fame with all advantage to her Sultan, who having heard the Beauty defcribed, became paffionately Enamoured, and could find no repofe in his Fancy, until his Inftruments, either by fair words or violence, had fubdued her, or forced her to his bed. But growing now extravagant and over-wanton in his Amours, he fell in love with the Sultana, or Widow of his Brother Sultan *Mehmet*. To win her Affections he had recourfe to his Dear *Shechir Para*; who ufed all her Arts in this Service: but her wheedling Terms could prevail nothing on this Lady, who answered her in fhort, That at the Death of her Lord Sultan *Mehmet*, he had refolved upon a perpetual Widowhood, for that the memory of him was full fo lively in her, that he could not entertain the thoughts of admitting any new Embraces. This repugnancy and oppofition inflamed the heat of *Ibrahim* like a Fever, fo that he refolved to affault her himfelf one day by force, and took his time juft as he came out of the Bath; but the being a bold Woman, and difdaining the wandring loves of *Ibrahim*, laid her hand upon her Dagger, (which Sultana's and great Ladies ufually wear) threatening to wound him in her own defence; the noife and brawling hereof being over-heard by the Queen-Mother, called her from her Retirement, and concerned her in the Quarrel; who whilft the reproved her Son, for the rage he intended on his Brother's Wife, gave opportunity to the Sultana to efcape; and fo delivered her out of the hands of this Satyr. But *Ibrahim* mad with love, and fuming with difdain to be checked and oppofed by his Mother, Commanded her immediately to the old Seraglio, where he confined her to feveral days Imprifonment, during which time he underftood in what manner he had treated his large-fiz'd Armenian, of whom we have already fpoken; whereof the Queen-Mother being confcious, fubmitted herfelf with all humility to her Son, begging his Favour and Pardon; and fo wifely advifed her part by thofe who carried her Addreffes, that he overcame quickly his eafy Nature, and was again reftored to his Grace, and her Lodgings in the new Seraglio.

In the mean time *Shechir Para* travelling over all the Baths in Town, to difcover new delights for her Mafter, at length met the fortune to caft her Eyes on a Daughter of the Mufti, a Maid of an Incomparable Beauty and Features of Countenance, and proportion of Body, which she reported to *Ibrahim* fo fenfibly, as if fheer felt had been in love; and after she had praifed every Part and Member of her, he concluded in himfelf, that she was the moft Excellent and admirable

Piece

1647. Piece that ever Nature framed. The Sultan had no fooner heard of her, but according to the ufual Customs, fell moft deeply in love; and had immediately, without farther confideration or counfel, difpatched his Emiffaries; or without other Preamble, Ceremony, or Courtfhip, to have fetched her to him; had not the fenfe of the late Rebel's he had received from his Brother's Wife, made fome impreffion of fear in him; and the apprehenfion he had of the Power of the Mufti, created in him a certain Caution and Refpect in the treatment of his Daughter: wherefore he rather refolved to fend for the Mufti, with whom he treated of honourable Terms concerning Marriage, promifing to take her into his Bosom, and prefer her in Honour equal to any other of his Sultana's.

The old Man who was tender of, and doated on his Daughter, knowing well the wandring humour of the Sultan in his Amours, intended rather to marry her to fome great Perfonage, with whom he might be more happy, than in being a Sultana: for he confidered, that *Ibrahim* having already other Sons, her life would either be Sacrificed for fecurity of their Brothers, or elfe fpend their days in a Prifon, and become Grey-headed, whilft they breath in a medium between Life and Death, and are fad Reclufes in the Grave of their unperfected Youth. Thefe confiderations were well imprinted in the mind of the Mufti: but becaufe he durft not deny his propofal, he dealt with him as Inferiours ufually do with their Lords and Superiours; that is, he returned him thanks, exprelling infinite Obligations, that he would vouchsafe to his Princely Eyes on an unworthinefs of his Family: however he advifed him, that according to the Canons of their Law, of which he was the Expofitor, and obliged to be a fevere and precise Obfervr; it was great Impiety in a Father to impofe on the Affections of his Child; fo that though he could heartily wifh that his Daughter would embrace this Honour, to which he would exhort her with all the earneft Perfwafions of a Father; yet if he proved refractory thereunto, it would not be becoming his Power to force her; and therefore hoped his Majesty would believe, that in proceeding thus far, he had performed his duty to God and his Father, both as a Father, and a Loyal Subject.

Ibrahim fuppofing that by this Concefion he had gained his Defign, thanked and embraced the old Man, whom difmiffing with plenty fatisfaction, he remained now with an impatient expectation and hopes of enjoyment. Next Morning the Mufti returned early to the Grand Signior, and having firft fufficiently inftruted his Daughter to refufe the Sultan's Proffers, told him plainly, that he had ufed all his paternal Authority and intereft with his Daughter, that he might induce her to accept of this fteady Fortune, which caft it felt upon her; but that it found not that ready acceptance with her as he expected; what could be the reason he knew not how to conjecture, fince Women are commonly irregular, and unreafonable in their Affections.

Ibrahim being in this manner difappointed, and more angry to encounter this fteady Fortune, he firft to the impetuous violence of his Lufts, than oppofition againft the puillance of his Arms; difmiff the Mufti with fome neglect and difdain, whom he refolved to treat with Rigour, and his Daughter with Courtfhip. In order to the firft, he banifhed him the Courts; and forbad him his prefence in any other place;

1647. grew fuller and unfatisfied at all his adminiftrations of Juftice, intending thereby to induce him to a refignation of his Office, there being nothing more irkfome to an ingenious Spirit, than to ferve and not to pleafe. On the other fide he dealt with the young Lady in a different manner, by the crafty and flattering infinuations of his truly *Shechir Para*, who fo forcibly managed her Tongue full of curious Words, mixed with Threats, reprefenting the Storms and Fury of the Sultan's Rage; and again, the Glory, Splendour, and Happinefs of the Seraglio; where the fhould Reign as Emprefs and Sovereign of the World: all which the expreffed with that paffion, and lafcivious enticement, as what would have shaken a firm confidence, than the Vertue of a Turkish Maid: but the being well admonifhed by her Father, remained obftinate in her Denial: but to quiet the importunity of this Seducer, he begged her not to follicite her Father in this Requeft, but rather that she would intercede in her behalf with the Sultan applying him with all humility to pardon her Childifhnefs, and to leave her unto her unto her own Liberty and Choice, and a fingle Life: to obtain which favour from her, the produced a Diamond of confiderable value, defiring her to accept of that from her, and to become her Friend, her Affiant, and Protectors. *Shechir Para* being overcome by her Maiden Modesty, could no longer refift fuch forcible Entreaties; and having her Eyes obfcured with the luftre of the Jewel, promifed to change her Note, and excufe her refusal with all the advantageous and compaffionate Terms poffible; and fo taking her leave with a courteous farewell, repaired to the Sultan, to give an account of her Negotiations.

Ibrahim having with more doubtful Fear attended the iffue of this laft Conference, than he did the Succels of his War with *Venice*; received his *Shechir Para* with exceeding Joy, who being come in, began to recount all the Particulars that had paffed: but the fum of all was, that this filly Maid was fufficiently fenfible of the honour of being a Sultana, of being Courted by his Majesty, of the Joys, Delights, and Glory of the Seraglio; but that when he refected, how that she was to bring forth Children to die by unimely Deaths, and to end their Days by Poifon, or the Bow-ftring, or at leaft to live miferable Lives feparated from Man-kind, and immured within Walls, and Intombed whilft they breathed; the could not but tremble with fome horrid horrour, and judge, that all perbation and hopes of enjoyment. Next Morning the Mufti returned early to the Grand Signior, and having firft fufficiently inftruted his Daughter to refufe the Sultan's Proffers, told him plainly, that he had ufed all his paternal Authority and intereft with his Daughter, that he might induce her to accept of this fteady Fortune, which caft it felt upon her; but that it found not that ready acceptance with her as he expected; what could be the reason he knew not how to conjecture, fince Women are commonly irregular, and unreafonable in their Affections.

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her into him. This Order being executed accordingly, and the Maid hurried to the Seraglio; Ibrahim polluted and enjoyed her for some days, but with those Tears, Reluctancy, and Sullenness, as took off from the edge and appetite of Enjoyment; so that he returned her back again with scorn and contempt unto her Father; who at first dissembled the injury with the same Countenance as he did before, when he was interdicted the Sultan's Presence, suppressing his revenge like a concealed Fire, which bursts out afterwards with more violent Flames. But though the sense of Offence and duty towards his Prince allowed him the choice he conceived against him for the Rape of his Daughter; yet he knew not how to pardon the Great Vizier, whom he termed no other than a Ruffian of Pandor; the Minister of his Master's Lusts, and not of his Laws, and of Justice.

Thus full of indignation he applied himself, and made his complaint unto one Mahomet Palha, a principal Member of the Divan; one of great Wisdom and Prudence in the Conduct of Affairs, and one with whom he had a particular Friendship and Intimacy. Nor less interest had he with Janissar-Aga, or General of the Janizaries; to both whom, with tears in his Eyes, and with such words as the sense of his injuries suggested, he railed at the Vizier, and aggravated the Ravishment of his Daughter with all the circumstances of Villany and Violence.

These two Friends heard the Story with a sensible remorse, and immediately concluded, That for the Honour and Security of the Empire, it was necessary to depose Sultan Ibrahim, and for the same Reason to cut off the first Vizier; agreeing amongst themselves that Mahomet Palha should receive the Seal and the Office. To effect which, they deemed it necessary to draw the Queen-Mother into the Conspiracy, being a Woman of great Authority, and having, as it were, the Reins of Government in her Hands, by reason of the weak Judgment of her Son. But because it was difficult to persuade the tenderness of a Mother to the ruin of her Son, the wife Mahomet resolved first to found her Inclinations and disposition towards this Design; and being well informed of her fierce Circadian Nature, and the Jealousy and Anger he conceived against *Shehri Para*, obtained Licence to be heard by her, as if he would beg her Intercession with her Son in his behalf; and being admitted to discourse with her, he thereby plainly discovered her most inveterate hatred and displeasure against her Son; not only for this, but for many other Actions of like nature.

This discovery which the Queen had made, gave him the boldness to propose the confinement again of Ibrahim to his old Prison; not that he should be absolutely laid aside and deserted, but only corrected awhile, and being put in remembrance of his past Condition, might be taught Wisdom, and instructed for the future, what moderation and justice Sultans are obliged to exercise in the Administration of Government; and so subtly did he insinuate his Discourse, that the Queen-Mother assented to the Proposal, and that the Seal should be conferred on Mahomet Palha; for she had conceived an irreconcilable hatred against *Achmet* the Grand Vizier, by whose Counsel she was sent to the old Seraglio, and was united in Confederacy with the detested *Shehri Para*.

The Mufti greatly satisfied to have gained so considerable a Conspirator to the Party, communicated the whole Business, with the Pro-

gress of it, to the two Kadifebers, or Lord Chief Justices of *Romelia* and *Anatolia*; who approving thereof, and promising their utmost assistance, the 7th of August was the Day appointed for the Infurrection of the Janizaries, who being all in a readiness on that day, went in a tumultuary way to call the Mufti, the Kadifebers, and other Officers and Ministers of the Law, whom they seemingly forced to accompany them to the presence of the Grand Signior, of whom they demanded, that the present Vizier *Achmet* should be deprived of his Office, and that Mahomet Palha should be constituted in his place. The Grand Signior at first refused their Demand, but being persuaded by his Mother that it was necessary to content the Militia in that tumult; he consented thereunto, and having called *Achmet*, he took from him the Seal, and conferred it on Mahomet Palha, and therewith the Office of Grand Vizier. *Achmet* trembling at the consequences hereof, resolved to commit himself to the Mercy of the Mufti, and therefore hastened to his House to attend his return, hoping to find him his Protector, under whose Shadow and Roof he fled for Sanctuary.

The Souldiery having thus obtained the first-fruits of their Infurrection, accompanied the Mufti unto his Home, where finding the expected Vizier *Achmet*, the Janissar-Aga immediately Commanded him out of Doors, from whence he had no sooner drawn his Foot, than that he was seized upon and strangled, and his Body thrown before the Gate of the new Moth.

The next day being the 8th of August, 1648, the Janizaries again arising in the like Tumult as before, came to demand of the Mufti, Whether that according to their Law, Sultan Ibrahim as a Fool, and a Tyrant, and unfit for Government, ought not to be deposed? To which the Mufti giving Answer in the Affirmative, sent to cite Sultan Ibrahim the day following to appear in the Divan, to administer Justice to his Souldiers and Subjects, who expected it from him. But Ibrahim supposing that he had sufficiently satisfied the Souldiery, by putting the Vizier out of Office, laughed at the Summons which the Mufti made him; which being seconded by a Fetva, which is a point of Law resolved by the Mufti, who is the Mouth or Oracle thereof, viz. that the Grand Signior being called to account, is obliged to appear before the Justice; the Sultan in high disdain tore the Paper, threatening the Head of the Mufti: but it was too late, he having already sufficiently fortified himself with the Power and Strength of his Rebellious Companions. This Fetva was immediately seconded by another of a higher nature, which declared, That whosoever obeyed not the Law of God, was not a true Mussulman or Believer; and though that Person were the Emperor himself, yet being become by his filthy Actions a Kafir or Infidel, was *ipso facto*, fallen from his Throne, and no farther capable of Authority and Government. This Fetva being seen by Ibrahim, he tore it in pieces, commanding the Grand Vizier instantly to put the Mufti to Death, as guilty of Treason against his Prince: but having now lost his Authority, his Commands were not longer regarded, nor any reverence had of his person: For the Janizaries being again assembled about five a Clock in the Afternoon, came with their usual tumult to the Gates of the Seraglio.

And now Sultan Ibrahim losing all Courage at this third attempt, fled into the Arms of his Mother, begging her Assistance and Protection. She

1648. She being a bold and subtle Woman, employed all her Rhetoric and Eloquence to persuade the Souldiery not to offer Violence to the Person of their Lord and Master; promising that he should relinquish the Government, and retire himself with a Guard into his old Lodgings. Ibrahim comforted a little, that he should save his Life, thrust himself willingly into his old Skell, wherein he had so long conferred his Life.

In the mean time the Conspirators taking forth his eldest Son Sultan Mahomet, set him on the Throne of his Father, and planting the Sargouch, or Imperial Feathers on his Head, saluted him for Emperor with loud Acclamations. Ibrahim continued his Imprisonment for some days with great patience, but at length growing desperate and furious, often beat his Head against the Wall, until at length, he was on the 17th strangled by four Mutes.

In this manner Sultan Ibrahim ended his Days, which puts me in mind of the saying of a wiser and a better King than he, That there is little difference between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes. And this Example made a great Officer understand how King Charles the Glorious Martyr was put to Death. For he, I think it was the Great Vizier, falling into Discourse with the Chief English Interpreter at Constantinople, not then calling to mind the Fate of Sultan Ibrahim, demanded, How, and when King Charles was put to Death? Sure, said he, Your King must have no Power, or your People must be more Rebellious and Mutinous than other Nations of the World, who durst commit an Act so horrid and vile as this. See, said he, How our Emperor is revered and observed; and how submissive and obedient half the World is to the Noe of our Great Monarch. To which the Interpreter replied, that to recount unto him the History and Occasion of this prodigious Fact, would be too long and tedious for him to hear: but that the time it happened, was some Months after the Death or Murder of Sultan Ibrahim; which was an *Iron* sufficient to give him a perfect understanding of what he required.

Sultan Ibrahim having in this manner ended his Days, the Government was committed into the hands of the Grand Vizier, and the old Queen-Mother (which is the whom we call *Kiossem* in the Ottoman State) and of twelve *Pashaws*; who were to manage all Affairs with supreme Power, during the Minority of Sultan Mahomet, who now Reigns.

Ibrahim was the fifth Son of Sultan *Achmet*, born of the same Mother with Sultan *Murat*, Educated like the other younger Sons of the Otto-

man Family, within the Walls of an obscure and unhappy Prison; so that 'tis no wonder, if wanting the advantages of seeing and practising in the World, he should neither have studied Men, nor been experienced in the Art of Government. Nor less strange is it, being natural to humane Infirmary; for Men who have lived under Restraint, Affliction, and fear of Death, to become licentious and immoderate in all kind of Pleasures, whenever they pass on a sudden from the depth of Misery to some transcendent degree of Happiness and Prosperity; which as I say, all Men are naturally subject unto, so more especially those whose Religion indulges them all kind of sensual Carnality in this Life.

Ibrahim was in his own Nature of a gentle and easy Temper, of a large Forehead, of a quick and lively Eye and ruddy Complexion, and of a good Proportion in the Features of his Face, but yet had something in the Air of his Countenance, that promised no great Abilities of Mind. And giving himself up to all kind of Effeminacy and Softness, attended not unto the Government of his Affairs; and therefore it was his greatest misfortune to be served by wicked and faithless Officers to whom he trusted, and to whom he gave Credence, wanting in himself the Talents of Wisdom and Discretion to discern their Malice.

The continual apprehensions that he entertained of Death during his Imprisonment, had so frozen his Constitution with a strange frigidity towards Women, that all the dalliance and warm Embraces of the most inflaming Ladies in the Seraglio, could not in a whole Year time thaw his Coldness; which was the occasion at first of that Report, which spoke him to be impotent towards Women: during which time he attended to his Ministers of Justice, and to a management of the Affairs of his Empire, which in the beginning of his Reign gained him a Credit and Reputation, and raised a great expectation of his goodness and Care of his Subjects Welfare; an evidence of which, he gave in his Charge to the Great Vizier, that he should put no Man to Death unless for Capital and Enormous Crimes. But at length losing him in Lusts and Sensualities, he forsook the Helm of his Regency, committing the guidance of his Empire to other Hands; and as he was ignorant of War, so he foolishly flattered in the Calms of Peace; and suffering himself to be guided only by Fortune, felt the Stroke thereof in his last Unhappy Fate.

THE
REIGN
OF
Sultan MEHMET,
OR
MAHOMET IV.
THIRTEENTH
EMPEROR
OF THE
TURKS.

ANNO 1649.

Sultan Ibrahim perishing in this manner, by the mutinous Violence of the Soul-diery, his Son *Mehmet*, or *Mahomet*, being a Child of seven Years of Age, succeeded in the Throne: During whose Minority, (which was to continue for the space of ten Years longer) his Mother, who was the first *Sultana*, assisted with the Council of twelve *Padhaws*, took upon her self the Regency, and in the first place resolved to continue the War against the Venetians, which *Ibrahim* intended to conclude, having engaged himself far in a Treaty of Peace with the Bailo or Ambassador, which resided at the Port for that Republick.

Whilst these Matters were transacting, and Preparations making to prosecute the War; the Malignant Humours of the Empire began to ferment unto that degree, as affected the Body Politick at first with unnatural Heats, which soon afterwards proceeded to a Fever, and then to a dangerous Convulsion. The ill-affected Part was the Militia, which is the Heart and Principal of the Life of that Government. For the Spahes and the Janifaries, being the Horse and Foot, entred into a desperate Controverfie.

The first judged it their Duty to revenge the Death of their Sovereign, Sultan *Ibrahim*; and

in order thereunto demanded the Head of the Great Vizier, as the Chief Author and Contriver of the Death of his Lord and Master. The others being conscious to themselves of having, by their Arms, carried on the Conspiracy, not only declared their Resolutions to defend the Vizier, but owned that what he had acted was by their Order, and at their Request and Instigation.

The Spahes being highly provoked with this Declaration, swelled with Anger and Malice against the Janifaries; and both sides being equally proud and rich, could not bear each others Reproaches. The Spahes being Men of Estates in Land, looked on themselves as the Gentry, and to have the greatest Share in the concernment of the Empire. The Janifaries living regularly in their Chambers, or Martial Colledges, looked on themselves as the better Souldiers, and the more formidable Party; and the truth is, both of them were proceeded to that height of Command and Authority in Government, that had they not been suppressed by the cruel Hand, and bloody Disposition of *Keserlee*, as shall be more largely related hereafter, this Empire was then in danger of falling into as many Divisions, as there were at that time *Padhaws*, or great Captains. The cause here-

M of

1649. of proceeded from the warlike disposition of Sultan *Murat*, who being the most Martial Man of his Age, preferred none but Men of great Courage, and such as had signalized their Valour by undoubted proofs; And such Men as these he loaded with Honour, and raised them to the highest and most eminent Charges in the Government.

But *Murat* dying long afterwards, these Great Men had time to enrich themselves during the gentle and easy Reign of Sultan *Ibrahim*; which being seconded by the Minority of this Young Sultan, their Pride knew no bounds, either of Modesty towards their Commanders, or Reverence towards their Sultan. Hence it was that the Souldiery dividing, to great a Sedition arose amongst them, that at last they came to Blows, resolving to decide the Controversy by the Sword. But the Quarrels of Turks amongst themselves not being commonly of long duration, the Care and Vigilance of the Magistrates prevented all open defiance in the Field; but yet could not so pacify their Animosities, but that several Skirmishes, or Rencontres, passed between them in the Streets, wherein the Spahes were always worsted, and at length were forced to abandon the City, scarce daring for some time to own the Name of Spahes within the Walls of *Constantinople*.

These Disturbances gave the Venetians some hopes to accommodate their Peace with better Advantage; but the Reply to this Proposition was more fierce and positive than ever, and so ill respected, that the Bailo going from his Audience, was on the 27th of April seized on, and with all his Retinue clapped into Prison and Chains; being sent to those Castles which are situate on the *Bosphorus*, in the middle way between *Constantinople* and the Black Sea. But this furious severity, by the intercession of other Christian Ministers, continued not long, before the Bailo received more gentle Treatment, by the Sacrifice which the Turks made unto themselves of *Grillo*, his Interpreter, who being called down from the presence of the Bailo, was immediately, by two Officers, frangled, and his Body thrown out at the Window of the Castle; the which act, though it may seem unjust and barbarous to us, hath yet been frequently practised amongst the Turks, being to this day their common use to threaten the Druggermen, or Interpreters, which is the cause that they often misce, wholly alter the sense or meaning of their Masters, on those Occasions, when words are spoken by them ungrateful to the Turks.

The Turks bearing this Disdain to the Venetians, laboured to re-enforce their Armies in *Candia*, and supply them with Ammunition and Provisions; and though the Venetians lay before the Mouth of the *Dardanelles* to intercept all Succours which might be carried thither; yet the Turks notwithstanding their Divisions, having recruited their Fleet with forty Gallies, and ten Great Ships, broke through the Venetians, and in despite of them, conveyed five Gallies laden with Souldiers and Ammunition, and landed them safe at *Canea*; and about the same time six Gallies, and ten Ships of *Barbary*, entered into the Port of *Suda*.

The General which commanded in Chief was named *Cossein* Pasha, a Person of great Courage and Experience; he had for some time besieged the City of *Candia*, but for want of Men and Ammunition was forced to rise from that Place, and retire to *Canea* and *Reimo*,

1649. whilst in the mean time the *Candiot*s received recruits of Men, and supply of Provisions, improving their leisure-time to fortify their Town with such Works as rendered it almost impregnable, and made it become the Wonder and Difficulty of the World after some Years succeeding.

Nor was the War only carried on in *Candia*, but also in *Dalmatia*, *Morcia*, *Dofina*, and *Albania*. For *Foscato*, the General of *Venice*, designing to force some Corn from the Parts of *Castell-muovo*, he landed some Men there, but was so ill received by the Turks, that he was forced to retreat unto his Vessels with great disorder, and no less dishonour. But he had better fortune in the Parts of *Bosnia*, where he repulsed the Enemy to the very Gates of *Sarajvo*, the Capital City of that Province, and took upon compulsion the Fortress of *Risano*, which is situate between *Catara* and *Castell-muovo*; but at length the Turks receiving an additional Aid of fifteen or sixteen thousand Men, the Venetians were forced to quit their new Conquests, and retire into their own Country.

During the time that these Affairs were in agitation, the young Emperor was proclaimed, and his Inauguration celebrated with the usual Ceremonies, but with Rejoicings, and hopes extraordinary; who being yet scarcely arrived to eight years of Age, many Mutinies and Troubles arose in divers Parts of the Empire, as in *Damascus*, *Syria*, *Anatolia*, and other Countries, where the Palwas refused to pay in the customary Taxes and Tribute, declaring, That they would keep the Money in their Hands during the Minority of the Grand Signior; and that when he came to Age of Government, they would be accountable to him both for the Principal and for the Improvement.

The Turks in *Hungary* making incursions into the Territories of the Emperor, were overthrown by the Count *Forgatz*, near *Buda*, where the Palwa was taken Prisoner, and his Son slain.

Nor better fortune had they in the Affaire they made on the Fortress of *Cliffa*, where having lost five thousand Men, they were forced to retire with great dishonour.

The *Cossacks* also in this Conjunction grew more bold, so that they covered the Black Sea with their Boats, doing great damage to the Saicks, and other Vessels, which traded in that Sea; and at length came up the *Bosphorus* above *Thebes*, giving a great Alarm, with much Fear and Confusion to all *Constantinople*.

Amidst these Misfortunes, and intestine Troubles, new Disorders, arose in the Ottoman Empire; For, as commonly, all the blame of miscarriages and ill success in *Turkie* are cast upon the Head of the Commander in chief; so the Enemies of the Great Vizier took the advantage in this conjuncture to reproach his ill Government, and carried the accusation so far, as to depose him from his Charge and Office; in whose place the Aga, or General of the Janisaries, succeeded.

The Spahes in *Asia*, being displeased with this Election, attempted in a Body of seven or eight thousand, and marched towards *Constantinople*, pretending to revenge the Death of Sultan *Ibrahim*; their Numbers daily increasing, the Divan very much feared lest the Party which favoured the Spahes in *Constantinople*, should join themselves to the Asian Mutineers; to prevent which it was judged good Reason and Policy, to anticipate the Justice they demanded,

1649. mandated, by taking away the Life of the deposed Vizier; which being easily assented unto, and without much hesitation performed, gave some little stop to the Fury and Heats of the Spahes.

Notwithstanding all which, as the Divisions which the Turks entertain amongst themselves, were never so great as to afford the Christians any Advantage thereby, for the Venetians did not reap any Benefit from these Quarrels; but on the contrary, the Turks studiously attended to their Affairs in *Candia*, passing thither with sixty Gallies, thirty great Ships, and twenty five other smaller Vessels, laden with Men, and all sorts of Provisions and Ammunition for War; so that in this Year 1649, the Affairs of the Turks remained in that Island in this happy and hopeful posture. Amongst these Ships were thirteen English, which the Turks took up at *Smyrna*, and forced into their Service. For though the Ambassador, Sir *Thomas Bendish*, then Resident at *Constantinople*, opposed the Engagement of these Ships what was possible, and also the Commanders and Seamen were very unwilling ad dissatisfied to undertake the Design, yet the Turks with Menaces, and Promises of Reward, forced them to carry Men and Ammunition to *Candia*; so that, making a Virtue of Necessity, they complied with that which they could not resist.

ANNO 1650.

Cossein Pasha, Governour of the Island of *Candia*, having received these Succours and Recruits, resolved to besiege the Chief City of *Candia*; to which intent, drawing out from the Ships, and Garrison of *Reimo* and *Canea*, what Men he was able, he formed an Army of thirty thousand Men, with which he marched, and pitched before the Town. He was provided also with twelve Pieces of Cannon, four thousand Sacks of Wool, three thousand Ladders, and with a good quantity of Granaadoes; with this Force he attacked the City in two places, viz. on the Forts of *Marsinengo*, and *Aldemingo*; and pressed so hard on the latter, that notwithstanding the generous resistance of the Defendants, he won the Fort, and there planted the Ottoman Colours; fortifying it with more Cannon, and a good number of Men.

Count *Coloredo*, Governour of that Place, was then sick, the Garrison very weak, and things reduced to the last term of extremity; when General *Baltians*, Admiral of *Malta*, arrived with six Gallies, and there landed six hundred Men, and sixty Knights; with which great Courage mounted the Guard of the Fort *Marsinengo*, which was the place of most Danger and Honour. The Turks excited with a desire to welcome the new Guests, made three desperate and furious Assaults on this Fort, but were with equal Valour repulsed by the Defendants; at which Disgrace and Fail being highly enraged, they resolved on a fourth Attempt, which they pursued with that Courage and Success, that the Venetians were forced to give way to their Violence, with the slaughter almost of all those which defended this Fort; until the Cavaliers of *Malta*, who having no greater Glory, nor readier Will, than to spill their Blood for the Christian Cause, rallied all the Force they were able, and made so prosperous an Attack upon the Fort, that they recovered it again, with the Blood and Destruction of all

those who defended it; but they enjoyed it not long, before the Turks regained it with the like success and slaughter; which variety of Fortune the Venetians being sensible of, and that they could not bear such colly Interchanges with the Turks, had recourse to their ultimate Remedy of Mines, which succeeded so happily, that the whole Fort was carried into the Air, and therewith two thousand good Souldiers of the Turks; with which Destruction, and other Repulses in divers places, they were so weakened and discouraged, that they raised the Siege on the fifth of *October* new Style.

In this Interim, the Tartar *Haw*, called the *Krim*, demanded the Guardianship of the young Sultan, as of right belonging unto him; but the Council answered hereunto, That their Master was already in better Hands than those into which they desired to transfer him; and that his Grandmother, and the Divan, wanted neither Wisdom nor Fidelity to direct his Affairs: with which answer the Tartar being forced to remain satisfied, was able to revenge himself no farther, than by exciting the Colicks to infect the Seas; which gave some diversion to those Arms, which otherwise had all been employed against the Venetians.

But these Designs from *Tartary* did little trouble the Council, in comparison of that Spirit of Discord which was arisen between the Spahes and the Janisaries; for both Parties being envious of each others Greatness, endeavoured on all Occasions to elevate the Chief Commanders to the highest and most profitable Places of the Empire: which Diffention touching the principal Ministers of State, who were all engaged on the one side or the other, administered great Troubles, and retarded the execution and success of all the grand Designs of the Empire. Nor was it of less importance and dishonour to the Divan, that their Fleet was hindered passage by the Venetians, who blocked up the Mouth of the *Dardanelles*; whereby all intercourse with *Candia* was interrupted: but being resolved to remove this Obstacle, they commanded the Captain-Pasha to force his Passage; which he accordingly performing, was so warmly received, that he quickly lost two Gallies, and after much Blood, and loss on both sides, was forced at length to retire again within the Straights. But what was of worse consequence to the Turks, was the inveterate Discord between the Spahes, and Janisaries; who having been undividedly embarked promiscuously together, came often times to Words, and then to Blows; which ended not without the Blood and Death of divers of each party. These mischiefs increased the rage which the Turks at *Constantinople* conceived against the Venetians; who were all thereupon (not excepting the Bailo *Soranzo*, nor his Secretary *Bellarino*) interdicted the Territories of the Grand Signior; and sent back into their own Country.

The Captain-Pasha, that he might be in a capacity to make a second Attempt to force his passage, sent to *Constantinople* for new Recruits: when News came that the Siege of *Candia* was raised, and that the Turks had lost the Fort of *St. Theodoro*; which so angered the Spirit of the Queen-mother against the Vizier, that she immediately deposed him from his Charge, and therewith had taken away his Life, had not the Faction of the Janisaries protected him in this Extremity.

The Palwa of *Buda* was introduced into his place, a Person of a turbulent and ambitious Spirit,

1650. Spirits, who to increase his Favour with his Ministers the Sultana, evidenced his Heat and Zeal against the Venetians, and to that end sent immediately express Orders to the Pasha of *Bosnia*, to invest *Cygha* with all the Power he was able; and therewith he presented him with a Cimeter, and a Halber; the former to be his Reward in case of good Success, and the latter to be his Punishment in case of Misfortune. But this furious Vizier continued not so long, as to experience the Issue of this Command; for he was in a few days laid aside, and *Chussein Pasha*, the General of *Candia*, was placed in his stead; however his Orders were to remain with the Army, by which means, much Emulation and Contest was prevented, which might otherwise have happened between the Spahies, and Janissaries, at the Election of a new Vizier; and thereby all excuses taken from the Souldiery of absence from the War, who could now pretend nothing of Reason to withdraw themselves, on score of attendance on the Vizier's Person; and to supply his Authority at the Regal Court, a Chiniscan was substituted to administer Justice in place of the Vizier, which is usual on such Occasions.

Notwithstanding all which, Affairs succeeded not extraordinary well for the Turks in *Candia*; for being frustrated for Provisions in *Canea*, by the near approach of the Christians, the Turks were forced to make a Diversion, by appearing in great Troops before *Candia*; which they were enabled to do, by the Supplies they had lately received, with the arrival of their Fleet of Gallies; for the Winter Season approaching, the Venetians were constrained to abandon their station before the *Dardanelles*, and to leave the Passage open for the Enemy. And so this Year ended, rather with Advantage than Disgrace to the Christians.

ANNO 1651.

With these great Succours and Supplies sent to *Candia* by the Turks, Affairs must necessarily have succeeded prosperously to their Designs, had not intestine Discords at Home interrupted their proceedings; which arose from a jealousy and Emulation between a mother and Mother of the young Sultan. For each of them pretending to the tuition or guardianship of the Emperor, during his Minority, divers Parties and Factions formed at *Constantinople*, from whence all that Trouble and Confusion arose, which we have at large related in the third Chapter of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire.

So that now it was no time to talk to the Souldiers or People of a War in *Candia*; for the first thought themselves engaged to contrive a Settlement and Determination of Disputes at Home: and the latter being irritated with a new Tax laid on them, for want of Money in the Treasury, exclaimed, and talked loud, and at length, instead of paying, broke out into open Rebellion; which by assistance of the Souldiery, was appeased, under no less Terms than the Death of several principal Ministers of State.

During these Divisions, the Venetians had time to arm out a very considerable Fleet for defence of *Candia*; *Fefcolo*, who had been General in *Dalmatia*, being sent thither with title of *Generallissimo* in the place of *Mozenigo*: But these Difficulties amongst the Turks, according to their usual Custom, lasting not long before

they came to a Conclusion, by the entire destruction of one of the Parties; the Chief Ministers began to assuage again the thoughts of prosecuting the War in *Candia*, and to send Recruits to reinforce the Army under the Command of *Chussein Pasha*, who was returned with new Forces and Courage to assault the City of *Candia*.

At this time a certain Greek, pretending to be a Person of Quality, and discontented with the Turks, fled from them to the Christians, where being received with all kind and obliging entertainment, he had thereby liberty of seeing and visiting all the Fortifications of the Place. After he had observed and discovered as much as he desired, this traitorous Fugitive fled again to the Turkish Camp, where he revealed what places were most strong or best fortified, and where the Town was weakest, and most easily to be assaulted. The Venetian General being awakened at this Discovery, and considering the numbers of his People to be few, in respect of the Enemy, and that the Outworks could not be maintained without a more numerous Garrison, he resolved to destroy some of those Forts; and accordingly blew up with Mines four Bastions, which being at a distance could not be relieved without much danger. The Turks hereupon making conjectures of the weakness of the besieged, cheerfully assaulted the Fort of *St. Demetrio*, thinking to carry it without much trouble; but contrary to their expectation, they encountered so bold a resistance, that they lost three thousand Men on the Place.

As *Constantinople* they were still so intent to carry on this War, that having prepared, and laden on the Fleet great quantities of Granadoes, Bomboes, and Mortar-pieces, with other Fire-works, the Captain-Pasha, with hopes agreeable to his Force, set forth to Sea, with eleven hundred Sail, consisting of Gallies, Ships, Gallies, Sloopes, Brigantines, and smaller Vessels, with resolution to engage the Venetian Fleet, whose Commanders also were equally desirous and ready to contend with them to a Battle.

On the 7th of July, the Venetians being at an Anchor in the Port of *St. Ermina*, discovered the Turkish Fleet, to which, as they were much inferior in number, for they were superior to them in the agreement and experience of their Commanders. The Turks having passed forward on their way, the Venetians pursued them, and the better to draw them to a Battle, *Mozenigo* ordered two Ships, commanded by *Barbara* and *Dolphina* to cross the Turks at the point of the Island; and his Vice-Admiral, *Buaggio*, with four Ships to engage the main Body of the Turkish Fleet; to whose assistance many other Vessels coming in, he so rudely treated several Gallies, that they were forced to seek harbour in the Port of *St. Ermina*. Now *Seo*, with the loss of *Mohamet*, Pasha of *Anatolia*, who was sent to succeed in the Office of *Chussein Pasha*, the General of *Candia*; but Night coming on, the rest of the Fleet retreated to the Isles of *Naxia* and *Paros*.

On the tenth day the Turks having watered their Fleet, gave a signal of defiance to the Venetians, by discharge of two pieces of Cannon; and the Venetians accepting the Challenge, both Fleets gave a furious charge one to the other; but the Turks were not able to withstand the Courage and Skillfulness of the Venetians; for the Captain-Pasha having lost many of his Men, and the Poop of his Gally being carried away

1651. away with a Cannon-shot, the whole Fleet was put into Disorder, and then unto flight, so that the Gallies began to employ themselves in saving the Ships. But one of their Mahones being separated from the rest, was assaulted by two Gallies, and some Ships, and finding none to come in for Succour, the Captain was killed, with four hundred Souldiers, and two hundred were taken Prisoners.

In the mean time *Mozenigo*, the General, gave chase to the Gallies, which two to a Ship were towing the heavier Vessels as fast as they could; but being hardly pursued, were forced to cast off the Hauser, and shift for themselves as well as they were able. The Turkish Ships seeing themselves thus abandoned, fired whole broadsides upon the Enemy; but the Venetian Gallies leaving their own Ships after, that they might pursue their advantage, *Querini* boarded a Great Gallies, called the *Sultana*, upon which were three hundred Souldiers, who offered to surrender upon promise of Quarter for their Lives. But the Christian Souldiers heaved with sight, and not then understanding any thing of Conditions, desperately boarded the Vessel, where by the Turks being reduced to an extremity of despair, gave fire to the Powder, and therewith carried, as well the Vanquishers, as the Vanquished, into the other World.

According to this example four other Vessels burnt themselves, one of 60 brass Guns, and three others of 40 to 44. Fifteen Vessels of the Starboard Wing saved themselves by good sailing. Of the Larboard Wing, Captain *Nicolo*, a *Renegado*, with his Ship, was taken by the Admiral of the Gallies, *Alfonso*, likewise another Great Vessel by *Lucaro Mozenigo*, and another by *Providetor Melino*. In short, there was not one Vessel which remained in sight of the Venetians, which was not either taken, sunk, or burnt. Notwithstanding all which, considering the Vessels which were elapsed, and the 3 thousand Men which the Turks had landed at *Naxia*, in order to their being transported unto *Candia*, the Victory seemed to be very imperfect; wherefore the Venetians attending another encounter with the Turkish Fleet, did happily meet them in a few days after; and being encouraged by the late Success, as the Enemy was now in their Spirits and Resolution, they bravely attacked the Turks, and took 39 Gallies, 23 Ships, three Gallies, together with the three thousand Souldiers which were then embarked from *Naxia*: Those which elapsed took Refuge in the Port of *Rhodus*.

After this great loss, the Turks entertained no great Designs of the Conquest of *Candia*; but only to conserve *Canea*, and the footing that they had won in that Island: nor did ever the Turks after this, dare to stand a formal Battle with the Venetians at Sea, but rather contriving to escape than to fight, did ever after build light Gallies, for transporting of Men and Ammunition, with intention to wage their War only at Land, and not at Sea; it being a saying ever after common in their Mouths; *That God had given the Sea to Christians, and the Earth to the Turks*.

To these ill Successes abroad, were added great Difficulties at Home; for the numerous Spahies in *Asia*, having united into a strong Body, marched towards *Constantinople*, to join with their other Brethren in those Parts. The Janissaries on the other side, not less diligent to oppose their Enemy, to revenge the Outrages committed on their Brethren, whom the Spa-

1651. hees had ill-treated, having cut off the Noses and Ears of several of them; besides all which, they proceeded to that height of Insolence, as to demand the Heads of the Great Vizier, and of the Aga of the Janissaries; and being now by their numbers rendered formidable to the Court, it was judged agreeable to the present Conjunction, to satisfy in some measure these Murders by discharging these two Officers of their employment, which did in some degree for the present quietify and appease these Tumults.

ANNO 1652.

THE Seditions at *Constantinople* were scarce quieted, before advice came of a Rebellion of the People of *Gran Cairo* and *Damascus*, who both at the same time conspired, as if they intended to cast off Subjection to the Ottoman Family; the which Mutiny and Disturbance arose to that Head, as gave great cause of fear to the Divan; and employed all their Counsels and Contrivances for this whole Year, in what manner they might reduce this People to their Duty and Obedience. During which time, the Christians in *Candia* had time to breathe, and opportunity to provide themselves with all Ammunition and Provisions; and to repair their old, and add new Fortifications to their Town.

ANNO 1653.

BUT these Troubles being with time composed, the Grand Vizier desired greatly the Conquest of *Candia*, which being by experience proved to be with difficulty gained by the Sword, he endeavoured to win it by fairer Terms; and to that end wrote a Letter to the Republick of *Venice*, in Letters of Gold; wherein he declared, that it seemed strange to him, that the Senate had not dispatched their Ambassador to him with the surrender of *Candia*, in regard that thereby they might assure themselves to purchase a certain Peace, which they vainly retarded by such delays. However in these Letters no mention was made of the Causes, or Reasons, why Signior *Capello*, who was an eminent Person, being Procurator of *St. Mark*, and first thinker of *Bailo*, was first intrusted with Imprisonment at his Arrival, notwithstanding the permission and encouragement which was given for his kind reception, obtained at the instance of the French Ambassador; but this Refrain continued not long upon him, before he was released with a daily Allowance (which continued for some time) of 1200 Aspers a Day; and afterwards the Court returning from *Adrianople* to *Constantinople*, he was permitted to lodge in the Palace which belongs to the *Bailo*'s of *Venice*.

The Venetian Fleet being Victorious at Sea, made it their work to keep the Mouth of the *Dardanelles* always blocked up, whereby they hindered all Succours from *Candia*: notwithstanding which diligence, the Venetians being sometimes forced, for the sake of Water and Provision, to abandon that Station; the Turks took hold of the opportunity to escape forth; but being eagerly pursued by the Venetians, they were forced to take Sanctuary in *Rhodus*, where being again blocked up, the affairs in *Candia* suffered much, and the Complaints from thence were loud at the Court. So that Orders were sent, and often repeated unto the Captain-Pasha, that he should spend no longer time in *Rhodus*.

1655. to the ill Government, and want of Experience in the General. Wherefore to appease the People, especially the Merchants, who were weary of this Marine War; from whence they reaped nothing but Losses of their Ships and Goods; it was thought fit to enter into Treaty with Signior *Capella*, the Venetian Bailo, concerning a Peace; but he having his Commission taken from him, for the Reason before related, his Secretary *Ballarino* supplied his Office; and in Order to an Accommodation, had two Audiences with the Great Vizier, to whom, and to others of the Divan, he made Presents of rich Pieces of Cloth of Gold, in the Name of the Republick. However the Turks thinking it dishonourable to accord under other Terms, than the intire Relinquishment of *Candia*, proceeded in their Preparations as formerly; at which the Merchants and Tradefmen at *Constantinople* received such matter of Discontentment, that in Tumults they cried out for Peace at the Gates of the very *Seraglio*; and behaved themselves with that Insolence, that the Janissaries were called to drive them from thence by force of Arms; howsoever this Tumult and Riot of the People ended not without the Life of the Great Vizier, to whose fury he was made a Sacrifice. And though his Son appeared at the Gates of the City with forty thousand Men, to demand Justice on the Murderers of his Father, yet the People were so far from being dismayed thereat, that their Fury and Rage increased to a greater height, and required the Authority of the Divan to keep things from running into the Inconveniences of a Civil War.

ANNO 1656.

THESE Disorders induced the chief Ministers to enter into another Treaty with *Barbaros*, proposing to withdraw their Forces from *Candia*, and make a Peace, upon the payment of ten Millions for the Charge of the War: And to incline the Venetians herunto, the Turks gave severall Orders to their People living about *Corfu*, to molest the Inhabitants of that Island with all Acts of Hostility imaginable; and further published, that their Intentions were to set out a more numerous and stronger Fleet, than any which from the beginning of this War had sailed on the Seas; and in order thereunto, great Numbers of Slaves, consisting of Cossacks and Moldavians, were bought of the Tartars, and transported to *Constantinople*.

The Venetians were not in the least affrighted at these Boastings of the Turk, but on the contrary, knowing that their Affairs in *Candia* were well secured and provided, gave Orders to *Ballarino* to depart from further Treaties, and to procure his Licence to depart. And the Turks, to evidence their intentions to prosecute the War, entered into *Canea* with twenty eight Sail, laden with Arms and Provisions, on which afo were fifteen hundred Men. By this conveyance was sent a Janissary-Aga with Orders from the Grand Signior, to constitute *Chufsein* Pasha in the place of *Capitan-Pasha*, or Admiral of the Seas; but he judging this to be a Design, or Lure, to draw him from his Post, or Office, where he was more strong and secure, acknowledged the Honour of the Employment, but framed Excuses to continue his Seat and Place of Residence, which the Chief Ministers were forced to accept; it being a Conjecture more reasonable to dissemble, than to resent his refusal.

Whilst new Preparations were making against

Candia, so horrible a Storm of Mutiny and Sedition arose at *Constantinople*, as constrained the Grandes of the Council to quit for the present all thoughts of providing for the War against the Enemy, that they might defend and save themselves from the Fury of their own People; For the Spahes and Janissaries joining together, pretended to reform the Abuses of the State; to perform which, in a furious Tumult, putting themselves in Arms, they ran to the Divan, where they deposed the Great Vizier, and discharged divers other Officers of Employment. The Mufti was constrained to fly to *Jerusalem*, and the Queen-Mother the fierce remained secure in her old *Seraglio*. And to so great a height their Rebellion proceeded, that they proposed even to dethrone the Grand Signior himself. And having thus cast off all Respect and Duty to their Prince, they entered the Imperial Palace, and forcing the Guards, broke up the Treasury, and carried two millions from thence.

Amidst of this horrid and affrighting Confusion, Merchants and well-meaning Citizens remained in the most astonishing apprehensions imaginable; for all Laws being broken, and Justice unregarded, the whole City laid open to be pillaged and sacked by the licentiousness of an unbridled Soldiery. For several days the Offices both of the Mufti, and Great Vizier remained vacant, by reason that the two Factions of Janissaries and Spahes could not agree upon the Election. At length the most seditious amongst them, wearying out the others with Quarrels and Contentions, advanced a Fellow of no Understanding or Reputation to the eminent degree of Great Vizier; in which condition he remained not long. For the Fire of the multitude being with time quenched, and the popular Heat abated, this new Vizier was displaced, all things returning to their usual Channel, and Authority to its Fountain.

And that Matters might more easily be restored to their ancient order, the Grand Signior called for the Pasha of *Damascus* to receive the Dignity of Great Vizier; for he being a Person of eighty Years of Age, and of long Experience in Affairs, having managed the most weighty Charges of the Empire, was looked on by all as the most proper Person to compose and heal these great Distempers in the State; and this was that famous *Kuprili*, who was Father to him who succeeded him in this Office. The Pasha of *Silivria* was also constituted Captain Pasha, and *Chufsein* was confirmed in his Government of *Candia*.

And now the bright Beams of Justice and Government having dissipated the Storms and Fury of popular Sollevations; the Grand Signior in Person mounting his Horse, accompanied with his principal Ministers of State, visited all the Parts of *Constantinople*, where making Inquisition for the principal Leaders and Fomenters of this Rebellion, he seized on some, and without further process, boldly executed them in the Face of the People.

But before things were reduced to this condition, four Months were spent in this horrid Confusion; and what is most strange, this Great Empire for so long time remained without a Pilot, tossed on the Waves of popular Commotions; all which served to give ease and respite to the Venetians in their War, but not to operate towards a Peace; so resolute were the Turks in their Design of making an entire Conquest of *Candia*.

For

1656.

A Rebellious
at Con-
stantino-
ple.

1656.

Engage-
ment be-
tween the
Turks and
Venetians.

The Venetians
obtain
the Victory.

For having again Equipped a most formidable Fleet, consisting of fixty light Gallies, twenty eight Ships, and nine Galleasses, they attempted to make their way for *Candia*, and there-with to fight the Venetians in case they should oppose them in their Voyage, to which they were the more encouraged upon sight of the *Dardanellis*, who appeared at the Straights of Venetians, with no more than twenty nine Gallies, and some Boats, or Brigantines; howsoever the Turks were not so confident in their numbers, but that they judged it requisite to fortify themselves with two Batteries; one on the Coast of *Anatolia*, and the other in the European shore; whereby they imagined, that they might cause the Venetians to give way, and open a Passage to their Fleet.

But notwithstanding the continual shot which the Turks made upon them, they still kept their Station from the 23d to the 26th of June; when the Wind coming about to the North, which was favourable for the Turks to Sail out, and to bring them nearer to their Enemies, they began gently to approach; and the like the Christians endeavoured, being desirous to join Battle; at which firmness of Resolution, the Turks the Fight, and to creep under the shelter of the point of *Babaria*, which locks in one of the Bays between the Castles and the Mouth of the *Dardanellis*. But the Wind on a sudden turning favourable for the Venetians, the Prior of *Reche* with his Squadron, and *Moscone* with three Ships under his Command, made up towards the Castles, with design to cut the Turks off from their Retreat; the others valiantly assailed the Turks, who defending themselves like those, whose chief security consists in their Arms, there ensued a most miserable slaughter on one side, and the other; at length the Success of Victory happened to the Venetians, who were animated by the courageous Example of their General *Marcello*, though he having Boarded, and become Master of a great Ship called a *Salsama*, with the Gally which attended her, was shot in the thigh with a Cannon Bullet, and thereby gained the glory to die Conquering, and Triumphant.

After whose Death, the Provostitor taking upon him the Command of the Fleet, prosecuted the Victory to close, that excepting fourteen Gallies which escaped, with the Captain's Pasha, and four Gallies of the Bey's; all the whole Fleet was either taken, sunk, or burnt. The Venetians had been able to man all the Vessels that they had taken, set many of them on fire in the Night, excepting only twelve Gallies, four Ships, and two Galleasses, which they reserved for a Declaration or Evidence of their Victory. With this glorious success five thousand poor Christians obtained their Freedom, and had their Chains and Shackles knocked off. What number the Turks might have lost is uncertain; but as to the Venetians, it is reported, that besides their General, there were not above three hundred Men in all killed and wounded.

The Venetians being encouraged by this Success, attacked the Island of *Tenedos*, and in the space of four days became Masters of it; as also in a short time afterwards of *Stalomen*, anciently called *Lenno*, the which flames of the Turkish Overthrow so irritated the Mind of the Grand Signior, that he gave Orders to carry the War into *Dalmatia*, intending the next Summer to go thither in Person; and in the

mean time Commanded by the Pasha of *Bosnia*, that the City of *Ragusa* should be put into a readiness to receive his Troops, being judged a convenient Place for the Sea and Magazine of Arms for those Countries.

But the poor Republick greatly apprehending this Misfortune, than which there could be no greater Mischief, nor Ruin to their Country; dispatched certain Deputies with their yearly Tribute to the Port, with Instructions, that in the way thither, they should supplicate the Pasha to intercede with the Grand Signior in their behalf, representing to his Majesty, that they paying their Tributes, and the usual Tribute for Protection, ought not in justice to be exposed to the licentiousness of an Army, which their little Territories were not capable to receive, nor provide with convenient Quarters: at which Meflage the Pasha being highly incensed, answered rudely, and imprisoned them, threatening to flay them, in case their Government did not obey the Commands of the Sultan.

ANNO 1657.

BUT the chief Ministers at the Port, taking into their consideration the present State of Affairs; that the City of *Constantinople* was full of Discontents; the Persian on one side, and the Moldovian on the other, ready to invade divers parts of the Empire; that there were Designs to depose the Grand Signior, and set one of his Brothers on the Throne; besides a multitude of other Dangers; the resolution of the Court's removal, and of the Grand Signior's March into *Dalmatia*, was suspended; his Presence and Authority being esteemed most requisite in such a conjuncture of Troubles at the Heart and Center of his Empire. After which the appearance of the Grand Signior in Publick was less frequent; for that he might hasten the departure of the Spahes and Janissaries for *Candia*, he deferred his Journey to *Adrianople* for some time; but they being averse to this War, refused to march, until first they had received all Arrears which were due to them; the which audacious Proposal so incensed the Grand Signior, that he caused the Heads of two of the most forward Mutineers to be cut off in his presence.

This unreasonable rigour rather provoked the Spirits of discontented Men, than abated them; and the continual Prizes which the Venetians made on the Turks, and stoppage of Provisions, which did usually supply *Constantinople* from the *Archipelago*, raised the price of Bread, and of all Victuals in that populous City; so that the People murmured and exclaimed, as if they had been reduced to their last Extremity.

The Grand Vizier considering that the loss of *Tenedos* was the cause of all these Inconveniences; promised the Inhabitants of *Constantinople*, that he would regain it in a short time; in order to which, he set forth a very numerous Fleet to besiege that Fortress; but contrary Winds, and bad Weather, forced them into a Neighbouring Port, where they attended the conjunction of the Bey's Gallies with them.

The General of the Venetians having received advice hereof, put to Sea, that he might hinder these two Fleets from joining; and was no sooner in the Channel of *Seto*, than that he met with ten Sail of Barbary Men of War, conveying a great number of Saques, and other Vessels, of which fourteen were laden with Provisions, carrying also with them two hundred

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1657. thousand Crowns, which was the Tribute of Rhodes: These the Venetians assailed with such Courage and Success, that they burnt the ten Ships, and many of the Saïques; killed a thousand Turks, took four hundred Prisoners, delivered three hundred Christians; with the loss only of an hundred killed, and three hundred wounded.

This and other Losses augmented the Difficulties at *Constantinople*, so that the Grand Vizier, to hold up the Spirits of the People, resolved to go in Person to *Tenedos*; and accordingly equipped a Fleet of eighteen Ships, thirty Gallies, ten Galeasses, with an innumerable Company of Saïques, and other Vessels, whereon he embarked twenty thousand Horse, and eighty thousand Foot; with which Army the Vizier sailed out of the *Dardanelles*, on the 17th of July, having first received Intelligence, that *Moscos* was not returned from the *Morea*, where he had been for some time in chase of certain Ships. Howsoever the Turks found not the *Pallage* so clear, but that they encountered with a Squadron of eighteen Sail of Men of War, under the Command of Signior *Bombi*, the which seeming an inconceivable number to the Turks, they assailed them with undoubted hopes of Victory. The Admiral and Vice-Admiral of the Turks with five other great Ships, charged the Venetian Admiral, who defended himself so bravely, that for three hours they lay Board and Board; the rest of the Turkish Fleet followed, and part of their Enemies Fleet so close, that the Fight became terrible and bloody, both for one and the other, until at length the Turks being worsted, were put to flight, and in the pursuit, a great Turkish Sultana was put ashore near *Troy*; one of their Gallies was disabled, two of their Ships sunk, and the rest were chased as far as *Marylene*, being put by the Island of *Tenedos*.

In this Interim, the General *Moscos* was on his Voyage towards the *Dardanelles*; and being come within the noise of the Cannon, he hastened with more diligence; and arrived so seasonably to the assistance of *Bombi*, that at his appearance most of the Turkish Gallies began to turn their Sterns, and make towards the Shore of *Anatolia*, with such disorder, that of twenty eight Gallies, and two Galeasses, there were but five only which kept company with the Bassard Gally of the Captain-Pasha, and entered with him under the defence of the Gallies. The rest of the Fleet was chased by *Moscos*; but the Turks being to windward, the Christians were not able that day to come up with them. The next day the Wind being more favourable, a Council of War was held aboard the Venetian General; during which Consultation, they espied five Gallies making towards the Point *Baba*, there to secure themselves under the Shore; and thereupon resolved, that whilst the Captain-General, with a Squadron of *Mullas*, attempted those five Gallies, and others which had taken the same place of Refuge, the rest of the Fleet should keep firing at those without.

Accordingly the Captain-General made towards the Point *Baba*, where passing within Musket-shot, and under the reach of five Batteries, an unfortunate Shot in the Powder-room blew up the Ship, and therewith ended the Days of this valiant *Moscos*, who died full of Honour and Glory; his brave Actions continuing his Memory in all the Histories of *Venice*. The Provostdor succeeding in his Command, profec-

uted the same Design; and as if he would imitate the ancient Funeral Piles, he celebrated the Obsequies of his General, by burning the Admiral Gally of the Turks; and thence retired towards *Tenedos*.

After the Turks had refitted their Vessels, and put their Fleet in a reasonable posture, they departed from *Marylene* the 28th of July at Night, and on the 30th were on the Coast of *Tenedos*; where immediately landing five thousand Men, and great numbers approaching ready to set foot on Shore, the Defendants of the Forts furnished a Council of War; at which all agreeing that the Island was not suitable against so great a Force, embarked their Men, Ammunition, and Artillery, and resigned their place to the disposal and command of the Enemy. After which Success the Turks in like manner landed ten thousand Men on the Island of *Lemnos*; where, having laid a formal Siege to the Castle, they made a general Assault, but were repulsed with the loss of five hundred Men, leaving their Scaling-Ladders to the Besieged. They made afterwards divers Attempts, but in all were beaten off with considerable loss; so that they had abandoned the Enterprize, had not the greater fear and apprehension of the Divan at Home, confirmed their Courage against the Enemy; until at length the Turks, being wearied with two Months Siege, without hopes of Relief, were forced to a Surrender which was performed on Articles, That they free liberty to embark themselves for *Candia*.

These two important Places being regained by the Turks, were the Subject of great Joy to the Court, and of Courage and Satisfaction to the Inhabitants of *Constantinople*: So that the Grand Signior apprehending that by these Successes, the Seditions and Mutinies of the City were appeased, he took his Journey to *Adrianople*; where to evidence his Grandeur to the Bailo *Capello*, and the Secretary *Ballerino*, he made his entry with an Army of twenty thousand Men, besides the ordinary Attendance of the Court, and usual Concomitants of the Ottoman Train.

After which Ostentation, the Grand Signior charged *Ballerino* to write to the Senate, That though he was able to over-run all their Country, and take from them their Capital City, yet such was his Clemency, that he was contented to grant them Peace, on Conditions that they surrendered to him all the Island of *Candia*, with the Forts of *Cliffa* in *Dalmatia*, and payment of three Millions of Gold for the Damages of the War.

But these seemed to the Senate to be such unreasonable Propositions, and so prejudicial to their Honour, that they resolved to maintain the Way, and to defend themselves more vigorously than ever.

ANNO 1658.

NOTwithstanding the Designs of the Turks against *Dalmatia*, they were not less intent to their Affairs in *Candia*, designing to try their Fortune once again in the Siege of the principal City of that Name, for that falling into their Hands, the whole Island would quickly be reduced, and with that Conquest an end would be put unto the War.

The Venetians, on the other side, attended to their Business with all diligence, not neglecting any Provisions which might secure their Interest

1657.

Tenedos taken by the Turks.

Lemnos retaken.

1658. in that Country; and that they might regain what they had lost, they held Intelligence with some Persons in *Candia*, hoping by their means to surprize the Town; but the Turkish Governor, being very vigilant, reinforced his Garrison with five hundred Men: and *Chussein* Pasha coming to his Assistance with thirty Gallies, dispatched the Venetians of landing at that place.

The Rendezvous of the Army which was to march into *Dalmatia*, was ordered to be at *Adrianople*, where the Brother-in-Law of the Pasha of *Alpega*, who was Commander of the Forces of that Place, arriving later than the day prefixed, was for that reason put to death by the Great Vizier.

This Severity so enraged the Pasha, that immediately he raised an Army of forty thousand Men, and marched towards *Scutari*, threatening *Constantinople* it self, unless the Head of the Great Vizier were given him by way of ransom for that of his Brothers. The Divan being startled heretofore, returned him a gentle Message, neither denying nor granting his Demand, as if they intended to amuse him with Hopes: But he interpreting this Delay for a Refusal, did not only persist in requiring the Head of the Vizier, but of four other principal Counsellors, whom he judged to have concurred in the Sentence for his Brother's Death; and in further profecution hereof, he burnt and spoiled all the Country about *Constantinople*; and the Plague raging at the same time in the City, affected the Inhabitants with such Sadness and Discontent, that the chief Ministers apprehended more Evil from thence, than from the Army without.

The Army of the Pasha daily increasing, and being grown from forty to sixty thousand Men, caused the Vizier to abandon all other Thoughts and Designs but those which tended to the destruction of the Pasha, and his Complices; so that there necessarily followed a Recruitment of the Forces from *Dalmatia*; the Vizier himself diverting them from thence and *Transylvania*, marched with the whole Army towards *Constantinople*.

Yet before the Great Vizier departed from *Adrianople*, he perfwaded the Grand Signior to let the Bailo *Capello*, and the Secretary *Ballerino* go at Liberty, that thereby he might give some jealousy to the Rebels, as if he designed to make a Peace with *Venice*, to have more Power, and better leisure to make his War against them. This Counsel, though prudently given, had yet little Influence on the Humor of the Pasha, who continued his March, fortifying himself in the most advantageous Places of the Country: But what was most bold of all his Actions, and advanced his Pardon beyond the Clemency of his Sovereign, was the proclaiming a Youth of twenty Years of Age, then with him in his Army, to be the Son of Sultan *Moray*, and consequently the lawful Heir of the Crown; and in right of him, he had taken possession of a great part of *Afia*, and was marching towards *Constantinople*, with resolution to dispossess Sultan *Mehmet*, and exalt this lawful and undoubted Heir on the Throne of his Ancestors.

This and other Rumors from *Perfia*, that that King taking the advantage of these Disorders, was making Preparations to regain *Bagdad*, and revenge himself of all those Cruelties which the Turks had inflicted on his Subjects and Country, increased the Fears and Cares of the chief Ministers of State.

Notwithstanding which, *Chussein* Pasha pro-

secuted his Business no less in *Candia* than formerly, in hopes to put an end to the War there before the end of the Summer; and in order thereunto, he received a Recruit of five and twenty thousand Men from the *Morea*. But the daily increase of the Pasha's Forces, and his approach towards *Constantinople*, as it was a Matter of the highest Consequence, so it required the most prudence and caution in the management.

In the first place therefore by *Fetfa*, or Resolve from the Mufti, the Pasha was declared a Rebel, and guilty of High Treason against the State; notwithstanding which, a *Chaus* was dispatched with Letters of Pardon, if now repenting of his Fault, he would disband his Army, and return to his former Obedience, he should be received into Grace and Favour. The Pasha received the *Chaus* with the same Ceremony and Honour, as if he had been an Ambassador, being willing to consider him under that Character, rather than under the Notion of a Pursuivant, or Officer sent to affront him into his Duty; and in Answer to the Message, replied, That it was not in his power to condescend to any Conditions, for that since he had assumed the Cause of this Youth, who was the Son of Sultan *Moray*, concealed at that Age by his Mother, for fear of the Power of his Uncle, he could not assent to any Terms or Conditions less than the Exaltation of him to the Ottoman Throne. And so carrying this Young Man with him, as a Property, whereby to secure his Rebellion with the Galle of Justice and Duty, he maintained a Court for him after the Ottoman Fashion; and calling the Tagho, or Standards, to be carried before him, he permitted him to give Audiences, send Dispatches, and to take on him all the Royal Marks of Empire.

The Army of the Pasha was by this time increased to seventy thousand Men, one part of which he sent towards *Scutari*, and another towards *Smyrna*, which alarm'd all the Countries round about, and gave the Grand Signior such cause of Apprehension, that he tried divers Means, and made many Propositions of Honours and Benefits to the Pasha, whereby to allure him to Obedience: One while he offered to him the Government of *Grand Cairo*; but that being rejected, he endeavoured to raise Men in *Afia* to oppose the progress of his Arms; of which some numbers being got into a Body, and perceiving the formidable Force of the Pasha, revolted, and joined themselves to his Party.

This Extensivity of Affairs, caused the Grand Signior not only again to proclaim the Pasha a Rebel, but to give liberty to his People to destroy him and his Soldiers in any parts where they should encounter them. In pursuance of which License, a Village in *Afia* having killed twenty five or thirty of the Pasha's Men, which came thither to refresh themselves; the Pasha was so enraged thereat, that he caused his Soldiers to put Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword throughout the Village. And in this manner the Affairs of the Turks remained in the greatest Confusion imaginable through the whole course of this Year 1658.

ANNO 1659.

NOR did this Year begin with better Omens of Success, for to the other Dangers, was added a Report, that the Persian had taken the Field with two hundred thousand Men, for re-

1659.

1659. recovery of *Bagdad*, or *Babylon*, which was the ancient Patrimony of its Forefathers; so that the Grand Signior being rendered thereby more willing to agree and accommodate Affairs with the *Palha*, proffered to him the Government of the Province of *Soria* for ever, paying only a yearly Homage of an hundred thousand Sultanees, in lieu of three hundred thousand, which that Country always yielded. But the Pride of the *Palha* formed a Proffer of so mean a Consideration, having nothing left in his Thoughts than the entire enjoyment of the Empire, or at least to partake an equal share thereof with the Sultan.

For the Hopes of the *Palha* encreasing with his Army, which was now grown to eighty thousand Men, he took up for some days his Headquarters near the Fortresses of *Tocatius*, within ten days march of *Smyrna*; and thence approaching towards *Constantinople*, the chief Ministers concluded, that there was no other Safety but in their Arms; and that the *Palha* was not to be reduced to any terms of Gentleness or Moderation. Accordingly the Great Vizier passed into *Asia* with a numerous Army, and speedily joined Battle with the *Palha*, which continued for some Hours with great slaughter on one side and the other; but at length the fortune of the Day turned in favour of the *Palha*, and the Vizier's Army being routed, he lost all his Cannon and Baggage, and he himself was forced to save himself in the Neighbouring Countries; where not being pursued by the *Palha*, he had time again to collect his torn and scattered Troops. The News hereof multiplied the Disorders and Confusions at *Constantinople*, to which being added the Motion of the Persians, and that they were to join with the *Palha*; as also some Troubles in *Transylvania*, caused by the unquiet Spirit of *Ragotzki*, together with the ill Humour of the Male-contents in the City, made all things appear with equal or greater Danger at Home than abroad.

Wherefore, as the ultimate Remedy of these imminent Dangers, it was resolved, that the Grand Signior should go in Person to the War, on supposition that Reverence to his Royal Person would produce that awe on the Spirits of his Subjects, which was not to be effected by Violence, or force of Arms. According to this Resolution the Grand Signior passed into *Asia*, and joining his Forces with those of the Vizier, composed an Army of seventy thousand Foot, and thirty thousand Horse; with which marching boldly towards the Enemy, the Heart of the *Palha* began to fail him; so that calling a Council of his Officers, he proposed his Inclinations towards Terms of Agreement, rather than to hazard all on the Uncertainties of a Battle; the Spirits of the Souldiery being now become tractable by the appearance of so great a Force, assented to the Proposition; and thereupon Articles being speedily drawn up, were sent to the Grand Signior for his Approbation; who, though he would not seem to refuse any thing therein contained, yet declined a personal Treaty, as being a Matter too mean for his Imperial Person to capitulate with his Vassals; and therefore ordered, that *Mortaza* *Palha* should Treat in his behalf, promising to confirm whatsoever Act *Mortaza* *Palha* should conclude in this Matter.

Mortaza being thus made Plenipotentiary, refused to treat with the *Palha*, until such time as he had retreated with his Army at a distance of some days March from the Grand Signior's

Camp; which being performed near a Town called *Alexandria*, he foolishly suffered himself to be separated in a private Place from his Army, on pretence that Peace was more aptly concluded in a free Retirement, than under *Mortaza* meeting the *Palha*, forcibly strangled him, with seventeen of his Complices, whom he had brought with him for Witnesses to his Capitulations with the Grand Signior. With the news hereof the Army of the *Palha* soon shifting for himself, retired to his own Country and Home. And herewith easily ended this Civil War almost in a moment, which but now threatened the Extirpation of the Ottoman Race.

The cruel Vizier retained his thoughts of Revenge, which we shall shortly hear in what manner he vented on the great Spahes and rich Men in *Asia*, who had joined themselves with the *Palha* in this Rebellion. This good Service promoted *Mortaza*, and rendered him more considerable to the Grand Signior; so that he was employed in the Assistance of the Tartars, against *Ragotzki* in *Transylvania*, and afterwards preferred to the important Charge of *Bagdad*, or *Babylon*, of whose success and Fate, we shall hear in the Sequel of a few Years.

But as yet the Commotions of *Asia* were not so wholly extinguished, but that the Nephew of the *Palha* of *Aleppo*, in revenge of the treacherous Death of his Uncle, took up Arms, and was followed by the People of the Territories depending on *Aleppo*. To his Assistance came in also the Son of *Chafsin* *Palha*, late General in *Candia*, whom the cruel Vizier had put to death, notwithstanding the merit of his late Services, which might seem to atone for his former Misfortunes, and make satisfaction for non-compliance with Instructions; but this Vizier, who never pardoned any Person, would not begin with an Act of Clemency towards one who was none of his Creatures or Confidants depending on him.

To these joined the Bey of *Torgue*, who casting off his Obedience to the *Palha* of *Cairo*, entered into the Cabal with ten thousand Horse; so that a formidable Army being composed by this Union, gave a new Subject of Fear and Apprehension to the Grand Signior. But the Great Vizier so dextrously managed his Affair, by sowing Dissension between the Chiefs, and bestowing Largeesses on the Souldiery, that the Army untensibly mouldered away, leaving their Generals, and Commanders to shift for themselves, and exposing them to the Justice of a Vizier, who was unacquainted with Mercy, and never pardoned any who was either guilty of a Fault, or suspected for it.

Towards the end of this Year, the Vizier built the lower Forts, which are situated at the entrance into the *Dardanelles*, commonly called by the name of the Queen-Mother's Castles. And dispatched a Chaos to the *Palha* of *Canea*, to put all things in a Readiness for the Siege of *Candia*; Orders were also given to the *Palhaws* of the Inland Countries to prepare themselves for the Wars against *Dalmatia*, and *Transylvania*.

ANNÒ 1660.

THE Rendezvous of the Army being appointed at *Belgrade*, the Vizier halted thither in Person to quicken the Preparations, and

1660. and March of the Souldiers, which were flocking thither from all parts. This Vizier *Kapeler*, though aged, was yet very active and vigorous, by which he created so much confidence of himself in his Master, that he acted nothing in all the Government but by his Counsel and Direction: which being always jealous and bloody towards those who had any Power in the Empire, he for that Reason cut off the *Cafir* of *Damascus*, who though he was a good Governor, and a faithful Servant, yet because he was a Favourite of the Queen-Mother, and conserved the State of his Affairs in a laudable posture, he grew jealous of his Power, and therefore sacrificed his Blood to his own Security and Bloody Disposition.

The which act of unjust Cruelty so enraged the Queen-Mother, that she for ever bore a mortal hatred to this Vizier, and continued the same to his Son, which was the famous *Kapeler*; but his Moderation and Discretion was so well tempered with respect towards her, that she at length not only pardoned the Sin of his Father in him, but became his Friend, and relished the Services which he performed for his Master.

The Venetians having about this time received considerable Succours, namely four thousand French Foot, which his most Christian Majesty, after the Conclusion of Peace at the *Pyrenian* Treaty, had most generously spared to that Republick, were enabled to attempt some notable Enterprize; and thereby so hardly pressed the *Palha* of *Canea*, that he earnestly wrote to the Grand Signior for Succours; assuring him, that without present Relief, he should be forced to surrender his Town to the Mercy of the Enemy. The Grand Signior promised him speedy Relief, and for his better encouragement sent

him the Present of a Sword and a Veil of Sabres; in the mean time the Venetians took three Forts, viz. *Calama*, *Calegro*, and *Epicarno*, and proceeded to lay Siege to *Canea*; but the Enemy having received a Supply of three thousand Men into the Town, the Christians quitted this enterprize in hopes of bearing the Turks out of new *Candia*; which was lately built near to the old *Candia*, with design to keep that Town frustrated by perpetual Alarms; and by the vicinity of so bad a Neighbourhood.

The Grand Vizier being very Aged, was subject to many Infirmities, and falling sick at *Belgrade*, he was advised by the Physicians to change the Air, as the best Remedy for his Distaste; and indeed they were all careful to give him the best and safest Counsels, for that he often threatened them, if he died of that Sickness, he would fend them all to the next World before him. The Vizier following the Advice of his Physicians, returned to *Adrianople*, where having in a good measure recovered his Health, he sent Orders to *Hali* *Palha*, then General of the Forces in *Hungary*, to hasten the Siege of *Waradin*, being esteemed by the Turks an advantageous Fortress for carrying on the Conquests in that Country; of the taking of which Town, of all the Trouble in *Transylvania*, caused by the ambitious humour of *Ragotzki*, we shall treat at large in the following History. For being come to that time, in which Providence allotted me a charge at *Constantinople*; I was thereby somewhat elevated on a rising Ground, whereby I could with my own Eyes survey the Transactions of that great Empire; and for that Reason I call them my Memoirs; which for being Matters transacted in my own Time, I have thought fit to introduce them with a short Advertisement to the Reader.

THE

THE
MEMOIRS
OF

Sir Paul Rycaut,

Containing the

HISTORY
OF THE
TURKS.

FROM THE

YEAR 1660, to the YEAR 1678.

With the most Remarkable Passages

Relating to the

ENGLISH TRADE

In the space of Eighteen Years.

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

THIS following History is some part of those fruits arising from my vacant hours of eighteen Years residence in Turkey, seven whereof I complicated at Constantinople, in quality of Secretary to the Lord Ambassador; and for eleven Years I exercised the Office of Consul at Smyrna. In the first times of which, I had great advantages to observe, and make my Annotations; having for the most part been acquainted with the persons as well as with the affairs of those concerning whom I write; and indeed the incumbence which was then upon me, obliged me to a knowledge both of persons and business. My latter time, which was that of being Consul, constrained me to an attendance on matters relating to the government of our Trade; and therefore it is not to be expell'd, that at that distance from the Court, I should lay down Transactions so positive, and particular, as in the preceding Years; yet the acquaintance, and correspondence I afterwards continued at Court, and the care I took to inform my self of what occurred, qualified me in some measure for an Historian; at least put me into a condition to make a Breviate, or Collection of certain Observations occurring in the Turkish Court.

When I first entred on this work, I was carried with a certain emulation of French and Italian Writers, of whose Ministers few there were employed in the parts of Turkey, but who carried with them thence, Memoirs, Journals, or Historical Observations of their times. In which our Nation hath been so defective, that besides some scattered and abrupt Papers, without coherence, or method, adjoined to the end of Knoll's History of the Turks (which is an excellent collection from divers Authors) one shall scarce find five sheets of Paper wrote by our Countrymen in way of History. At which omission having often wondered, I resolv'd from my first entrance in those Countries, to note down in a blank Book what occurred in that Empire, either as to Civil, or Military affairs; with what Casualties and Changes beset our Trade, that so both one and the other might serve for Examples and Precedents to future Ages; the which after some years afforded me materials to compose and frame this following Discourse. In which, having by Gods assistance thus far proceeded; As it may be an Example to my Successors, to spin and draw out the thread of this History through Ages to come; so it will be a good part, and office, of those who reside there at present, by a more diligent enquiry to correct, and amend what I have mistaken, or misunderstood.

For next to the immediate attendance to the Charge and Trust impos'd upon me, I judg'd it a chief duty towards my Country, to denote and Record certain Transactions relating to Trade, which is the grand Interest that hath engag'd England to a Communication and Correspondence with these remote Parts: nor doth the World perhaps expect much less from me, than that I should add something to the History of the Turks in our time, which howsoever imperfectly I may perform it, yet the Offices which I have exercised, and the impartiality with which it is wrote, may gain it some credit and reputation in the World. For in the writing hereof, I cannot be tax'd with animosity to any person; nor am I to be esteem'd as possess'd with affection, or partiality to any side; which is a point of sobriety, and good temper, necessary for all Historians: For we who lived in those parts, were little concern'd for the Factions of Ruperlee, or for the Favourites of the Court; nor was it of any moment to us, whether the Faction of the Spahces, or Janizaries prevail'd; or whether the Courtiers, or the Soldiers, ruled the Empire: only we esteem'd it our duty, to speak best of that Government under which our Trade thrived most. And tho the times of Sultan Ibrahim were the golden days for Merchants, which employ'd our Navigation beyond the memory of any times, either before, or since; and consumed of our Manufactories (tho not in greater quantities yet) perhaps with better advantage and profit to our Nation: Yet I ought not to be so injurious, or ungrateful to Sultan Mahomet the Fourth, as to accuse his Government of Oppression, or Violence towards us, or of any breach of Articles, and Privileges, which he had granted to his Majesties Subjects; but shall rather applaud, and be ready to own that Justice which our Complaints have found, and met at the Ottoman Court, under the protection of those worthy Ambassadors sent by his Majesty to stand Centinel on the Guard of their Country.

For whereas in the time of Sultan Morat, when the Military men bore the sway; Injustice and Violence, which mingled in all the actions of Rule, had an influence also on the English affairs;

affairs: And when in the time of Sultan Ibrahim, that the Female Court had gained the predominancy, and that vast Treasures were expended in Riot and Luxury; the predigality of great persons made it necessary to be rapacious and unjust: But in these more moderate times of this present Sultan, when neither excessive Wars abroad, nor Luxury nor immoderate expence at home, exhausted the Coffers: We may easily imagine, that the disorders of State did not drive the Rulers to a necessity of exercising unjust Acts, which are always most certain Symptoms, either of a bad Government, or a vicious inclination in the Prince.

The English Trade, according to the Chronicles of Sir Richard Baker, was first introduced into the Country of the Turks, in the Year 1579. but Sagredo an Italian Writer, accounts only from the Year 1583. perhaps before that time Overtures were only made for a Trade, which might be so inconsiderable, as that until then it was not esteemed worthy to be adorned with an Ambassador, or to be opposed by the Ministers of Foreign Princes. For so soon as an Ambassador from England appeared at the Ottoman Court, with Credential Letters from Queen Elizabeth, the French and Venetian Ministers took the Alarm, and opposed his reception, especially the French, who (as Sagredo reports in his History of the Turks) represented unto the G. Vizier, how much this new Friendship with the English would obstruct that ancient Alliance which was made with his King, and would impeach and lessen the Privileges and Trade which they enjoyed in those parts: To which the Vizier answered, according to their usual phrase and stile; That the happy Imperial Seat where his Master resided, was called the Port, because it was free and open to all such who desired to take refuge and sanctuary therein, and therefore the English without just reason ought not to be excluded. That the Sultan ought not to be denied that freedom of love and hatred, which was common to all Mankind; and that he was as well resolved to chuse and cherish his Friends, as to persecute and destroy his Enemies. Whereunto the French Ambassador urged, That since it was the pleasure of the Grand Signior to admit the English; that at least they should be obliged to enter Constantinople under the French Colours. But the English Ambassador replied, that his Mistress who was so potent, feared all Dependencies on other Nations, and would rather abandon the Friendship of the Sultan, than admit the least diminution of her own honour: And embellishing his Discourses (as Sagredo proceeds) with the representation of that advantage and profit, which the English Trade would bring to the Ottoman Empire; he so ensnared the hearts of the Turks, that they preferred the admittance of new Guests, before the Alliance of ancient Friends. Since which time our Commerce and Trade with the Turk hath been in its increase, and being governed by a Wise and Grave Company of Experienced Merchants, hath by Gods blessing brought an inestimable Treasure and advantage to the English Nation, which that it may still continue, increase, and flourish in all Ages and times to come, is the hearty desire, and Prayer of him, who is a true, and faithful Servant to that worthy Society, and a sincere Wellwisher to his Country.

Farwel.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF
Sultan Mahomet IV.
THE
XIII. EMPEROUR
OF THE
TURKS,
Beginning in the
NINTH YEAR
OF HIS
REIGN.

The First BOOK.

Anno Christi, 1661. Hegeira, 1072.

IT was now the beginning of this Year, when the Earl of Winchelsea arrived at Constantinople, the first Ambassador sent abroad from His Majesty of Great Britain, Charles the Second, after his happy Return to the Glorious Throne of his Ancestors, to Sultan Mahomet, the Thirteenth Emperor of the Turks: it being judged fit, that amongst other Alliances which were to be contracted with Foreign Princes, and States, this of Turkey should not be omitted, but rather in the first place considered: In regard, that as the flourishing Estate and Prosperity of England's riches depends absolutely on her Foreign Trade, so on none more particularly than on that of Turkey, which consumes great quantities of her most staple and substantial Manufactures, and makes returns in whatsoever Employments, and gives bread to the poor and indolent of the Nation.

But before we come to treat of the Successes of this Ambassador, and the various Transactions in the Turkish Affairs; we shall relate some ac-

cidents which befel us in our Voyage by Sea to Constantinople. The Earl of Winchelsea and his Lady, with a numerous Retinue being embarked on the Plymouth Frigate, commanded by Sir Thomas Allen, and accompanied with a Catch and two Merchants Ships, the Prosperous and Sneyra Factor for Turkey, set sail from the Downs on the Twentieth of October 1660. And proceeding with a favourable Gale, and fair Weather, until we were come to the height of the Norward Cape, or Cape Finisterre: we then contended with so severe a Storm, that we were forced to bring our Ship under a main course, to fasten our Helm, and lye, and drive. In the Twenty ninth about Five in the Morning, our Main Tack flew, which shook and strained our Mast so violently, that it was shivered in two places between Decks: The danger hereof might have proved of ill consequence, had the Mast gone by the Board; for in all probability it would have carried up our Decks, unfixed both our Pumps, and laid us open to the Sea; but the Providence of God, and the diligence of our

Seamen

1661. Seamen was such, that we soon struck our Top Mast, boarded our main Yard, and so filled the Mast it self where it was defective, that with the help of our fore-Sail, and the benefit of better Weather we safely arrived on the Thirtieth in the Port of Lisbon. The Match being then in Treaty between Charles the Second our Dread Sovereign, and Catherine the Infanta of Portugal, now our gracious Queen, all the concerns of England, were extremely acceptable to the Court of Portugal; and particularly the Person of the Earl of Winchelsea, a Peer of England, qualified with the Character of Ambassadeur Extraordinary to the Ottoman Port. For at our first arrival there, I being then Secretary to the said Earl, was employed to carry a Letter to the King, which was received by the Council of State then sitting: After the Letter had been read and considered, it was called in, and an answer given me by the Marquis de Nijss, and D. Gaspar Faria de Sevarim then Secretary of State, to this purpose. That they were glad, to be grateful an opportunity presented, whereby they might demonstrate their warm and real affections towards the King of England, by serving his Ambassadeur in so necessary a piece of Service as that which was required: That Orders were given to furnish the Ship with a Mast, and what else wanted, out of the Kings Stores; and that both his Excellency and Lady, with all their Retinue should be welcomed a shore, with due regard to their Quality and Condition. The Day following his Excellency was complemented from the King, by a *Mestre de Campo* sent to him on Ship-board; and being come ashore, and lodged at the House of Mr. Maynard the English Consul, he was visited by D. Francisco de Melo, (Cousin-german before, and afterwards employed Ambassadeur into England) and by D. Antonio de Sausa and others. After Eight days his Excellency had Audience of the King, and the Queen Mother, and was received by both, with many demonstrations of a hearty desire to contract a firm Alliance with England. He was afterwards invited by the Conde de Odeira Gouverneur of the young King, and Chief Minister of Portugal, to a *Quinta*, or Garden-house at Bellain: where were present the Duke of Calvral, the Visconde de Castel Branco, and D. Francisco de Melo; the entertainments were very splendid, with variety of Dishes, and Wine, corresponding rather with the inordinate Tables of English, than with the frugality, and temperate Diet of Spaniards. Our Ship being in this interim refitted, we returned aboard on the Twelfth of November; the Earl of Winchelsea being presented by the King, with several Hamper of sweet-Meat, Vessels of Wine, and other Provisions for his Voyage; and his Lady by the Queen Mother, with a Jewel of considerable value, and with diverse boxes filled with Purfes of perfumed Leather, and Amber Comfits.

Alger.

On the Thirteenth we set Sail, being desired by Order of his Majesty for *Alger*, to signify a Peace with that unruly People; where arriving on the Twentieth second day about Three a Clock in the Afternoon, we came to an Anchor about Two Miles distant from the Town, which we saluted with Twenty one Guns, but received none again in answer thereunto; it being the custom of that People, not to acknowledge Civilities, but to repay injuries, and not receive benefits. We found that they had already begun to break the Peace: Having brought in thither an English Ship, which lay between hope and fear of freedom, or seizure: So soon as we

had dropped our Anchors, a Boat came from that Ship, acquainting us of the State of *Alger*, and how near Matters were to a Rupture with them; by this Boat my Lord Ambassadeur sent a Letter to the Consul, appointing him to come aboard; who the next Day, being the Twentieth third, appeared accordingly; to whom his Excellency imparted the Instructions and Orders from his Majesty to renew the Peace on the former Articles; and particularly to infer a Caution, That the *Algerines* should on no terms search our Ships, but that the Passengers, and goods thereon, whether of English or Strangers, should be freed and exempted from all seizure, and Piracy whatsoever. I being appointed to assist the Consul in this Treaty, accompanied him ashore, and in the first place we applied our selves to *Ramadam Bullock-bashee*, then the Chief of their Divan, and Head of their Government; whom we acquainted, that on the Ship in the road, was an Earl of England, sent Ambassadeur by his Majesty our King to the Grand Signor, and in his way thither was appointed to touch at *Alger*, and to inform the Government of that place of the happy Restoration of his Majesty to the Throne of his Father, and to confirm the same Peace which was before concluded with usurped Powers, and so delivered him the Letters from his Majesty, which were superscribed in this manner:

To their Excellencies the Aga, *Jia-bashee*, and rest of the Honourable Council of State and War, in the City and Kingdom of *Alger*.

Ramadam answered us, that he was well satisfied with the Proposal; that there was a Peace already made with the English, and that they were his Brothers; that the next Day was appointed for a general Divan of great and small, at which we might freely open our breasts, and declare whatsoever was committed to us by our King and his Ambassadeur.

But for the better understanding of the State of *Alger*, at this time, we must observe, that for many years before, this government was composed of a Divan, the Chief and Head whereof was a *Paisha* sent every Three years to preside there, and had to continue, until that some few Months before this time one *Halil* a poor Fellow, who had no better Education than the Sixteenth part of a Vessel, but bold and desperate, complained one Day in open Divan against the *Paisha*, accusing him of many miscarriages, with which he so affected the Divan; that he rudely threw him from his Seat, drubbed him, trampled on him, and plucked the Hairs out of his Beard, which is the greatest mark of contumely and contempt that any Person can offer to another; and having committed him to Prison and Chains, he with the Divan took upon himself the unlimited Power of an Arbitrary Government: And thus for the space of Six or Eight Months this Mercenary tyrannized, and ruled without controul: Until an oblique and contemptible Count, an ordinary Terbin or Countryman, incited (as was supposed) by the Aga, or General of the Souldiery, approaching near him in the Streets, under pretence of killing his Vest, struck him with a long Knife between the Ribs; which boldness of the Moor so astonished the Attendants which were about him, that none had power to lay hands on the Murderer, but suffered him to depart, and fly unpunished: Of this wound *Halil* dyed in Two days, in which time he nominated *Ramadam* his Kinsman to be the most proper, and fit Person to succeed him in the Government;

1661.

1661.

verment; and this recommendation so prevailed on the Divan, that he was elected for their Chief: A Person of a most foolish, and Mercenary Soul, immersed in Covetousness, and Gluttony, guided by his Lust and Interest, unless some times restrained by the Authority of the Divan, and the fear of popular Insurrection.

This *Ramadam* according to his Promise before cited, summoned us the day following, being the Twenty-fourth to the Divan; which consists in all of Twenty-four Bulluck-bashees, who are Officers of the Souldiery, each commanding Twenty-four Souldiers under him, * Twenty-four *Jia-bashees*, and Eighteen Ancients or grave Seniors: Though for that present, there appeared no more than Forty-five, the others being at Sea, or abroad; *Ramadam* was placed in the Chair, or in a Seat at the upper end, and the Aga fate by him, the others stood on their feet, and put themselves into Two Files, or Ranks; and then *Ramadam* began with a loud Voice to cry, *The English* are come to treat a Peace with you, and have brought Letters from their King, and from their Ambassadeur now aboard going for *Constantinople*; which very words every one distinctly pronounced, and repeated them, carrying the Voice from the lower to the upper end; I fancied, that it was after the manner of our repeating Syllables in disputation, that so no mistake might be, and that the Respondent might have time to consider and weigh the argument. Then *Ramadam* demanded, whether they were pleased to enter into Treaty with the English; which words being repeated as before, and answered in the Affirmative, the Letters were read in the Turkish Translation, with the Articles of Peace proposed, which were as followeth:

I. That the English shall be obliged to protect all Passengers belonging to *Alger*, aboard their Ships, to the utmost of their power, against any of their Enemies. And in like manner all foreign Passengers, Merchants and others, their goods, and Estates embarked, and laden on English Ships, shall pass free, and be protected from the Ships of *Alger*, and be suffered to pass without molestation.

II. No Shipwreck of English on the coast of *Alger*, shall become prize, nor their goods forfeited, nor their men made Slaves; but the People of *Alger* shall do their best endeavour to save both them and their goods.

III. That neither the Consul, nor other Englishmen, shall be obliged to satisfy the Debts of another Englishman, unless he hath been bound, or become Security for him.

IV. That no Englishman in matter of difference shall be subject to any Judgment, but that of the Divan.

V. That the English in differences amongst themselves shall be subject to no determination, but to that of the English Consul.

VI. That either side are to furnish men of War with all necessities their Ports afford, at

Halil killed by a Moor.

the Market rates, without paying customs. 1661.

VII. If any grievance happen, neither party shall break the Peace until satisfaction be denied.

These Articles being read, were all approved except the first; for they declared, that they would have a Liberty to search our Ships, and take out the Goods and Persons of Strangers; for that otherwise, we having this privilege, might carry away the Trade of the whole World in our Shipping; and that *French*, *Spanish*, *Italian*, *Dutch*, and all other Nations, had no need of other protection and safeguard for their Persons and Goods, than to put them under the English colours: And that then their men of War might rove the Seas to no purpose, their City become poor, and their Souldiers starve, when they returned home. We on the other side, being sensible how prejudicial and dishonourable such an Article as this would be, and how ruinous to our Navigation, and having his Majesties Command to the contrary, absolutely refused to assent, or agree thereto. While we were thus arguing, a great *Turk* appeared with two young men his Slaves, one a *Frenchman*, and the other a *Dutchman*, requesting *Ramadam* to recommend him to us for passage to *Smyna*; and having performed his request to him by kissing his Hand, *Ramadam* made it his request to us in behalf of that his Kinsman, recommending him to our care and protection, and conjuring us thereunto, by that Sacred league of Peace that was between us: We readily assented thereto, and at the same time took hold of the Example to represent the reasonableness of that Article on which we insisted. For shall we (said we) protect your People, and will you require, and impose it upon us as a matter of Justice, and Sacred? And shall not the greatness of our King have a Liberty to dispence the like Privilege to other Nations, his Neighbours, and Allies, governed by Kings and Princes, who are Christian, and of his Kindred, and near Relations? But neither this, nor any other argument was Reason, or Sense to them, nor did they care to answer it by other arguments, than that of their own disadvantage thereby; and that if they assented thereto, their Ships might better rot in the Mould, than to venture them out at Sea with expectation of booty. They told us also stories of English Ships which had delivered from *Algerines* to their Enemies; and one particularly, who had taken a Hundred *Turks* to the *Venetians*. In answer hereunto, we assured them, that upon complaints and proofs made hereof to our King; his Justice was such, as that he would not suffer a piece of such Treachery to escape unpunished. And as to that argument, which they urged, that in this Case none would be employed besides English ships; we largely represented the necessity of employing *French*, and *Dutch*, and the Ships of other Nations. But these People being Deaf and Blind to any Reason, but that which agrees with their interests, we concluded nothing; for after a long and loud discourse, and repetition of the same things over and over again, we at length told them, that it was not in our Commission to conclude on these terms; but that we should inform the Lord Ambassadeur of their desires, and resolution, and that we would return the next Day with his peremptory answers; and yet we knew, that the Instructions from his Majesty extended not so far; but that we might have occasion to leave matters, as it were in suspense, and part fairly from them, at the present. For

1661. as to my own particular, I did not like to remain with such Company, not knowing how far the perfidiousness of that People might transport them to a Barbarity against the Laws of Reason and Nations.

The wind blew all this day so hard at West, that our Ship drove, and a great Sea went; so that there was some difficulty for me to get aboard; howsoever in regard it was necessary to render his Excellency an account of the proceedings of the preceding Day, I leaved the Pinnace of all Provisions, and the Unhappy Company, and so by God's Providence got safe, though wet, aboard that Evening. I did not fail immediately to render an account most exactly, how every thing passed, to the Lord Ambassador, letting him know, what fruit was to be expected by a farther Treaty with this People. Wherefore it was thought fit rather to keep the business in suspense, than to come to an open rupture with them; and rather than to use long discourse to them, or persuasions to little purpose, to write them this short Letter, the superperfection of which was to *Ramadam* their Governour in Chief, and to the rest of the Divan.

The last Letter to the Divan

WE are sorry that there should be still one difference in our Treaty, relating to the service of Ships, and delivering up Merchants Foreigners, and Strangers, goods. This is an Article which the King my Master did think you were to have insisted upon, because it was granted to others, who were Unhappy, and his Subjects, and therefore did not improve me to conclude with you in it. However, I shall acquaint the King my Master of your earnest Desires, and Reluctance in this Business, and doubt not, but what is just and Reasonable, will be assented unto. Wherefore to that end, you must desire you, whilst his Royal Majesty is expecting to your satisfaction, that the Peace may continue on the same Terms that it now stands. Let your Friend and Kinsman come aboard, (as is desired) and he shall be welcome, and you shall protect him to the uttermost of our power. And on this Promise and word of ours, you may rely on, as of a Christian, and a true Englishman. Our desire also further is, that the Lord Ozbeyan may remain in the Consulate House until such time as his Ransom comes. And so we wish, that a hearty and long Peace may be continued between the two Nations. Given aboard the Plymouth Frigate, November 15. 1660.

Winchelsea.

Upon delivery of this Letter, it was concluded, that the former Articles should stand in force; only that difference about searching our Ships should remain in suspense, and be specified, as not fully agreed on: Howsoever they would search our Ships, and it should not be accounted a breach of our Capitulations, until the King should intimate his dislike thereof. And that when Notice should come from his Majesty to *Alger*, that he approved not thereof, then it should be lawful for both sides to break into Acts of Hostility. This moderate course we thought to be less prejudicial to us for the present, than an open, and sudden War: For by this means we gained the releasement of two small English Ships which their Men carried in thither, and had time to give notice to our Merchants in all Ports and places, of the true state of our business with *Alger*.

On the Twenty-seventh of November, we departed from the bay of *Alger* with a prosperous, and ready Gale, steering N.E. and N.N.E. for

1661. *Messina*, from whence we intended to dispatch Letters unto all places, rendering advices to his Majesty, and the Merchants, of the State and Condition of our Affairs, and Negotiation at *Alger*. And whilst we pleasantly sail'd with a prosperous wind, on a sudden a cry was made of Fire, in the Ship, which astonished us all with a great amazement. For the Cooper it seems, going into the Steward's Room to have a Cask which formerly had some Brandy in it, by chance a Snuff of the Candle fell in at the bung, which set the whole Vessel into a Flame: But the same Man immediately stopping the Bung, foot smothered the Fire, and therewith extinguish'd that our fears. As to other Matters, our Voyage to *Messina* was speedily and happy, for we arrived there on the Second of December.

Some Days passed before we could get practick; for having touched at *Alger*, a place always suspected for the Plague, great scruple was made of admitting us to free converse in the Town: Until the Lord Ambassador gave under his Hand and Seal an Assurance of the Health of our Ship; on confidence of which we received Practick, and the Palace called Paradise, where commonly the Vice-Kings are lodged, was appointed to receive his Excellency and his Retinue, and the Furniture thereof ordered by D. Francisco de la Villa Padrierna, a Spaniard, who was Stratego, which is as much as Commander in Chief of all the Castles and Forts in about *Messina*. So soon as his Excellency landed, the Stratego made him a Visit, and at his departure left his Guard with him in a Complement, but in the mean time the *Jurati*, who were fix in number, chose (as I think) every year, or every third year by the Citizens for Government of the City, were wanting in the civil civility towards our Ambassador; four of which are chosen out of the Burgers, and two out of the Gentry, for they took no notice of him, nor sent him any message until the hour that he was about to depart, when his Excellency refused to receive their visits, excusing his neglect of attendance to matters of Ceremony, at a time when business urged his departure: whence this omission on the Jurate side proceeded, may in probability be deriv'd from the antipathy they have to the Spaniards; and their Government, always running contrary to that, unto which they find the Spanish Ministers most inclined. During our abode at this place his Excellency having returned his Visit to the Stratego, accompanied with D. Jofeppe de Luna a Cavalier of *Malitba*, and having wrote a Letter to the Conde de *Ayala* then Vice-King of *Sicily*, residing at *Palermo*, he gave advices unto all places of the doubtful state of our affairs with *Alger*, that so Ships might be cautious of our safety, and how they adventured themselves abroad without Convey; and having completed these Dispatches, we again returned aboard on the ninth of this Month; when the Stratego, abounding in all sorts of civility, sent an honourable present of all sorts of fresh provisions aboard Ship, and soon after came himself in person to bid Farewell to his Excellency. At his coming aboard we gave him nine Guns, and at his going off fifteen, and so soon as our Anchors were away, and our Fore-top-Sail filled, we bid adieu to the Town with twenty one Guns more, which they returned by firing all the Guns of the five Castles, under command of the Stratego, which is an honour they seldom pay to any other, than the Generalissimo of Spain, the Vice-King, and the Popes Admiral.

We had for a Wind, and so prosperous a passage, that we arrived at *Smyrna* on the 14th of Decem.

1661. December, where we found the *Prosperous* and *Smyrna* Factor, the Merchants Ships which we had lost in the Storm, happily arrived. Here we remained for some days to order our private Affairs according to Instructions given by the *Turky* Company. And on the sixth of January, being Sunday and Twelfth-day, we returned aboard to prosecute this Ultimate stage of our Voyage to *Constantinople*; our Frigate the *Plymouth* Anchored near the Town within the very Port of *Smyrna*, from whence blowing with a fresh Easterly Wind from the shore, we were carried without the Port, and out of command of the *Castile*; where the wind failing, and being wholly calm, we Anchored until the next morning, when with a gentle gale at South-East we proceeded forward, and being as high as *Cape Carabornas*, towards night the Wind came about to the N.E. with so strong a Gale, that with some difficulty we weathered the *Cape*, and making over for the Island of *Mytilene*, and bringing our Ship under a main course, we intended to pass the night under the shelter of that life: All this night the wind increased one hour more than another, that in the morning it was grown to a perfect storm, and the Sea into a breach; the sky was so black, and thick, and the Sun so red and louring, as signified the continuance of it; and the spray of the Sea was so forcibly carried by the wind over the Ship, that Masts, Yards, and Decks were quivered with a white Salt. This extremity of weathering, our thick clouds, the Port, or Harbour, wherein to secure our Ship. The Island of *Ispira* lying S. B. W. about eight Leagues from *Mytilene*, was judged by our Master to be the most convenient and safe place, wherein we might spend the fury of this storm; wherefore putting before it with our Forefall, and our Mainfall in the fore, the wind was so forcible, that it carried away our Forefall like Paper from the Yard; and bringing another in the place thereof, it had the misfortune to be foul of the Hook of our Anchor, and so became as unserviceable as the former: being thus deprived of the benefit of our commanding Sails, we set our Spritfall, and Main course, and so steered in between the two Isles of *Ispira* the greater, and the less. Being shot within, and keeping as near aloft as we could to the shore, we on a sudden struck upon a Rock, which astonished us all with a strange amazement; the Ship fetched five Salies, or Sees upon it with such violence, that we expected to sink immediately into the deep; and indeed if we consider the forcibleness of the wind, the urgency of the Sea, and the weight of our burden, having four hundred persons aboard, and sixty Guns mounted, it will appear little less than a Miracle, that the Ship braved not up upon pieces than our numbers were aboard. I had then by the Mass, when he fathomed our depth of water by the Lead and Line, and we had then seventeen foot and a half by the side, but the Ship drawing eighteen foot, we began to fear a total ruin, and shipwreck, and with cast-up eyes, and stretched out arms, thought none of us other than of our last and ultimate Part. But in the midst of this inward consternation and distress, it pleased God, who was our best Pilot, and guided us to the edge of the Rock, to bring us clear of it; when we soon espied some of our Breathing to swim upon the Sea; and running down to the Well of our Pumps; we perceived a great increase of water, but not so much but that Pumping once every half hour, we kept our Ship in a condition of safety. Being thus by Gods Provi-

dence come to a convenient place of Anchorage, being well furnished with ground-Tackle, we rode for two days in a treks of wind, with two Anchors a head, of which our Fleet-Anchors was one, and with our Fore-masts and Yards stuck. Afterwards the wind abating something of its late fierceness, though continuing in the same quarter, we had opportunities to go ashore and to make some Provisions of Wine, of which that Island yields an admirable sort, and as rich as any in the *Archipelago*, though the people are poor, or rather more miserable than their Neighbours. In three or four days, by the tillage and weeds which the Leak had sucked in, the water began to stop, and our Ship became so perfectly tight, that our Captain judged it not necessary to enquire, when we arrived at *Constantinople*, into the damage which we had received from the Rock; and the Ship afterwards by Gods Providence arriving safe in the River of *Tomas*, was brought into the Dock at *Wooding*, where upon search was discovered a great piece of the Rock, as big as a mans head, stuck into the bilge of the Ship, and so firmly fixed, as if it had been riveted within; which seemed so strange a thing, that the Shipwrights before they would rake it from thence, first thought fit to acquaint the King thereof; who was pleased in person to go and see it; which appearing a strange, and almost a miraculous accident, his Majesty commanded it to be taken out, and (as I am informed) it is kept in his Closet. And now for the better description of this Rock, and for the averring of it, Seamen may observe, and take notice of it in this manner.

The shallow water, or the Rock whereon we struck, bore N. N. W. & N. from the place where we anchored on the North of Great *Ispira*, and lies about half a mile from the shore. The mark is, the falling away of the South-end of the first gray-cliff, with a gall upon the foot of the high hill, on which is a house, there is also a white sand by the gray cliff; the longest way of the Rock is N. W. and S. E. and the length not longer than the Ship; the water in the Ballowwell part thereof is about thirteen or fourteen fathoms, with a Northerly wind, and is eleven foot or more in the deepest, which is the place where we struck; yet as the people of the Island report, it hath six foot more with a Southerly wind; so that it is not strange, that our Matter, though he had frequented this place with the *Finnion*, should not have knowledge of it, for such a depth of water is seldom noted in Waggoners for a place of danger.

There is also another Rock near the Town about half a mile distant from the shore, bearing N. B. E. of the Point, the neat flut point E. N. E. the Northernmost point of little *Ispira* N. W. & N. the Southernmost point of little *Ispira* S. W. & W. the Southernly point of Great *Ispira* S. E. S. upon it, there is not above four foot water.

We rode here until the 14th day, when between one and two in the morning, the wind sprang out of the S.W. with an easie gale, with which we weighed our Anchors, and put to Sea; the next morning early being the 15th day, we were up with the Island of *Tenedos*, and towards Noon we entered the *Hellspont* with a fresh gale, which was necessary to firm the strength of the current; and about three a Clock we passed the Castles of *Sepis* and *Mydas*; from whence came a boat with a Druggerman, and Janikars, bringing Letters from our *Uthman* Berdetschi, then Ambassador at *Constantinople*, congratulating the Arrival of his Excellency, and soon returned again

A miraculous escape from shipwreck

Rocks about half a mile from shore

again 'a'hoar to carry the news of our entrance within the Castles.

On the Seventeenth Day about Noon, being just Three months since the Lord Ambassador with his Family embarked, we came to an Anchor near the Seven Towers, from whence we gave notice to St. Thomas Bendish of our near approach; and having given Two hours space for to carry the intelligence, we weighed our Anchors, and stood in for the Port of Constantinople. At this time, a *Bahangee*, one belonging to the Grand Signior's Garden, came aboard, sent by the *Bahangee*-bafhee or Herald of the Garden, to discover, and know what Ship it was of his Equilpage, and greatness; advising us also, that the Grand Signior was seated in a Chiosk or Summer-house on the corner Wall of the *Seraglio*. Having thus our Anchor aboard with a fresh and favourable gale, our Flags and Ensigns displayed, and a streemer at every Yard-arm, our Colours, and Waist-clothes out; and being near the Wall of the *Seraglio*, the same *Bahangee* came again aboard, acquainting us, that it was the Grand Signior's pleasure, that we should rejoice with Guns, (which was his expression;) the Ship having her Sails twelled out with a gentle Gale, and the swiftness of her motion retarded by the current, gave the Turks an opportunity to take a full prospect of her, the decks being full of men; we fired sixty one Guns, as we passed, and with that order, that the Vessel could never appear with better advantage, had we been described by the Hand of the most skillful Painter. And thus we came to an anchor on *Aspendon* Bay, where Sir Thomas Bendish came immediately aboard to congratulate the safe arrival of this new Ambassador: And now here it may be enquired, whether the *Seraglio* returned any answer to this salute by those Guns which lay under the Garden-wall, of which most, or all are dimounted: I answer, no, for this having been the first Man of War, or first Royal Ship, that ever carried up an English Ambassador to Constantinople; it having been the custom formerly to have them transported thither on some goodly Merchant-ship laden with the rich Commodities of our Country, a return of Guns was never demanded, or expected; and perhaps it was a matter not then thought of, which if it had, and been required, it is probable, in that conjuncture (if ever it could have been granted; both because old *Kuperli*, the Father, then governed, who was great friend to the English, and Enemy to the French, whose Ambassador was then under restraint, would have in mere opposition and hatred to them, bestowed those honours on our Nation, which at another time could not have been extorted for a great Sum of Money; and so much I collect from the very words of *Kuperli*, who after our Lord Ambassador had made his Entrance in a more splendid manner than usual, as we shall understand by the sequel, he desired of our Chief Druggerman, how the French reflected on this treatment? He answered, not well, but with an envious Eye, as he supposed; let them burst with malice, replied the Vizier. Of late years since the glory and greatness of France, their Ambassadors have been always transported up to Constantinople in the Kings Ships, Monsieur *la Haye* the younger came on a Man of War of the Kings, and a Fireship; Monsieur de Noirel, with Two men of War and a Fireship; and now lately Monsieur de Guilleragues with no less an Equipage than the former. All which before they entered Constantinople, made a stop about the Seven Towers, capitulating first to have a

Salutation of the Seraglio.

re-salute from the *Seraglio*, before they would pass their Complement to that place; which being denied, as a thing never practised; the French Men of War have of late passed with silence, without giving, or receiving a salute: However, as ships have more advice, and the English Men of War should insult upon the like, for we having once done it, a custom may be pretended; and that may give a beginning to such a dispute which a new Ambassador ought to France to avoid, the present circumstances of France not suiting exactly with the sole Interest of Trade which is exercised by England.

Against the next Day, being the Eighteenth, things were provided for the entrance of his Excellency; and indeed with that state and handsome Equipage, that neither any Ambassador from England, nor yet from the Emperor, passed with greater Splendor and Honour than this: For when his Excellency first descended from the Ship into his Boat, the Ship fired Fifty one Guns, so leisurely, that they continued, until he set his Foot on the shore; where mounting on Horse-back covered with a rich Velvet Foot-cloth, the whole Equipage marched in this Order, on Horse-back also;

First, The *Voyard* of Galata, and his Men.

2. The Captain of the Janissaries with his Janissaries.

3. The Chaos-bafhee with his Chaoules.

4. The English Trumpeters.

5. The English Horsemen, Merchants of Constantinople, and those of Smyrna, which came to attend his Excellency by order of the Factory, being in number Six, with their Attendants.

6. The Embassadors, Druggermen and Janissaries.

7. His Excellency with St. Thomas Bendish, attended with their Pages and Footmen.

8. The Secretary and Gentlemen.

9. The Coaches of *Winchelsea* in her Coach, and Three other Coaches following with her Women, covered with Red-cloth, made after the fashion of Waggon, lying on the carriages unhung.

10. Which were followed by some Officers, and Reformadoes of the Ship. Such an appearance as this being Extraordinary, the Streets were crowded with People, and all Windows filled with Spectators; and that which made the passage more uneasy, was the Rabble scrambling for Five Sol-pieces, of which sort of Money, 600 were by Order of the Lord Ambassador scattered amongst the People, who regarded not the danger of being trampled under foot, whilst they held the Silver in their Eye.

His Excellency being thus lodged at his House at Pera, he was immediately saluted from the Emperors Resident by his Secretary; and soon after by Signor *Paladino* Secretary to their Excellencies *Bullarino* and *Capello*, of whom we flattered after having occasion to salute, being those who negotiated the Affairs of the French Republick. And the next Day following, the like Complement was passed from the French Ambassador, and the Dutch Agent.

Three days after, the Grand Signior sent a Present to his Excellency of Ten Sheep, Fifty Hens, a Hundred Loaves of Bread, Twenty Sugar loaves, Twenty Wax candles. Their vessels were white, and Ties yellow. This we mention particularly, because it was a Gift anciently bestowed in the times of the first Ambassadors, and though it had not been of late years practised, yet being found in the Old Registers, the custom was again revived, because the Turks were

The Lord Ambassador landing at Constantinople.

1661. were in an humour to gratify, and threw all the Honour they could to the English Ambassador.

On the Twenty eighth of this Month of February, his Excellency had his first Audience of the Great Vizier; and being attended thither, and met by the Turkish Officers on Constantinople side, (in the same manner, as when he first landed) he was conducted to the Viziers Palace; and being held up under the Arm by Two of his Gentlemen (that being the fashion of great men amongst the Turks) he was introduced to the Presence of the Vizier; who being aged and decrepit, was sitting on Cushions in a little Room with a Fire, and his Feet covered, several Patshaws, Pages, and other Officers standing by him. His Excellency and Sir Thomas Bendish were seated on Two Velvet stools; where first the Earl of *Winchelsea* having presented the King's Letters to the Vizier wrote in Parchment, and put into a Bag of Cloth of Gold; Sir Thomas Bendish began to inform the Vizier, that this was that honourable Person, of whom he had formerly acquainted him, was coming to reside for Ambassador in his place: That he was of that Nobility, and relation to our King, that had not his Majesty intended highly, and in an extraordinary manner to Honour, and oblige the Grand Signior, he would not have exposed his Kinsman, and a Person extraordinary, to the hazard of a Voyage so long and dangerous as this. Then the Earl of *Winchelsea* began to speak, and first the happy relaxation of the King his Master to the Throne of his Ancestors; extolling his Power, Greatness and Clemency in pardoning all, but such, who were engaged in the Blood of his Father. That in his passage to Constantinople, he had by Command of the King touched at *Algier*, endeavouring to rescue the former Articles of Peace, and release an English Lord (meaning the Lord *Olivier*) taken Captive by them contrary to the Articles of Peace, but without success, not being able to reduce them to any Terms of Reason, or Justice: And enlarging in his Compliments with assurances of the friendship which the King his Master desired to serve, and maintain with the Grand Signior, as a token thereof, he acquainted him, that he was the first Ambassador sent abroad by his Master, since his happy return, before he had designed, or appointed any to Christian Princes. The Vizier readily answered: That it was but Reason it should be so; since the Grand Signior was an Emperor, and they his Kings; and he the greatness, and most Sovereign Potentate of the World: And that as to the Business of *Algier*, he would take care of it, and do him Justice. This having passed, Two *China* dishes with Sherbet were brought forth, and given to the two Ambassadors, and Two larger bowls of the same to their attendants: Then the Present was brought forth, and laid before the Vizier, consisting of Twenty Veils; Four of them were of fine English Cloth of several colours; Four of several coloured Velvets: Four of several flowered Stuffs with Gold and Silver: Four of watered Tabbies, and Four of Satins: In recompence thereof both the Ambassadors were veiled, with Six others, which Velts are of no great matter of use, or value, more than that they are evidences and badges of the Vizier's favour. After this his Excellency with Sir Thomas Bendish arose, and departed, wearing their Velts, until they were pallied without the Gates of the Viziers Palace, and then they delivered them to be carried by their Servants, as the others did; and so his Excellency returned to his House at Pera, with an appearance of a fair Correspondency, and

His first Audience with the Vizier.

The Grand Signiors presence to the Ambassador.

1661. with assurances that the Capitulations and friendship should be maintained, and conferred with a strict and inviolate Faith.

The day of giving pay to the Janissaries drawing near, the Ambassador, who came with the Grand Signior was deferred until that time, for which that occasion the Court would appear in the most solemn manner, and the attendance of the Soldiery would render all things more great and powerful: In the mean time the Grand Signior often took a view from his *Seraglio*, of the *Plymouth* Frigate, and French Armies, and found her in a Port; and some day, he once came in *cognis* aboard to see her; at length he was so pleased with her, that he fancied her to be a very proper Vessel to carry Soldiers and Ammunition for *Candia*; but proposing his Thoughts and intentions to the Vizier, he was dissuaded from the demand, or constraint of the Ship, being admonished, that this was a matter unpracticable, and uncivil towards a Prince, who on confidence of Amity and Alliance with him, had adventured his Ship within his Port.

The Twenty fifth day of February, being Pay-day of the Janissaries, the Lord Ambassador had Audience of the Grand Signior, which was performed in this manner. His Excellency with Sir Thomas Bendish, departing from his House, with his retinue on Horse-back, by break of day in the Morning, was met on Constantinople side by the Chaos-bafhee, and his Chaoules, and by them conducted to the *Seraglio*. We rode through the first Court, which was walled with a high wall, then we alighted from our Horses, and walked through another Court leading to the Divan, or place of Judicature; at the upper end of which the Great Vizier was seated; on his right hand sat Five Viziers of the Bench, of which the Captain-Pasha, or Admiral of the Seas, was one; on the left were the Two Kadidashes, or Chief Judges, one of *Anatolia*, and the other of *Romelia*; and by them the Tefterdar Pasha or Lord Treasurer, with Three other Pashas: The floor of the Divan was covered with Carpets, and on them a richer covering of Bags of Money for payment of the Janissaries. The Two Ambassadors with about Six or Seven of their retinue (amongst which I was one) being admitted in, and placed at the lower end, their Excellencies approached toward the Vizier, and were seated near unto him on two stools covered with Crimson Velvet, and some Discours and Complement having passed between them, they retired to another part of the Room, that they might give place to Business. In the mean time the payment of the Soldiery went forward, every Chubagee, or Captain, taking from the bags, the Pay of his Soldiery, and laying the Haps on their Shoulders, made up to the Vizier, and having kissed the Hem of his Veil on his Knees, he retired with great Humility and haste from him, passing away with his side towards him, it being very unlikemly amongst them to turn their backs to Personages of that Dignity.

The Payment being over, Three small Tables were brought in: the first of which was covered with a Silver Voyer, at which the Two Ambassadors sat, with the chief Ministers; but the Great Vizier by reason of his Age and Weakness retired into another Room. The other Two Tables were covered with a mixed Metal, which served in the place of a Table-Cloth, at which the others sat: We had no Knives, Forks, nor Plates, but only Wooden Spoons were laid for us, which was sufficient in that manner of eating for their Meats are most boyled, and conveniently received by the Spoon; or are so well roasted, that they are easily parted with the Fingers. The

Audience with the Grand Signior.

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diffes were served in by one at a time, but to fifts that we had scarce talked of one, before it was snatched away to make place for another; and I think there might be about Twenty several changes in this manner; at the end of all, to conclude our Feast, a great Bowl of Sherbet was brought in, and we drank of it, as largesse to us we pleased. Being risen from the Table, Eighteen Cofans, or Vests, being the usual number given to the English Ambassadors, with one extraordinary in favour to the New Ambassador, were brought forth, and bestowed; and in the mean time, the Present from our King to the Grand Signior, provided at the expense of this Turkey Company, consisting of Fifty Vests, viz. Ten of Velvet, Ten of Satin, Ten of Cloth of Gold, Ten of Tabbies, and Ten of fine English Cloth, were brought forth and displayed in the open Court by Fifty men which carried them, and Four English Muskils, which were more acceptable to this Grand Signior than all the rest. The whole body of Janiziers then payed, consisting of about Five thousand, were drawn up in a body, and ranged on one side of the Courtyard; amongst them there was that filence, that the least whisper, noise, or motion was not heard; and as their Janizir Aga, and other commanders passed, the bowings they made in salute were so regular, and at the same time, as may well testify the exactness of their Discipline, and admirable obedience, which hath in a great measure contributed towards their Conquests and Enlargement of their Empire.

Being thus Vellied, and ranked in Order, the Great Vizier entered into the Presence of the Grand Signior; and then Two Capugi-bashes or Chief of the Porters of the Gate, with long Silver Staves, took the New Ambassador under each Arm to conduct him to the Chamber of Audience; those permitted to accompany him were Sir Thomas Bendish, the Earl of Winchester's Brother, Sir Thomas Allen Captain of the Plymouth Frigate, the Interpreter, and my self, who then being Secretary, carried the Credential Letters made up in a Purse of Cloth of Gold. We went in knocked at the first Gate, which was immediately for wide open to us, in the Porch whereof of Forty white Eunuchs attended, clothed in Vests of Satin, and Cloth of Gold of divers colours, and stood with their Hands before with marvellous silence, and modesty. Coming near to the Presence door, where the Kapi-Aga or Chief of the white Eunuchs attended, we made a pause in the Porch, and stood very softly, so as not to disturb with the least motion, the greatness of that Majesty; and so profound was the silence, that nothing was heard besides the murmuring of a Fountain adjoining hereto. Just at the entrance of the Chamber, hung a gilded Ball studded with divers precious Stones, the Floor was covered with Crimmed, clothed, brodered with Golden-wyre. The Grand Signior himself sat in a Throne raised a small height from the ground, supported with Four Pillars played with Gold; from the top hung several gilded Balls twined with Masses of Pearl; the Cushions he sat upon, and those also that lay by, were richly embrodered, and beset with Jewels, and on his right hand stood the Great Vizier. And having made a considerable stop at the Door, the Two Capugi-bashes, who held his Excellence under each Arm, brought him to the middle of the Room, and laying their Hands upon his Head, made him bow, until he touched the Carpets with his forehead, and then raising him again, they retired backward with him, un-

to the farthest part of the Room; and in like manner they took all the others singly and in order, placing them behind the Ambassadors. The Credential Letters from our King were then presented, and appointed that they should be delivered to the hands of the *Res-Escriba*, or Secretary of State.

Then the Druggerman or Interpreter, by Order of the Lord Ambassador, read a Paper in the Turkish Language to this Effect.

First, Declaring how the King of Great Britain our Sovereign Lord and Master, was restored to the Throne of his Ancestors without War, or any Conditions. And the great Clemency of his Majesty in pardoning all, but those who had a hand in the Murder of his Father.

Secondly, Recommending the Merchants and their Interest to the continuance of his usual Favour and Protection.

Thirdly, Begging the freedom of all English Slaves, as a particular Testimony of Favour, and Grace to this New Ambassador.

These Ceremonies being performed, and the Paper read, we immediately departed, passing to our Horses by the same way which we came: And being mounted, we drew up a little out of the passage to see the Soldiers march by us, which indeed appeared to be a very flourishing Militia of young Men, robust, and well clothed; many of them running with Bags of Money on their Shoulders, and all of them cheerful, and glad of the charge they carried with them; after them followed their Commanders exceedingly well mounted; and last of all came the Great Vizier attended with many Pages, and a goodly Equipage: And then his Excellency, with Sir Thomas Bendish, and attendance, proceeded forwards, and returned to their home. After this Two visits were made: Namely, to the Captain-Pasha or Admiral of the Seas, and the other to the Muteff, at the first, Six Vests were presented; and at the latter, Five; and both were performed, and accepted with such mutual kindness, that never did the Turkish Ministers call more serene countenances on the Trade and Concernments of England, than on this conjuncture.

And thus the Earl of Winchester being very successfully, and with signal Demonstrations of honour, and a good correspondence, seated in the usual residence of Ambassadors, the Grand Signior, as a particular Note and mark of his favour presented him with Three English Slaves, and returned a kind and friendly answer to his Majesties Letters, by Sir Thomas Bendish, who embarked on the Plymouth Frigate, and departed the Eleventh of March. And thus having given the Reader a Relation of the State of the English concerns in Turkey: Let us view and consider the Condition of the Turkish Affairs amongst themselves.

At the arrival of this Ambassador, the important affairs of this vast and still growing Empire, were governed by the Great Vizier *Kapier*; a Person decrepit and infirm in body, by reason of his great Age, but of a solid and subtle judgment; by Nature cruel, and by Years forward; which disposition was singularly well fitted to do service to his Master, against the impetuous flocks of the Faction of those times, in which the Pathans, and Chief of the Soldiery (as often it happens in Empires, whose Body is grown too vast to be ruled by a weak Head) became rich and powerful, and by the long Vacations of Peace, indolent and wanton; for as then the Wars with Venice were carried on faintly, only by sending forth an Armata of Gallies in the Spring; and the preparations became rather sea-faring, returning with the Year, and made

for

for exercise of the Arsenal, and amusement of the People, than designed with any probable expectation of success or Victory, proportionable to that Treasure and Trouble which maintained them. So that to encounter so many difficulties, and predominance of Ambition and Avarice, the Prince himself being young, the Fortune of his Empire had more than urgent necessity of such a rough and cruel disposition as was found in *Kapier*, who so reasonably made use of it, to the destruction of all such, who might either endanger his Prince, or himself; that in two or three Years time he became Master of the Lives and Estates of the Grand Muniers; confiscating their riches and fortunes to the use and security of his Master; having in his time put to Death thirty six thousand persons, whom he proscribed in several Countries, and privately strangled in the City; by virtue of his absolute and uncontrollable Authority, without giving the Offenders liberty of Process, or Pleas for their Lives, or the favour of the Gallows, whereby to win the affections and compassions of the vulgar, but went through with his bloody and tragical business, without noise, or rumour, or knowledge almost of the Soldiery, or the people; whilst the great Personages, whose rapine and pride had contracted their envy and hatred from their inferiors, stood confuted and amazed, not having power to rebel, nor Sanctuary to fly unto.

Such is the effect of an absolute, and arbitrary power, which is Master of times and affairs, and rather fits and fosters Enterprises to Councils, than Councils to Enterprises; *Reus impeditur non liberi libris impedimenta omnibus, sed Domini verum, tempore, trahunt Consilii caustis, non sequuntur. Liv. lib. 9.* The Grand Signior in the mean time applauded the diligence and circumspection of his Minister; and though yet trembling with the memory of late follovations a-mongst the Janizaries; yet being young, and active, addicted himself wholly to the delight of Hunting, and to follow the Chase of fearful, and flying Beasts; whilst his Vizier so closely followed his game of Blood, that he let no Person congregate in the Empire, who was not a Creature made by, or depending on him; unless the *Kapier*, or Lieutenant General of the Janizaries; *Mortaza* Pasha of Babylon, now called by the Turks *Bagdad*, and the Pasha of *Magnafia*; Men, whose bravery, and generous Justice, or else their Guards, or Fortune, had only tested beyond the reach and Sword of this Tyrant. This was then the State of the Turkish Affairs amongst themselves: As to Foreign, and Chilian Princes; the Emperor, the King of England, the French King, and the States of Holland, had their Embassadors and Residents at the Ottoman Court, with whom as yet passed a fair and amicable correspondence, excepting the French; who pretending himself to have lately obtained his release from Imprisonment; to which he was confined contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Custom of the wisest, and most generous People of former Ages; and compelled to return into France; an Agent being there seduced by the Merchants, to negotiate their Affairs; the occasions and grounds whereof we have at large signified in another place; which unlawful treatment of a Person Sacred, none will much admire, who considers the humour of supream Ministers that judge themselves under no restraint or limits of Law, either Civil, or National.

This Ambassador from France was called *Monfieur le Haye*, the Father, a Person excellently

well qualified, having with success pass'd in that capacity for the space of 25 years, until some misadventures passing between him, and this Tyrannical Vizier, he suffered many indignities from him, which being added to the extreme torment of the Stone, under which he laboured, made him willing on any terms to return to his own Country.

The Venetians notwithstanding the War, had two Ministers there resident; the *Escellenissimo Capello*, Procurator of St. Mark, a sight worthy and noble Person; and Signior *Ballerino*, a Person vigilant, and subtle, who omitted no opportunities to advance his own Fortunes, and with that the benefit of his Republick. The Emperors Resident, called *Simon Rowningben*, a Person sincere, free, and open hearted, agreeable to the Nature of the Germans; had for some Years, tho with some difficulty, continued the Peace, or rather matters from breaking out into an open War; the Incursions on the Frontiers, and other accidents, always admitting occasions of discontent, and complaints to both parties.

But that the Series of this History may be continued with an even Thread, and clear light to the Reader, we must call back our Eyes to the Year 1657. when the Ambition of *George Ragoza*, Prince of *Transilvania*, began New troubles in his own Principality, and laid the Foundation of a future War between the Emperor and the Turks. For now Poland was so wearied with the incessant Wars of *Mulcovy* (the inveterate Enemy of the Crown) with the frequent Rebellions of the Cossacks, and the invasion of the *Suedes*, whom the traitorous Vice-Chancellor, and his Adherents, had invited to the spoils of their own Country; that King *Casimir* was reduced to the ultimate extremity of his Affairs; the public Exchequer, and private Treasuries were exhausted; the Villages depopled, the Fields uncultivated, Traffick and Commerce ceased; nothing but Wars, Robberies, and Confusion filled the Diurnals with News, and the hearts of the Inhabitants with Sorrow and Calamities: Wherefore *Casimir* King of Poland, vexed on all sides, and not knowing where or how to apply a remedy, dispatched his Great Chancellor *albertus Traszemski*, in Quality of Ambassador, to demand assistance from *Ragoza*, promising in recompence thereof, to adopt his Son to succeed him in that Kingdom. No Measure could arrive more grateful to ambitious *Ragoza*, who by so desired a preferment, seemed to arrive to the Zenith of his Prosperity; which the Land of Promise, being only shewed to his Father in a long Prospective, seemed now as it were, by Inheritance, to devolve upon his Son: In order unto which, many days of Treaty and Conferences were held between *Ragoza*, and the Polish Ministers; but *Ragoza* insisting on certain particulars, which were not in the Power of the King or his Commissioners to grant without the approbation of a Diet, the Treaty was dissolved, and *Ragoza* remained displeased, and angry, pretending himself to have been deluded and slighted, resolved to avenge the Affront, and by his Arms gain to himself the Crown of that Kingdom; so that raising a strong Army, and joining himself in a Confederate League with *Sueden*, he invaded Poland, waiting all the Frontiers with Fire and Sword. The Ottoman Port growing jealous of the successes of their Affairs, and not so much of the Advance of *Ragoza*, as of the growing greatness of the *Suedes*, with whom unwillingly they would be borders, issued an express Command, That without contradiction or delay, he should immediately give a stop to his March, and return with his Army into *Transilvania*. And though the Emperor of Germany, and the *Krim*

The history of Prince Ragoza.

Ragoza joins with the Suedes against Poland.

Tartar

1664. Tartar declared their dislike of his proceedings, threatened to invade his Principality at home, unless he retracted himself, and deflected from this enterprize; yet *Ragotski* having his understanding blinded with Ambition, and the Lure of Rule and Government, stopped his ears to the menaces of his Enemies, and the counsel of his Friends. This *Ragotski* enjoyed a State most happy, large, fertile, and populous, in Power inferior to few, superior to many. He was so much beloved by his people, that he might have passed peaceably and honourably with all, could his great spirit have bowed to, and complied with his Potent Neighbours. For on the one side the Puissant power of the *Turk* threatened him, to whom the least Ombrages of displeasure admitted a Declaration of War; On the side of *Hungary* the Emperor over-awed him, and the side of *Valachia*, and *Moldavia* he had open to the incursion of the *Tatars*. So that a man might rationally expect, That this Prince should have esteemed it honour enough to have conferred his own without rendering himself obnoxious to the jealousie and suspicion of his Neighbours. But his great spirit was so enamoured of a Crown, and so bewitched with the hopes of immortality, that nothing seemed of more probability to him, than the acquisition of his long desired desires, which were the occasion of all his torcal calamities and miseries in *Hungary*, which afterwards ensued.

afterwards ensued. In contemplation of all which foreseen evils, his *Cajarenses* sent him a Message to the *Ottoman* Emperor, declaring against the temerity and rashness of *Ragotzki*, who in the mean time subdued the Fort of *Brifia*, invaded with Fire and Sword the Province of *Ruska*, plundered *Podolia*, and advanced as far as *Caminniz*, a Fort-ress strong by Art and Nature; and joining afterwards with the *Swedes*, afflicted them in the subjection of *Cracovia*. About this time the *Emperor* sent *Ferdinand* the third to fend *Succours* into *Poland*, and thus began the contest. The proceedings of *Ragotzki*, but being surprized by sickness, he afterwards gave to a better life; which for some time, giving a stop to the assistance of *Poland*, was interpreted by *Ragotzki*, as a happy Omen of his good Fortune.

good to have vain and deceitful are humane hopes, whole foundations are Ambition and Violence ! For *Leopold* succeeding in the place of his Father to *Hungary*, and the Empire, immediately prosecuted the design in favour of *Poland* against the first place befitting the *Emperor*, and the Chief Cities of *Poland*, which were by the *Swedes*, forced it to Surrender. The King of *Denmark* also growing jealous of the encreasing greatness of the *Swedes*, nourished by ancient grudges, and National Emulations, took up Arms in defence of *Poland*, and being at large, a number of his Majesty's Soldiers, were engaged first to meet the numbers from the Swedish Colours ; so that being jointly recruited, he entered into the Enemies Countries, possessed himself of the important Fort of *Olme* in *Norway* ; overthrew the Swedish Army at *Vorgau*, and obliged the Enemy over their Fleet in the Baltic Sea. The *Princes* also of *Poland*, who had first revolted from their Pole, and favoured the Swedish proceedings, perceiving the Wind change, and become contrary to that Party, began to abandon the interest they professed, and by degrees to return to the obedience of their King. *Zernius* the General, and *Lubomirsky* the Chief Chanceller of *Poland*, who the *Swedish* Forces near *Cracovia*, where giving them Battle, discomfited the whole Army, killed fourteen thousand upon the place,

took all the Cannon and Baggage, and won that day a most signal Victory.

say a still ingrate, and perceiving the face of things thus changed, and being by Command of the Ottoman Port abandoned by his Moldavian and Wallachian Forces, began to turn his face towards Transylvania, where now he was himself an Army. *Transilvania*, however, being then overtaken by Geneloedged in safety. But near the Mountains of *Transilvania*, he was, the unwillingly, engaged to fight, and was with that fury allured by the *Palpi Horie*, that tho according to his usual bravery, he charged in Perfor at the head of his Troops, yet his valour was not able to withstand the violence he didadvantageous lumber, but that his men being first put into disorder, then to a Retreat, and then to open flight, his whole Army was defeated, many of them perished by the Sword, others flying through the Woods and Mountains, died of a shameful mine; and as himself obliged to buy a shameful Peace, engaging by Word and Oath to the payment of a great Sum of Money, was permitted with a mean Retinue to return into his own Country. Nor did these misfortunes end there; but the *Tartars* commanded by the *Turks*, in Enterprise and conquest, entered into his Principality without their consent, entered into his Principality with considerable Forces of Horie, against whose sudden Invasion, an Army under the Conduct of his General *Kemenius* could not be so soon collected and disciplined, as to be able to turn the fury of the *Tartars*, who, to their pleasure burned the Towns and Villages, and carried away multitudes of people of both Sexes, and all Ages for Captives into their own Country, amongst which some were of Quality and Condition. Amidst this ruin, directed to the destruction of the State, which troubles came Letters from the *Turks*, that they had declared *Ragotz* a Rebel, and commanding that according to the Laws and Privileges of that Principality, they should proceed to the Election of a new Prince, and in case of refusal, all the ruins and calamities were threatened, which they might justly expect as a punishment of their disobedience from a severe and angry Emperor.

Ragotski being well satisfied with what was designed against him by the *Ottoman* Port, and knowing that his power was not able to oppose so much opposition, resolved to give way to necessity, and voluntarily depose himself, before he should be engaged thereunto by the Imperial Decree; so that he calmly receded from the submissively, hoping that the Emperor would be so submissive on might procure the same from the Court. The *Volodarski* being as well desirous to evidence their affection to their old Prince, as their obedience to the Grand Signior, did immediately appoint a day for Election, but with *Proviso*, that a general Petition should be made in behalf of *Ragotski*, that he might be restored unto ancient Grace. The *Port* with the *Port*, who in the mean time swore to live peaceably in a quiet and good condition, without making disturbance, or Innovation in the Government, and that when this *Grace* should accordingly be obtained, then that the new Prince should succeed, and suffer things to return to their former state, and the *Port* was to be restored to his former privilege Estate. For which purpose the *Port* made of one *Francis* *Ragotski* a new Prince, and a peaceable Prince, who would easily consent to the terms agreed, and as willingly resign up his Government again, as he unwillingly received it. But though *Ragotski* had renounced, promised, swore, and in appearance seemed to recede from his Government, and surrender all as the irrefragable Decree of a superior power; yet

his high Spirit, and working Brain could not dis-
 lodge that Ambition of his Heart, which at first
 privately constrained and enervated the Power
 of the new elected Prince; but afterwards his
 towering Thoughts swelled too big to be sup-
 pressed under the cover of dissimulation, yielded just
 Reason to the *Ottoman* Port to suspect his designs;
 who not being ignorant of what was past, dis-
 patched Orders to the *Pasha of Buda* to de-
 mand the strong Fort of *Janena* for the Caution
 and Security of the good Behaviour of the *Transilva-
 nians*.

Ragatzki seeing himself thus discovered, unmasked himself openly, and threw away his Vizard, and with a vigorous Force and Courage reassumed the Rights and Standard of his Principality, forcing *Redeius* not only to relinquish his Power, but to fear never again to usurp it, tho enforced upon him by the Authority of the *Turks*.

These Extravaganzas so exasperated the minds of the *Turks*, that whereas before they began to entertain tender thoughts towards *Transjordan*, they now meditated its entire Ruin and Conquest; and loyally laying Arguments and Treaties, they made Levies of Horse and Foot both in *Asia* and *Africa*. *Raguzors* foreseeing how unable he was to be fit to quell such the puiſſance of the *Ottoman* Empire, he ſuccor of Foreign Force, reſolv'd, like the Prodigal Son, to throw himſelf into the compaſſionate Arms of the Emperor, as his Father, curſtly ſupplicating, That whereas before, his ſinful and diſobedient Life had rather merited Punishment than Protection, he now deſired, wherein the Intereſt of *Chriſtianity* was concern'd, he would compaſſionate the common Good of the Chriſtian Church, rather than chafiſe his *Michael* Mifdeeds. With this meſſage *Michel Mefes*, his Chancellor, being diſpatched, was graciously received by the Emperor, and readily ſupplied of powerful Aid and Contribution.

Ragotzki elevated with this courteous Treatment and Promises, had his whole mind enflamed with hopes and desire of Revenge; so that assembling such Forces as he could, he entered boldly into the Field against the Pasha of Budahova, who with a considerable Army, was ordered to March before, and enter the Confines of Transylvania, and there unite with the Pasha of Temiswar.

1658. In the Transfation of all these Passages, *1658.*
was well entered, when both Armies met in open
Field; and the Forces of the *Transfation* were
were much inferior to those of the *Turks*, yet *Re-*
gion full of his wonted Courage and Heat, he
vigorously assailed the *Turks*, and with his
broke and disordered their Ranks, put them to
flight, and killed three thousand upon the place.
But little did this advantage benefit poor *Trans-*
fusion, for the Great Viceroy soon after following
the goods of the *Turks*, and the counting of his
left than an *en* 120 thousand Men, proceeding
dingly with Artillery, and all other Military
Ammunition; seconded by the *Tatars*, and assisted
by the *Moldavians* and *Polackians*, and a Rout
of other barbarous Nations; laid Siege to the
strong Fortresses of *Transfusion*, and in a few
others, in a short time he rendered himself Ma-
ster, laying waste and desolate all the Countries
round with Fire and Sword. The Nobles of
Transfusion sensible of their imminent and ap-
proaching Mischiefe, dispatched three or four
considerable Quality amongst them, in an Emba-
sy to the Viceroy; viz. *Francis Daniel*, *John*

and *Astorian Berclay*, who greatly laboured by the Oratory to persuade the Vizier, that they were in no wise contenting the disobedience of their Prince, but that they were ready to submit to the *Ottoman Servitude*; imploring ready Clemency and Commiseration of their distressed and ruined State. The Vizier inclining his Ear to their Petition, stopped the Progress of his Arms, but increased their Tribute to such an excessive rate, that the burden of it became insupportable; and *Berclay*, one of the Embassadors, to be Prince taking thereby from the People, the free Privilege of Election; Commanding them to accept him without farther Difpute or Repugnancy. It is uncertain whether *Berclay* was the Principle to himself by any instance he made to the *Turks*, or whether his Election proceeded merely from the Vizier himself; yet this is certain, that returning home, *Berclay* applied himself to establish his own Dominion, and to disappoint the designs of his Predecessor, and his

The *Turks* being satisfied with this Submission, with the Subjection of several places of Importance, with deposing of *Ragorzi*, and establishment of a new Prince, began to disband a great part of their Forces; and the Great Vizier, with the remainder, returned towards *Constantinople*; supposing the Fire of this War to be totally extinguished.

In this condition of Repole, matters continued for about the space of two Years, when *Ragotzki* impatient of his losses, and of the exchange of his publick State to a private Condition, inveterate in his hate towards his Rival and competitor, resolved to tempt Fortune once more, and make his ultimate Affay, either to establish himself in his Principality, or at least to render himself equal with other mortal Princes in the Grave; and to relying with much Confidence on the zealous Affection of his Subjects, and the promise of

The difficulty of
Rogerski's
Anatomy.

Ragot:
again
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Ragotski
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The Vizi-
er besiege
Janowa.

**The Vizi-
er besiege
Janina.**

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Berclay
made
P. nce of
Transilva-
nia

1661. *Ragotzki* gave his usual proofs of Valour; declaring by his Actions, that he was resolved to die, or to Triumph. But being at length wounded in four parts of his Body, and his Army overpowered with Numbers, he was forced to yield the Fortune of the Day to the *Turks*, leaving 8 pieces of Cannon, and 100 Standards in their hands; and the greatest part of his Army being either killed or taken, he himself with a few of his Attendants, recovered *Varadin*; where after 18 Days dilemper of his Wounds, he expired his unique and troubled Soul. This was the end of that vain *Ragotzki*, who attempted to fly with feigned Wings and borrowed Feathers; this is the fate of ambitious Spirits, whom Pride elevates and exhales like a Vapour, unto that height, until it dissolves them into Showers, or precipitates them into the abyss of all Confusion. This *George Ragotzki* was of a tall and well proportioned Stature, black Hair, and a frilled Beard: his Eyes quick and lively, of an active Body, and healthy Constitution: his Spirit was high and great, which betrayed him to Extravagancies: his Comportment was generous and courteous towards all, which rendered him exceedingly beloved and esteemed by his Nobility: he was free in his Speech, and eloquent in his Expressions, patient in his Councils and Enterprises: had not the quickness and vivacity of his Soul made him something rash and violent in his Attempts: he was of the Protestant Religion, leaving behind him a Widow, and a Son of hopeful and happy endowments.

After the Death of *Ragotzki*, it might well be expected that these Storms of War should be dispersed, and that *Transylvania* should at length enjoy the Sun-shine, and calmer Weather of Peace and Repose. But *Ali Pasha*, General of the *Turkish* Camp, being by this time arrived the Confines with his powerful Army, resolved not to return empty of invasion, without advancing the *Ottoman* Interest, and making some Satisfaction towards the Expence and Trouble of so great an Army. Wherefore taking pretence against *Varadin*, for receiving *Ragotzki* after his Defeat, abetting his party, and following his Interest, designed to summon that important Fortress to surrender, which is situated at the foot of those Mountains which open a Passage into *Transylvania*.

The People of *Varadin* craved aid of the Emperor.

The Inhabitants of *Varadin* terrified at the approach of this formidable Enemy, dispatched a Messenger to the Emperor, imploring with most effectual Arguments his Sacred Protection and powerful Assistance against the common Enemy to *Christianity*, representing to his Cæsarean Majesty, how that the *Turks* in their Capriciousness with him, had agreed to Build or Erect no new Fort on those Frontiers: and whereas it was the same thing to force and usurp a Fortress already made, as to form a new one; the taking of *Varadin* was to be esteemed a real Violation of the Articles of Peace. That his Majesty would be pleased to reflect on the fatal Consequences which the loss of *Varadin* might prove to *Hungary* as well as *Transylvania*; being that Gate, which obstructed, cuts off all Intercourse between them and *Germany*. These Considerations with several others, were exceeding prevalent in the Imperial Council; so that it was resolved, that *General Soukatz* should prepare his Army, and put all things in readiness to afford the Assistance which was desired; supposing that with the *German* Regiments, and *Hungarian* Forces, might be formed an Army of about 25, thousand fighting men. But in regard to those infamous Gifts to *Soukatz*, there was a Clause, that he should be careful not to engage his Forces in any attempt,

where the event might be doubtful, he assembled the principal Persons of that Country, and the Militia, to consult whether succor and relief might be given to *Varadin*, without hazarding the Army in a doubtful and a dangerous Adventure: in consideration of which point, a true Computation being made of all the Imperial Forces, they were found much inferior to that calculate which was made of them at *Vienna*: For that since *Tockai*, *Zatmar*, *Kalo*, and other places belonging to the State of *Ragotzki*, had been Garrisoned by *German* Soldiers, there remained not of them above 4000. effective Men; the *Hungarian* Forces which were supposed to have consisted of 2000. Men, could not form 600.; the *Haiducks* which were computed to be 6000. Men, did not appear in the Person of one; being all dispersed and retired to their own homes. The additional Forces from the Princes of the Empire were uncertain, as the Expectation of them long and tedious; for the Imperial Forces united are of puissance sufficient to bid Battle, and Defence to the numerous Troops of the *Ottoman* Power; yet in regard the Union of that Body depends on the Assembly of Diets, Treaties, and long Debates, which are subject to time and delays, caused by different Factions, (which are impossible to be avoided amongst different States) various Difficulties, Competitions, Emulations and Preferences, always in such meetings abound, and prejudice the common cause and benefit of the Empire; the raising of such a formidable Army, becomes a matter always of time and difficulty. However the Emperor, whose Hereditary and Elective Possessions bordering on the Confines of the Enemy, is necessarily engaged to be the standing Bulwark of the rest, and a Bank against the Inundation of barbarous Nations; whilst other Princes whose Dominions are more Remote and Secure, apprehend not the Premures and Storms that the Emperor sustains, and is enforced to expel with the loss and diminution of his own People, and impoverishment of his peculiar Treasure: To these Considerations, which rendered these pious Intentions towards *Varadin* almost impossible, there wanted Money, which is the Sinews of War, and the Soul of all Enterprises: And that which further retarded those Succors and Prosecution of the design in hand, was the departure of His Cæsarean Majesty from his Court at *Vienna*, on occasion of a Progress as far as *Trieste*, to take Homage of his Provinces of *Stiria*, *Carinthia* and *Croacia*; which was an action much against the Council and Advice of the Arch-Duke *Leopold* his Uncle, who foresaw how great disorders would ensue by the Emperors absence in this Conjunction, from his Imperial Court. Upon which Considerations, Count *Soukatz* sent a true Lift of all his Forces, with an account of the strength of his Enemy; recommending that it was impossible to convey Forces into *Varadin*, without hazarding a Battle with *Ali Pasha*, which would prove an absolute Breach of the Peace; which in this Conjunction, and want of Preparation, was neither honourable, nor late for the Empire.

In the mean time *Ali Pasha* proceeded and encompassed with his Army before *Varadin*, breaking first Ground the 4th of July, 1660. and beginning a formal Siege, he soon begirt the Town, and continually labouring in making Trenches, Batteries and Approaches, they arrived in a few days to the Counterfence of the Wall. But the better to describe the Siege and Assaults on this famous City, it will be necessary first to explain the Condition and Situation of the place.

The difficulty of making War with the *Turks*.

1661.

Varadin therefore is seated in a Plain, on the Banks of the River *Chryse* to the East it is environed with fuch craggy and rough Mountains, as render it almost on that side unaccessible: to the South the Town extended it self most, to the North it is washed with the River, over which some small, yet fruitful, Hills raise themselves; it is encompassed with a Wall filled with Earth, after the fashion of Modern Fortifications, and strengthened with five main Bulwarks, and a very deep Ditch filled with the River Water: It was well provided both of Victuals and Ammunition, and armed with Ordnance both great and small, as was sufficient to have repulsed a plentiful Enemy, & have sustain'd a long & itraie Siege. But the Garrison consisted only of 850 Soldiers, an inconsiderable number, both in respect of the Circuit of the Fortress, & of that great Army which encompass'd it.

The Enemy being now, as it is said before, under the Counterfence of the Wall, they perceived that the Ditch was too deep, and filled with Water, that though their great Guns had made open Breaches in the Walls, yet there was no possibility to form them, or bring the Soldierly to scaling Ladders, or handy blows. The besieged also made such continued Sallies, with success and laughter of the Enemy, that after Three and Twenty days of vain labour to sever the Ditch, *Ali Pasha* was at length almost resolved to have raised his Siege, and given over the Enterprise; upon which while he considered and ruminated as ill Fortune would have it a certain Maid, who formerly had been a servant to the Governor of the Garrison, then a Captive in the *Turkish* Camp, having observed how on occasion the Citizens used to empty and drain the Ditch, revealed the secret to the *Turks*, hoping thereby not only to purchase with that sum of Money the Sum of Money for price of her Treachery; so that discovering where another Ditch was to be opened, the course of the Water was soon diverted, and the Walls of the Town laid dry and open to the Affiliants. As this happened without, so another accident within, equally dangerous, befel the Besieged; for one day an Officer of the Ammunition going into the Stores with a lighted Candle, by chance dropped a spark of fire from his Lanthorn into the Powder, which taking fire, blew up the Powder, Granadoes, Fire-works, and all other military Stores, with the neighbouring houses, and above a hundred men; which loss alone was sufficient to have dejected the minds of frail men; yet they so valiantly bore up their courages, that they seemed not in the least abated, but rather animated with the height of anger and despair.

The *Turks* having now free access to the Walls, undermined some small Forts, which they blew up, and thereby made so great a Breach, that with facility hoping to gain the Town, if they made use of the occasion, they poured in such multitudes of Peoples as the Besieged were scarce able to withstand; and the *Turkish* Soldierly being also weary of their sufferings, and irkfulness of their tedious league, resolved now or never to put an end to their labours; so that advancing with their open Breasts to the top of the Battlements, without fear either of Cannon, or Musket-shot, they entered within the Walls, and planted the *Turkish* Banners on the Works; but being afterwards received by a resolute Company of the Defendants, they were again thrown from the Walls, and tumbled back into the Ditch with an incredible Slaughter. It is impossible here to describe the anger, the courage, the despair which was apparent in the faces of the Besieged, enflamed by the love of their own Country, and ha-

Two ill accidents to the Garrison.

1661. tread of the *Turks*; so that three or four sustained sometimes the Assault of a Troop; and a small number united, opposed a whole Sanguick of the Enemy. The Women also forgetting the imbecility of their Sex, renewing in themselves the Courage and Vigour of the Ancient *Amazons*, exposed themselves without fear upon the Walls, throwing leading Water, Stones, burning Pitch, and whatsoever came next to hand, upon the Affiliants; whom they so valiantly repulsed from the rifling of the Sun till twelve at Noon, that after much slaughter on both sides, the *Turks* growing faint, retreated, and took breath a while within their Trenches. And now the Soldierly considering the Obtinacy of the Christians, began to mutiny, and resolving not to cast away their lives in vain, motioned to raise the Siege, and be gone; which when the General perceived, he threatened to sacrifice his Life to the Ghosts of their departed Brethren. But see, how many times the Devil ruins the fortune of the Christians: for whilst they were in this deliberation to depart, behold, a certain *Thracian* one of the Garrison Soldiers, advised the *Turks* that there were not above Three hundred found men remaining in the whole Garrison, that they were now reduced to their ultimate *Crisis*; so that if they appear'd any before them and would but terrify them with another assault, the Town was their own, without the least doubt of Surrender. This advice retarded the hasty departure of the Camp; instead of which they again murder'd themselves before the Walls, and prepar'd to assault the Breach, resolving to put all to a second extremity. The Christians within perceiving the resolution of their Enemy, and being sensible how much they were intebled by the last Convulsion, and loss of blood, and as yet fore of their wounds, immediately spread a white Flag of Treaty, which was as readily accepted by the *Turks*, and all Articles agreed on the 17th of August, and on the 20th. the Garrison marched freely out with Colours flying, and Drums beating, with liberty to go wheresoever they pleased, without hurt or injury; which Conditions were fully and faithfully performed and maintained.

Varadin being thus yielded, afforded matter of discourse, of discontent, of fear, and apprehensions at *Vienna*; some argued, That it was but common and natural Reason, when our Neighbour's house is on fire, to look to our own; others blamed the slow and phlegmatick proceedings of the *German* Ministers, who in such urgent emergencies as these, could fit as unconcerned, as Spectators at a Theatre, who regard nothing, which way the prize is carried; and in thore, the whole Christian World lost Admirers of this fortitude, esteeming either those Borders addimished and struck into a stupid timidity, or moved by principles of Policy, which were besides themselves either underlooked or penetrated. Only Count *Nicholas Serini*, a Prince who had a fair and Sovereign Inheritance in those parts, Commander of *Croatia*, and the Confines under his Cæsarean Majesty, a most mortal and inveterate Enemy of the *Turks*, could not endure their insults, bravadoes and daily encroachments, but watching his occasion of advantage, *Camsia* was almost destroyed by a dreadful fire, and thereby their Ammunition, and Provision for the most part consumed, he gathered what Forces he could possible, and made use of the opportunity to lay siege unto it, not doubting but that this Conjunction, and the calamity of all things, to promote the Interest of his Master, and the common cause of *Christianity*; which as soon as he had done, he wrote a Letter to the Em-

A *Thracian* betrays the weakness of the Town.

Varadin surrendered.

Vienna troubled for the loss of *Varadin*.

Count *Serini* designs to gaint the *Turks*.

1661. peror, acquainting him that God had opened him a Gate and Path to his Interest, and to a just revenge of the Ottoman perfidiousness: Who having violated their Faith, and the mutual Peace in taking *Varadin*, would be justly and gloriously recompensed by the loss of *Canijsa*; which being now, as it were by miracle, put into his hands, it were a neglect of the Divine Providence not to improve with advantage an opportunity so cheerful and so promising: to which, besides other arguments, he added, That if his *Cesarian* Majesty should not think fit to concur herein with assistance of his Imperial States, yet at least he would be pleased not to interdict him from the Glory of that design, in which he questioned not but to succeed, and in a short time to render not only to his Majesty, but also to the whole Christian World, proofs of his Valour, and a good account of his Enterprise. However, the Emperor's Council seriously considering that *Serini's* State could not be engaged with the *Turk* without involving his Interest; and that the Princes of the Empire, though when assaulted, would willingly contribute their Forces in the defensive part, yet would be backward to be the Aggressors, and engage their States in an offensive and provoking War, did therefore not only deny to second, or abet his designs with Military succours, but positively commanded him to retreat and desert from his resolution against *Canijsa*; with which Answer, the Zeal and Spirit of *Serini* was so inflamed, that throwing in passion his Center on the Ground, he raised his well-formed Siege, and retired to his proper Residence at *Chiacaturno*.

The loss of *Varadin* moved the *Transylvanians* to consult their safety in this extremity of their Affairs, which now amidst these dangers and storms which threatened them, appeared in a desolate and languishing Condition, unless remedied by a desperate Cure, and the resolves of some wife and valiant Council. Wherefore in the first place, they concluded to depose *Acatius Barclay*, the Favorite of the *Turks*; and in his stead they constituted *John Chiminianus*, or *Kemenius*, the late General of *Ragatzki's* Army. In the next place, they made their Addresses and Applications to the Emperor for assistance, supplicating, as *Ragatzki*, and *John Varadin* had done before, the powerful protection, and favour of the Imperial Eagles, alleging those Arguments of common safety, and mutual interest, which apparent reason suggested, and which were the present Subject and Theme of all the Courts in *Christendom*. To this Demand the Emperor assented, promising readily his assistance, but with Provision, that for his security, the Cities of *Zeebeldi*, *Chowar*, *Julia*, and other places, should receive Garrisons of Christian Soldiers. The *Transylvanians* willingly accepted the Propositions, so that soon after those places were supplied with *German* Garrisons. But as yet no effectual Forces came from the Emperor, nay rather the *German* Councils seemed willing to perfwade the *Turks*, that there was no design, but to maintain the ancient, friendly and amicable Correspondence; to which end it is said confidently, that the Prince *Gonsaga*, wrote to the *Pasha of Buda*. That those Garrisons sent to possess certain places of *Transylvania*, were only in appearance, and not to create Difficulties between the *Austrian* Court, and the *Ottoman* Prince; which Letters *Ali Pasha* sent to the *Transylvanians*, with design, that discovering unto them an evident reason to distrust the Emperor, they should wholly resign themselves to the good will and disposition of the Port. But notwithstanding, these verbal assurances pre-

1661. vailed not so much with the *Turks* on one side, as the *German* Garrisons administered jealousy on the other: So that the *Vizier* raged furiously against the Emperor, for encouraging *Kemenius*, who had treacherously murdered his two innocent Brothers in his Rebellion against *Barclay*, the only true and lawful Possessor. Nor did the *Turks* only vent their anger and disdain in words, but also by the sad and calamitous effects of War; passing without farther parley into the Emperor's Dominions in *Hungary*, where they put all to fire and sword. Count *Serini* perceiving evidently hereby that the War was broken forth, and that it was no longer time to stand at a gaze, and not make necessary Provisions for defence; about the beginning of *June*, he laid the foundations of a Fort on the Banks of the River *Muer*, within the Dominions of the *Turks*, about a League distant from *Canijsa*, and in memory of his Family and Name called it *Serinswar*, a place convenient to assaults, and offend the Enemy, and to fix the Bulwark, or Redoubt, of the Province of *Sirria*, which work was laid with that secrecy, and executed with such expedition, that it was almost finished before it was known, or notice taken thereof by the *Turks*; but so soon as it was discovered, and the News arrived at *Constantinople*, the old *Vizier Kaperle* formed in his mind, in his height of passion, figured a Command for strangling the *Pasha of Canijsa*, for not timely preventing the Erection of that Fort in its beginning. In like manner this work was an occasion of disgust at *Vienna*; for though the *Turks* were the first who had broken the Peace, and given just cause to the Christians to provide all cautions imaginable for their safety; Yet I know not why, nor wherefore, there wanted not certain persons in the Court either enemy to *Serini*, or zealous of the Emperors Interest, who interpreted the adventures, and forward heat of this Count to be like fire to enflame the Fuel of Controversie between the two Empires; yet certainly we cannot but meritoriously applaud the Heroic Spirit of this Prince, who was provident of his Countries safety, watchful of the Enemies Motion, soon touched with the sense of the *Mahometan* infidelity, and in fine, a zealous Champion of the Christian Cause. But as yet, with wages, Salt or Ballance forever the *Italian*, or *Spanish* Chirurgians of Politick Government, imagined to obstruct a callous over the smart or wounds of these differing States; the Breaches grew every day too wide to be drawn up, or cemented by artificial compliances, or verbal lenitives; for now the succours promised by the Emperor were arrived in *Transylvania*, under the Command of Count *Montecavaland* joining with the Forces of *Kemenius*, formed such a numerous, and well composed Army, as was judged not only sufficient to contend for the interest of the Christian Cause, but also for the entire decision of the Worlds Dominion: So that both Generals with an unanimous consent, confident of Victory, agreed, not to expect the approach of *Ali Pasha*, but boldly to meet and provoke him to Battle.

Ali the Turkish General perceiving the strength and resolution of the Christians, thought it prudence for a while to detract from Engagement, and temper the usual mettle of the *Ottoman* force, with cooler Councils of advantage, which delays and opportunities of time would administer: for observing that the *Transylvanians* were divided into Factions, he humoured the dissenting party, by constituting *Michael Apafi* their Prince; a person in the flower and strength of his Age, of great parts and abilities; and one who violently affected

Count *Serini* built a Fort on the *Turk* Dominions. 1661.

The last commendation of Count *Serini*.

The Emperor sends Forces to *Transylvania*.

The *Turks* Po-tency.

1661. affected the Principality, having but lately purchased his freedom from slavery. In this manner *Apafi*, passing from his Prison and Chains, to the glory and trouble of a Throne, poor *Transylvania* remained divided, and taking Arms against her self, went daily working and contriving her own ruin. This hath always been the Matter-piece of the *Turkish* Policy, and this division amongst Christians hath availed the *Ottoman* Interest more than their Swords, and confirmed their obduracy in Religion with a Miracle, as if the division of Christian Princes (which in late Ages have frustrated the holy designs against this common Enemy) had been an effect of their Prayers, and a Concession of Divine Providence to their daily Petitions. So now the *Transylvanians* being divided, great numbers of them revolted from *Kemenius* to *Apafi*, which not only weakened, but discouraged the Christian Army with fear and confusion; amidst of which, *Ali Pasha* took his time to assault the *Transylvanians*, and being assisted by the advantageous conjuncture of the present opportunity, to which he discomfited them, that he killed and took 50000 persons, which was the lilie of the present union, and the exclusion of *Kemenius*, who was now forced to abandon *Transylvania*, and seek his refuge in *Hungary*.

Howbeit *Kemenius* could not here rest satisfied, but revolving in his mind certain ways to recover his Principality, obtained from *Adrianople*, a *German* Troop, with which, and with his own scattered Forces, which at length he had collected into a Body, he resolved to try his Fortune once more with the *Turks*; and joining Battle with them, not far from *Fresburg*, he fought with a resolution becoming the desperateness of his design; either that day to Die, or to Triumph. The Fortune of that days conflict remained a long time doubtful; so equal they seemed on both sides to be in their Courage, in their Force, and in their Conduct, until at length the advantage of the *Turks* number prevailing, *Kemenius* was forced to a disorderly retreat, and afterwards to a confused flight; in which, being by one of his own Soldiers knocked from his Horse was trampled under foot, & the greatest part of his People remain'd a Sacrifice to the enraged Weapons of the *Turks*.

Apafi's party being greatly encouraged with this success, joining with a body of the *Turks*, laid Siege to *Claudiopolis*, the Capital of the *Transylvanians*, now Garrisoned by *German* Soldiers, and Governed by *David Retani*, a right valiant and trusty Soldier, who omitting nothing which might conduce to the defence and maintenance of the Town, either by his care or valour, made many successful Sallies upon the Enemy, and tired and wearied them out in their Siege; until at length General *Schenidauthen* in *Hungary*, gathering what force he could, which were not above 6000 Men, marched with all haste possible to the relief of *Claudiopolis*; the report of whose approach arriving the *Turkish* Camp before his Person, or Army, and the common rumour and fear augmenting much their number; the *Turks* were so terrified hereat, that in haste and disorder they forsook their Siege after three Months continuance; leaving great quantities of Victuals behind for want of Carriages, and Beasts of burden. *Schenidauthen* having gained this success and honour with so much facility, he reinforced the Garrison, and returned with Triumph home carrying with him great Booties of Cattle and other spoils of the Enemy. The defence of this place was accounted almost miraculous; for besides that the Fortifications were after the Ancient Model, it was unprovided of Cannon and other warlike Ammu-

1661. nition; and therefore we are not to pass by the Governor *Retani* without due Commendations; whose valiant and generous spirit, with courage equal to his diligence, knew how to fortify and to defend his Walls; For out of the Town Bells he founded his Artillery; he daily wearied the Enemy with Sallies, surprised one of their Batteries, which moit annoyed the City; composed the Mutinies of the Citizens within; and in short, against the Opinion of all, he defended and maintained it in the possession and right of the Emperor.

Claudiopolis being thus relieved, the *Turks* sto-mached inwardly the disgrace, and yet thought it prudence for the present to dissemble; and therefore upon some addresses made for Peace from *Transylvania*, and certain Propositions tendered by the *German* Resident; the *Vizier* counter-acted his inclinations thereunto so far, that he prohibited all farther Acts of Hospitality upon the Frontiers.

Notwithstanding which, the rumour at this time running, of a Combination of all Christen-dom against the *Turks*, with Men or Money, forwarded by the endeavours of the Pope, and the contrivances of *Venice*, excited the former jealousy, and caused the skirmishes on the Fron-tiers to be more hot and frequent: And the *Vizier* being forward and choleric, and by nature jealous; matters had immediately proceeded to an open rupture, had not the *German* Resident, by his Moderation and Prudence, represented af-fairs in the smoothest guise of Peace, and de-layed the War rather than composed it; so that this whole Summer was spent in disputes, mes-sages, and debates on both sides.

The *Vizier* designing this War in his Eye, and desirous to comply with the vagrant humour of his Master, who was weary of his *Seraglio* at *Con-stantinople*, resolved to transfer the *Turkish* Court to *Adrianople*, so that toward the end of *June* they entered their Tents without the City. But before they could dispose their affairs for to de-part, the Plague, which is the Epidemic Disease of this Country, and the common distemper of the Summer Season, began to break forth and dis-turb it self through all parts of the City; that in a short time the Keys of many Houses were brought to the Grand Signior for want of Pretenders and Heirs surviving to possess them: In greater Houses the *Pashas* and others, which have been a Hun-dred and fifty persons, scarce five have remained alive for burial of the others; what the fury of that Mortality might be, was best conjectured by the daily account was kept of the Corps carried out of the City, by the Gate only of *Adrianople*, which for some Weeks amounted (I speak mo-derately) to Twelve or thirteen hundred a Day; ir being observed amongst the *Turks*, when above a Thousand in a Day are carried forth Dead by that Gate, that then Prayers are to be made to Almighty God to withdraw that heavy judgment. At which time the *Greek* and *Armenian* Patriarchs are likewise desired to offer up their Devotions, and intercede with God for mitigation of the Pestilence; and the same Day in a Field called *Ok-moidan*, do all assemble, though divided apart, to pray against the common Calamity, it not seeming vain to them, that every one should call upon his God. Nor did the Plague rage only in the City, but the Ships and *Turki* Saykes were in-fected in parts remote on the Black Sea, and the *Propontia*, so that above a Hundred Sails were re-ported to be lodged at several Ports for want of Seamen to navigate them home. The Camp also where the Grand Signior, and *Vizier* remain-ed, was not exempted from this common

The *Turks* jealousy.

The *Turki* Court removes to *Adrianople*.

A great Plague at *Constantinople*.

1661. Contagion, for the necessary intercourse between that and the City communicated the evil equal unto both, throwing the ways with dead Bodies, in that manner as represented a passage conducting to a Cemetery, Charnel-house, rather than to a Martial Camp or Court of a Great Emperor. This mortality hastened the Grand Signior with his Army and Attendants into a better Air, the Vizier was to follow a few days after, but before his departure he feled and confituted his Son *Chinnacm*, or Governor of *Constantinople*. Things in this confusion and haste not being well provided for, the Grand Signiors reception at *Adrianople* caused him to prolong his Journey by taking a compass round by the *Cailes* at the mouth of the *Hellepont*, and from thence went to *Dimitochium*, where having lingered out eight or ten days more, he made a solemn entrance into *Adrianople*, which will for some years following be disfigured in this History as the Seat of the Ottoman Empire.

The time of this great Mortality was no reason for us to move in business or action, we and all other Christians avoiding common conversation, every one consulting his particular safety. However two business brought our Lord Ambassador to Town from his Country Retirement. One was to obtain justice from the Vizier, on two miscreant *Turks* who had committed a Robbery on his Page and Steward, as they were drinking at a Fountain near a place called *Banchof-jari*, a Village inhabited by *Greeks*; the Steward by the swiftness of his Horse effected, but the Page being sickly and weak fell into their hands, and was grievously wounded by them. Complaints hereof being made to the Grand Vizier, he seemed much concerned at the evil treatment of the Ambassadors servants; and therefore sent the Nays of the Kadi of *Galatia* to take notice, and write down the Wounds which the Page had received; and at the same time dispatched Officers into all parts adjacent, to take the Thieves, and to examine, and torment the people in places where it might be suspected only that they were harboured, and that nothing should be neglected in order to this discovery. It is incredible with what diligence, feverity, and violence this command was executed, the people in the Villages where they had lodged or been, or but passed through, were all seized; and the men examined under the Cudgel, with Drubs on their feet; the men, women, and children of *Banchof-jari* were carried, and some of them in Chains, to our Ambassadors House at *Pera*; and all the Countries round were so ill treated, that their common safety was concerned in the taking of these Thieves, and the allarm was by this time so far spread, that it was more pressing and urgent than our *Heard-Cry*; in short, one of the Thieves was taken; and he discovered the abode of his Companion, and both were brought to our Ambassadors House, and there put into the Stocks, laden with Chains, and guarded by the *Turkish* Officers. The next day they were carried before the *Stambol-Efendi*, or Recorder of *Constantinople*, they confessed the fact, and Hoger or Sentence passed upon them, which by Law could reach no farther than to the Gallies; but being brought before the Vizier, he had a mind to stretch the Law, and their necks to a further extent, and so without other demur calling the Hang-man, ordered him to put Ropes about their necks, and to carry them to the Lord Ambassador, following his directions for their execution; and accordingly one was hanged by the Fountain, and the other on a Tree at the entrance into the Village of *Banchof-jari*. This Exemplary justice

raised the reverence, and fear of the Country-people towards our Ambassador unto that degree, that during the time of the Earl of *Winchelsea*, nothing of this nature ever passed again, but on the contrary, the *Paisians*, and the people in the Countries round, honoured and feared him like one of their *Pathas*, or great men.

The other business was of a different nature relating to the Emin, or Customer of *Atleppo*, who being dismissed of his Employment was now come to *Constantinople*; before his departure from *Atleppo*, he had demanded of our Merchants there 16000 Dollars for Arrears of Custom due to him, on Silk and other Goods; his pretence was false and unjust, however it being usual for *Turks* upon every demand to gain an advance, the matter was compounded with the Sum of 2500 Dollars, and so the Customer departed with an appearance of perfect satisfaction; notwithstanding which coming to *Constantinople* he renewed his pretensions again, and by the favour of the *Reis-Efendi* or Secretary of State, he proceeded in his business, that the Lord Ambassador was forced to make a second composition with 2000 Dollars.

The Grand Signior and Vizier, as we said before, being now at *Adrianople*, the Viziers Deputy, called by the name of the *Caimacam*, governed *Constantinople*, to whom our Ambassador, according to custom made a visit, presenting him with eight Veils.

Likewise in absence of the Vizier, it being usual for the Ambassador to make a Visit to the *Bosphorus-Bashi*, or Head of the Gardiners; his Excellency passed that Compliment on him, and presented him with four Veils. This person though entitled Head-Gardiner, is yet of great power, making a considerable figure at Court; for he not only commands all the Gardiners belonging to the very *Seraglio's* of the Grand Signior, which are very considerable in number, but his Jurisdiction reaches all along the *Bosphorus*, and commands the Villages, Woods and Countries at a far distance, so that he may in *English* be compared to the chief Ranger.

It was now towards the Winter, when this Vizier *Kuperlee*, finding himself mature with Age, and ready to fall like Autumn Fruit, sent for his Son from *Constantinople* to bear a share with him in the Burden of the Empire. This he did with the consent of the Grand Signior, for he alleged, that being now feeble and decayed, he could not make his personal Address as formerly, nor attend at the Court to render his Majesty an account of his Affairs; and therefore had need of to trusty a Messenger as his Son, to carry his advices and directions, and faithfully to communicate what he should enquire to his Relation; all others being on some consideration or other suspected, and at least Enemies to him, or to the Grand Signior. The Sultan accepting the proposition and the Person, had often occasions of discourse and familiarity with the Son, called *Abmet*, who deputed himself with that faith and prudence in the management of all his Affairs, that the old Vizier had no great difficulty to procure a Grant of succession for him in that Office: For though there were many obstacles therein, as the abhorrency of the *Turkish* Policy from all hereditary succession in places of trust; and the Youth of his Person, not exceeding thirty two years of Age, and some emulous, powerful, and ancient Competitors, who hated the Father; yet the old Fox had so ingratiated himself with his Master, for (so to speak truly) he had been the only instrument that had preserved him and his Empire

1661.

Procures Succession for his Son.

Empire from falling into as many Divisions as there are *Pathalicks*, or Governments, that the Grand Signior gave credit to him as to an infallible Oracle, assuring him that before any other, who might either pretend Merit, Age, or Precedency, his Son should be preferred to the Succession. The old Man acknowledged the favour with all humility and thankfulness, declaring that he had now served his Majesty faithfully for the space of five years, a longer proportion than commonly Viziers had managed that Office, in such tempestuous and distracted times, who either for their own offences, or want of Providence, or good Conduct, have made shipwreck of their own lives, and the Charge they piloted: But he had lived in the worst of times, when the Spirits of men with discontent were enflamed round about him, and threatened the ruin of their Prince and Empire; and yet had reduced things to composure, and to the obedience of the Ottoman Yoke, that now he that was the Sultan might incline his Head to rest with security, and enjoy his pastimes and pleasures, without being interrupted by those Conspiracies, which destroyed his Father, and endangered him in his years of Infancy. And because the continuance of his Security and Glory depended on the execution of certain Maxims, which he had framed to himself, he was chalking out to his Son such undoubted Rules and Doctrines of Government, as would certainly tend to the glory and prosperity of the Empire, being abundantly satisfied that his Son was faithful, prudent, and active. But three things he particularly recommended to his Majesty.

1. Never to give Ear to the Councils and Advices of Women.
2. To amass what Treasure he could possibly into his Coffers, though with Oppression, and impoverishment of his People.
3. To be continually on Horse-back, and keep his Armies in constant Action.

Rules given to the Grand Signior.

Kuperlee dies.

On the 19th of October, *Kuperlee* having ended his days, whose Discrete was Old Age, and a Gangrene in his Legs, his Son by *Hattisherif*, or the Grand Signior's Patent under his hand, taking the Seal, was constituted Vizier in the place of his Father, to the admiration and disappointment of the other, to the detriment of the Empire, and to the regret of the *Seniors*, who were disappointed, not only to perceive themselves neglected, but that person also to supplant them, who was judged incapable of the Office, according to the Canon, and ancient Precedents of this Government.

The Body of *Kuperlee* was transported to *Constantinople*, where in his life time he had erected a very stately and magnificent Structure, and his Monument over the Grave, or Vault, where he had designed to be interred. In his life time he had filled it with Corn, which daily was distributed to the poor, and being emptied after his death, received his Corps, over which a small Molt was endowed with Oyl for Lamps, and maintenance of certain Talismans and Softaces, to make Prayers and Offerings for his Soul.

The Father being thus interred, *Abmet* his Son began to contrive his own establishment, and to settle his Greatness on the foundation of his Fathers Rules of Policy, from whom not to degenerate in cruelty of Nature, or leave his Legacies unpaid to those he had proscribed, he in the first place sacrificed the Blood of the *Patha* of *Magnafia*

Patha of *Magnafia* cut off.

Procures Succession for his Son.

1661. *nafja* to his Fathers Ghost, with some other petty attendances; so that the World perceived that they had changed the Vizier, but not his tyranny, or at least the same spirit of the Father seemed to be renewed, transmittied again into the Person of the Son. But more difficult it was to obtain the like success against *Mortiaza*, the *Patha* of *Babylon*, and the *Kayab-begh*, or Lieutenant General of the Janiaries, who were long before (as we have said) marked out for destruction by his Father. For the first was the most powerful *Patha* of all *Asia*, vigilant, and active, and had done and merited great rewards from his Master, and particularly in decoying, and cutting off the Head of the Grand Rebel *Alim Patha*, who dared the Sultan at the Gates of his *Seraglio*; but understanding the ill will of the House of *Kuperlee* against him, stood always on his Guard, lodging without the Wall of the City, and under the protection of his arms and Soldiers, who were greatly affected to the generosity of his Person; so that, though many attempts were made upon him, and that Officers, or Executioners came from the Court, openly tending from the Sultan the Pretence of a Sword, and Veil of Sabres, the usual Signals of the Ottoman Grace, but privately bringing a Bowstring, or a Halter; yet they were all entertained at a distance, and returned again with the same dissimulation they had used in their feigned Addresses. In like manner the *Kayab-begh*, an ancient, prudent, and experienced Commander, beloved by the Soldiery, and secured by the Privilege of his Office, (for a *Kayab-begh* cannot be cut off during his Command, without infringement of the honour and order of the Janiaries) preferred still his Station, and Command in despite of the Viziers hate and endeavours. But what could not be done by meer virtue of the absolute Power, was effected under the appearance of honour and favour of the Sultan, who by his Royal Commiffion, having made him *Patha* of *Damascus*, he was at the same instant deprived of his Military Power and Privilege, and lay now naked and expoid to the Arbitrary Pleasure and will of his Adversary. Nor could his prayers or tears incline the Grand Signiors mind to reverse his Order, who, together with the Vizier, rather enforced it with the specious pretext of Favour and Grace for his former merits, and with commendation of his Abilities agreeable to the importance of so considerable a Government, encreased the just suspicion of *Solymam*, (for so the *Kayab-begh* was called) not being ignorant of the *Turkish* Proverb, A *Kayab-begh* is like a Fish in the Water, which with its Element immediately dies. However, as *Solymam* could not dominate, he grates agist, he acknowledges the favour of his Master, and gave thanks for it, according to the Duty of a good Subject, who ought to acquiesce in the sentence of his Prince, which, though never so full of severity, ought to be believed, and called Clemency. The Vizier now hated *Solymam* *Patha* to depart with all expedition, not allowing him above Four or Five days time to make preparation for so long a Journey, which otherwise he would have prolonged as one, like the rest of Mankind, desirous to protract the thread of Life, imagining that in his journey, at some distance, where his Death might be most obscure, and least noted, the Edict of the Grand Signior might overtake him, and find a Grave quented Mountain. Wherefore he made one Day an Address to the Vizier, under pretence of taking his last farewell, and so freely acquainted him with his apprehension and his fears

Solymam *Patha* in diligence.

Tac. Lib. 14. Ann.

The G. Viziers office towards our Ambassador.

1661. fears, desiring that he would deal as frankly with him, in letting him know the utmost of his Fate, for that now he was in his hand, and was so good a Proficient in the *Adaboman* Religion, as to oppose nothing which was his Destiny, or inconsistent with the Decree of the Sultan. The Vizier reverencing the Years, and prying the Condition of so worthy a Commander, abated solely by his Power, bid him be of good cheer, assuring him of his Life, so long as he acted nothing contrary unto his, which he confirmed by Vows, and all imaginable Proteftations, encouraging him to proceed forward to his Government with those cheerful Words and Assurances, that *Solyman* Pasha taking his farewell with more ease of mind, and confidence of Life, departed *Adrianople* in three days after his designation to the new Office: But not many days Journey had he advanced into *Asia*, before the Grand Signiors and Viziers Commands overtook him, altering his design for *Damascus*, and instead thereof ordered him a Pilgrimage unto *Mecca*, and exile into the remote and desert parts of *Arabia*, until he should be thought worthy to be recalled by that power which banished him. In like manner some few days after, the Musti being on a Friday feared in his place, in the Mosch of Sultan *Selim* (a very noble and famous Fabrick) and attending there the Grand Signiors entrance, that he might begin his Prayers, was unexpectedly hurried in the Ear, that he should retire and give place to another Musti; which immediately he obeyed, and in four hours departed *Adrianople*, being banished to *Gallipoli*, for his Friendship (as was supposed) to *Solyman* Pasha, and for not passing the *Fetsa* for his Death, according to the will and desire of the Grand Signior.

During the Transaction of these affairs in divers parts, the Wars against the *Venetians* were carried on faintly; the Gallies had no other design, or employment, than to transport recruits of Men and Ammunition to *Canea*, that so the *Turks* might rather keep the ground that they had gained in that Island, than add thereunto by new Conquests, until such time as that being freed from other Wars, they might have leisure and opportunity to attend unto that alone. Accordingly the Captain Pasha set forth at the usual Season from *Constantinople*; and arrived at *Sidon* with twenty three Gallies, besides his own called the *Barford-Galley*, or Admiral; the advice of which, coming to the Captain-General of the *Venetians*, he hastened thither with all his Fleet to besiege him in the Port: but this seeming after some days a tedious work, and what might lose too much time; he resolved to depart from thence, and to leaving a sufficient Guard before the Port, he set Sail with two Gallies, thirteen light Gal-

lies, and seven Auxiliaries for the Craft of *Rhodes*; where his Brigantines advised, that the remainder of the *Turkish* Fleet were Anchored, and were taking aboard two thousand Soldiers for reinforcing *Canea*; but before the *Venetians* could arrive, intelligence was given them by the way, that the *Turks* were loosed from *Rhodes*, and were Anchored under the Island of *Palmar*; wherefore altering their course, they steered for *Naxos*, and there watering their Vessels, sailed near to *Nisira*, where the Van-guard discovered five and thirty Gallies of the Enemy, which had made prize of a Tartana laden with Provisions designed for the *Venetian* Fleet, and having taken out her lading, had set her on fire. The *Venetians* having their Enemy in their Eye, gave them chase until the Evening, when the Night coming on, put an end to the pursuit: but keeping their course towards *Candia*, they had sight again of them the next Morning, and coming nearer, the *Turkish* Admiral put forth his Flag of Defiance, as if he intended to come to a Battle; but the Wind blowing hard, and the Sea increasing, both Fleets were separated until the Morning; when the *Venetians* discovered certain of the Enemies Gallies to Leeward of *Milo*, where bearing down before the Wind upon them, five of them ran ashore; one was sunk, and four were taken by the *Venetian* and *Adalste* Gallies, three of which fighting with great Courage and Valour, killed divers brave Cavaliers of one and the other Country. The men which ran the Gallies ashore at *Milo*, did it with design to secure themselves in that small Fort which the *Turks* possessed in that island; but they were not able to withstand the valour of the *Venetians*, who having first recovered the Cannon of the Gallies which ran ashore, with their rigging, and what else was useful, they set the Hulls on Fire; and immediately entering the Port, the Captain-General landed two hundred select men, and veteran Soldiers to besiege the Fortrefs, giving Orders to one *Manolacchi Macchiotti*, who was well acquainted with the *Turkish* Language, to summon them to a Treaty, the which they readily accepted, and were received to quarter at discretion of the General: the next Morning they were brought down to the Sea-Coast to the number of about nine hundred, amongst which there was a Janizar-Aga, a Bey of *Rhodes*, and three of *Constantinople*, besides Captains, and other persons of condition and quality. These Prisoners being divided into several Gallies and Ships, the *Venetians* departed, and cruising about the Coast of *Candia*, to hinder the importation of the Coast of *Candia*, they encountered with *Antonio Priuli*, with a good Squadron of Vessels under his Command.

1661.

THE HISTORY OF Sultan Mahomet IV. THE XIII. EMPEROUR OF THE TURKS.

The Second BOOK.

Anno Christi, 1662. Hegeira, 1073.

At the beginning of this Year the People of *Algier* sent Messengers and Presents to the Grand Signior Court, then at *Adrianople*, complaining against the Actions His Majesties Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Sandwich*, had done against their Town and Castles, pretending those Forts to be the Grand Signiors, and the Assault offered to him, as willing to interest him in their Quarrels and Piracies. And that their Address might be more graciously received, they brought with them certain Presents, which tho in former times were Yearly, were now only as their Affairs required, and on this occasion were doubled: for besides their Presents to the Ministers and Officers of State; they brought to the Grand Signior a Ship made in Silver, beset with Emrods, Rubies, and other Stones; fourteen young and handsome Boys, and a Neger Eunuch for the *Seraglio*. But the Earl of *Winchelsea*, His Majesties Embassador there Resident, being then at Court, had so well prepossessed the Vizier with the Ground and Reasons for the War, that the complaints of *Algier* were judged in no wise touching the Ottoman Interest, or the breach of Peace, any Impeachment of the good Correspondence and Friendship which then intervened between the King of *England* and the Grand Signior. But their Presumption to search *English* Ships, and take out Strangers Goods, was objected as an Argument of their Disobedience and Rebellion, contrary to

the Grand Signiors Capitulations, which also was aggravated by their ill Treatment of the Grand Signiors Pasha, whom they had beaten, imprisoned, and cast out of all Power and Authority; which severe Reprehensions so terrified and discouraged them, that they not only desisted from their Pretensions against the *English*, but began to fear, lest the Power and Interest of the Ambassador at Court, should contrive some mischief to their own Persons.

Soon after this the Vizier esteeming it necessary towards his better establishment to gratify the City of *Constantinople*, and the Grandees of the Empire, by the Grand Signiors return to his Imperial Seat, prevailed with him; (as a matter wholly necessary) to adorn and comfort that place by his Presence; for now he began to declare a kind of abhorrence to it, in regard the memory of those Rebellions which were nourished in that place, to the Destruction of his Father, and to the great hazard and narrow escape after wards of himself, had taken that Impression on his Fancy, that the Chamber of the *Seraglio* appeared melancholly and dismal, and the Walks of his Garden solitary, and the noise of the Rocks and Daws amongst his Trees, were like the croakings of Ravens or unlucky Birds. Howsoever the Vizier had so far entered into his Affection and Esteem, that his Persuasions were stronger than his own absolute Dominion; and prevailed so with him against the force of his own Fancy, that about the Equinoctial he began his journey towards

The Gr. Signior persuaded to return to Constantinople.

THE

1662. toward *Constantinople*, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of his People, but by the way lingering out his time in Hunting and other Pastimes of the Woods and Fields; it was the 30th of March before he made his Entry, for never was Prince so great a Nimrod, so unwarmed a Huntsman as this; never was he at quiet, but continually in the Fields on Horseback, riding sometimes at Midnight, to ride up the Mountains, that he might more early discover the Sun in the Morning; by which extravagant course of Life, he wearied out his Court and Attendants, who began to believe the amorous humour of the Father more supportable, than the wandering Vagaries, and restless Spirit of the Son. But not only were his Huntings tedious to his Court, but troublesome and expensive to the whole Country, which were all summoned in wheresoever he came, and sometimes thirty or forty thousand men appointed to beat the Woods for three or four days, carrying before them the compass of a days Journey about, including all the Game and wild Beasts within that Circuit, which on the day of the Hunt, the Grand Signior kills and destroys with Dogs, Guns, or any other way, with abundance of noise and confusion; which Pastime, tho' lawful in itself, and commendable enough in so great a Prince, yet the frequent use of it, was a burden and an oppression to his People, whilst in the Winter they passed many cold Nights in the Woods, and being unused to that hardship, many of them paid for their Emperors Pastime with their own lives.

The Grand Signior being now at *Constantinople*, the Vizer judged not himself so well fixed in his Government, but that through the Malice of his powerful Enemies, who were familiar to the Grand Signiors Ear, he was then in danger to be shaken, the first of which was *Kaziz Aga*, or chief Eunuch of the Women of the *Seraglio*, who by means of the Valde, or Queen Mother, was ill-affected to him; being both inclined to prefer some Favourites of their own, for the Diminution and Eclipse of the Viziers Power, one whereof was the *Tierdar* Pasha, or Lord Treasurer, placed in Office against the Viziers Approbation, which the Vizer understanding, made short Work with him, depriving him of his Office, commanded him in a few hours to quit *Constantinople*.

But the Queen Mother, and *Kaziz Aga* resenting this Affront to their Favourite, resolved to even forces in a piece of the like Nature: Wherefore they obtained for the Viziers *Kalya*, or Steward, the Pashalik of *Darbiquier*, a rich and honourable Government, not for any dissimulation or hatred they had to him, but only to make him the Vizer of the Council and Assistance of so knowing and faithful a Servant; for he was a Person, who by his own Estate and Friends had raised the House of *Kapurlie*, having in the time of his Poverty and Meanness lent him that Sum of Money, which gave him the first Rise to his Riches and Authority; for Recompence and Interest of which, old *Kapurlie* made him his Steward, and thence to him his Honours and Prosperity, in which deposing himself towards all People with the same modesty and evenness of Temper which he used in his former Condition, he procured no Enemies to his own Person, and such as hated the Interest he served, only wishing him dislodged from it, so as to be able to dispense their Malice on the Vizer, without concerning him in his Malvers ruin. This consideration moved the angry Lady, and the envious Eunuch to vex their Adversary by

the removal of his most faithful Creature and Servant.

Mahomet Kalya now Pasha of *Darbiquier*, after a reasonable and convenient time allowed him for his Preparations, being very rich, set forward towards his Government, with a very noble and numerous Retinue, having amongst the rest five hundred Persons young, well mounted, and well armed; which notwithstanding were not so strong, but before they were advanced many days Journey into *Asia*, were encountered by a greater force of bold and desperate Robbers, who engaging with him, killed two hundred of his People on the place, filled his Baggage, and constrained the Pasha himself to fly to the next City. This strange and audacious Robbery produced many Commands and Orders for Seizure and Suppression of Thieves in the lesser *Asia*. And because the custom is, that something must be done in Compliance with the Imperial Commands, many poor innocent Men were taken in the Fields and Mountains, and perhaps without any other Crime against them, than that they were not masters of a thousand Alpers to bribe the Officers, were for want thereof sent as Thieves to the Port, where without further Conviction or Tryal they were executed.

The Vizer being thus weakened by the removal of his faithfullest Friend, his Condition was given over as desperate by the generality of the World, and several appearances of Troubles arising from the *Eastern* and *Western* parts, gave occasion to the Queen Mother, and her Party, to disparage his Abilities in the esteem of the Sultan: Wherefore they exhorted him to imitate the Example of his Renowned Predecessors, who made use of their Viziers only to ease them from the trouble of their own Government, but did not entirely throw off the Knowledge and Privy of the important Transactions and State Affairs in the whole Empire. This Lesson awakened the Grand Signior a little, so that he declined some days his Sports abroad, and Exercise on Horse-back, and instead thereof passed much of his time in a *Chiosk*, or Garden-house on the Wall of the *Seraglio*, just opposite to the Viziers Gate, where his chief Business and Concernment was to observe such as went in, or came out; and when at any time he espied those enter, remarkable for their Attendance, or difference of Habit, he would fain to know of the Vizer, what occasion drew those People thither, what their Business was, and the like, by which he gave himself that Satisfaction as to believe that he had now found the true way of inspecting his Affairs, and taking care of his Empire. The Vizer was not inferiour from whence this humour of the Grand Signior proceeded, nor ignorant what ill Consequences such petty matters might produce; wherefore he resolved, if possible, to reconcile the favour and good will of the *Valde*, or Queen Mother, but all his Addresses (it seems) were returned fruitless; so difficult was it to appease the Malice of a feminine Spirit; and this malice she so ill concealed, that it was often said by *Turks* of Quality and Judgment, That the Great Viziers Mother, who entertained a Familiarity with Spirits, as they believe, had by their Enchantments procured the Office of Vizer for her Husband and Son successively, and prevailed still to preserve her Son in the favour of his Master, yet could not by force of Magic get Power or Dominion over the *Valde*; No Spells, it seems, had virtue enough to qualify the Spirit of that angry *Jinn*. Some hereupon judged, that the Vizer might

A notable Robbery.

1662. might have thoughts to make Resignation of his Office, and to content himself with some Pashalik of a higher and more eminent Degree; but Apprehensions and Jealousies of their Dangers, and his own natural Ambition, soon stifled those Considerations, resolving to continue his Charge in Opposition to all the Difficulties and Dangers he might encounter. And perhaps he gave himself the same Counsel which the *Vietellian* Soldiers did to their General. *Nihil atrocius evenitur, quam in quod sponte rursus, morum virtutis, mercedem dedit; id saltem referre, neque enim Spiritum, per ludivium & contumelias effundere, non per Virtutem.* Men who multiply dye, whether they yield or are conquered by force, have the same Fate; all the difference is, that the one dies with Valour and Reputation, the other with Reproach and Cowardice. But to execute this stout Counsel with Prudence and Wisdom, he conceived it necessary, if possible, to reconcile the sincere Friendship of *Sowazade*, the *Reis Effendi*, or Chief Secretary of State, a Person the best practised of any, in the Affairs and Negotiations of the *Ottoman* Empire, and one much in the Esteem and Favour of the Queen Mother, and in order thereto treats him with more Familiarity and Condescension than was ordinary, or by many was judged agreeable to the Greatness of a Grand Vizer; always when he came into his Presence, he arose up, calling him secretly Father, Tutor and Companion, in supporting the Burden of the weighty Government, and such other Compellations, as the Grand Signior vouchsafed only to the Vizer: for tho' this *Reis Effendi* was of the greatest Abilities, and this present Vizer the most youthful and unexperienced of later Times, yet it may be accounted one special mark and token of his Prudence, in knowing how to select so useful a Friend, and of his Policy in procuring his sincere faithfulness towards him, and making him really his own.

To which end he conferred much with him, communicated all his thoughts, freely demanded his advice, received his private Entertainments, and in fine, was wanting in no points of affable Courtesy and Compliance, whereby he might create him his own, contenting for some time himself with the name of Vizer, tho' the other as one, who best knew how to manage it, enjoyed the Power.

The Chief Officers of the *Seraglio*, incited by the Queen Mother to diminish something the Power of the Vizer, put often the Grand Signior in mind, as a matter agreeable to his Dignity, to have a regard to his Government, which caused him more frequently than his humour served, to break himself to his *Chiosk* over against the Viziers Gate, to make his usual observations; and perceiving some Christians to enter the Court with red Calpacks or Caps, and yellow Shoes, he thought to Christians by orders of inferior Magistrates, but never until now thought worthy the Imperial Obedience) immediately called for the Subathie or Confable of *Constantinople*, and from the Window commanded him with great Fury to sever the Viziers Court, and such Christians as he should find there with yellow Shoes and red Caps he should first beat, and then send uncovered and barefooted home. The Subathie armed with a Power in this matter as high as the Viziers, entered the House without Complement or Licence, and encountering first the *Kapukalya*s or Agents of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* negotiating the Affairs of their Prince and Country, he rudely layed them down, and without Respect to their Persons or Office, beat them on

That is, of the *Haque*, or *Roya*, or Chamber.

The Queen Mothers Enmity to the Vizer.

the Feet, tore off their red Stockins and Caps, and sent them home with their Heads and Feet bare, derided by the People, and lamenting the Affliction of this Tyranny to which they were subjected. This inhumane Treatment of Persons in a manner sacred, was counted all Christians Proclamations, strictly prohibiting all Christians from wearing red Caps, yellow Shoes, Scarlet Vests, and the like; and *Yezidians* from the use of Hanjars or Daggers, and silk Turbans, upon pain of Death; which Order was so strictly enjoined, that the Corners of every Street were furnished with Officers to observe, and punish such as were found to offend. The Grand Signior or himself judged also the Execution of this Order of that importance, as to desire his own proper Care and Inspection; wherefore walking abroad, as his manner was, in disguise, with his Executioner at hand, encountered in the Streets an unfortunate Bridgeman, an Armenian, who that day, on privilege of his Epousals, had ventured to dress himself with yellow leathern Socks: nothing was, or could have time to be pleaded in his behalf, before the fatal Blow was struck, which sent him to his Grave instead of his Nuptial Bed. This fury continued some few days with much rigour, and strict observation, but afterwards growing cold again, all care was neglected, happening herein, as commonly it doth in all things, which have no other foundation than humour and fancy.

But this inspection into petty matters did not so much disturb the thoughts of the Vizer, as did the power and greatness of *Mortaza*, the Pasha of *Babylon*, by the *Turks* called *Baghla*, a Person of an undaunted Courage, and great Conduct, whom he had hitherto suffered to live, contrary to the true knowledge of his interest, and the Rules his Father had left him: wherefore he resolved to renew his design and attempts against his Life: one I remember was in December of the past Year, when in our Journey to *Adrianople*, we met a Messenger on the way, who amongst other Discourses informed us, that he was then going to *Babylon* for confirmation of *Mortaza*, and as a testimony of the G. Signiors favour and good will towards him, he carried him a Sword, and a Veil of Sables we immediately, and that truly, guessed for what Present the Sword was sent; for in some Months after the Chaous-bathie, or chief of the Purfurbans, returned without delivery of his Present. For the wife *Mortaza* was so justly jealous, that he would not so much as admit him to his Presence, but returned him again with his Sword and Sables for those who were more easy and credulous, and who believe to dye by Command of the Sultan to be Martyrdom, and the only Crown of all their Merits and Deserts: not knowing that he could not long subsist in Opposition to so great an Enemy; he contracted an Alliance by Marriage with a Daughter of one of the *Gordans*, or *Cardian* Princes, and in Dowry had one of the strongest Forts of those Mountains delivered into his hands.

The Vizer finding himself thus soiled in his occult Artifices; began publicly to profess his Enmity; and therefore in the first place perfwaded the Grand Signior, that the long continuance of *Mortaza* in that Government, beyond the usual term, so Opulent and Powerful, and of a Spirit so Ambitious and Rebellious, could not but prove dangerous to himself, and in time give him Confidence of Competition for the whole Empire; which hazard to prevent with most prudence and advantage, (there being a present occasion of good Soldiers for relief of *Candia*) *Mortaza* and his

1662. The Gr. Signior here Prohibits on of yellow shoes, and red Calpacks to Christians.

The Vizer seeks to cut off *Mortaza*, the Pasha of *Babylon*.

1661.

his Complices could not be better belowned than upon that Employment. The Grand Signior readily consented to his Council, being naturally very apprehensive of Danger, and in his place constituted the *Agas*, or General of the *Janizaries*, putting him away with all speed possible to his Journey; but that the advice of the coming of a new *Patha*, arrived timely the Earl of *Mortazas*, who judging it an unequal match to contend with the whole Empire, gave way to his Successor, but which, kept himself to on his Guard, that his Adversary could not reach his Head, and send it as the fifth-fruits and Tribute of his new Office. For yielding up his command as in an honourable manner of Retreat, he gave out, that with his Army (reported to consist of thirty thousand Men) he was on his March to *Cardia*, but soon after his design was discovered to be otherwise; for believing his own Force unable to contend with his Masters, he retired with his riches, and some of those most faithful to him, unto his Fort on the Mountains, and to the Protection and Country of the King of the *Curds*, whose Daughter he had Married, and remained in Expectation of time and opportunity, to take his revenge on the *Vizier*, hoping that with time this storm would blow over, and that the Beams of his Princes Favour would again shine upon him. These *Curds* are called by some Writers *Cardians*, from whence the Province had the name of *Gordiene*, bordering on *Assyria*, the Kingdom once of *Zabienus*, who siding with *Lucullus* against *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, was by *Tigranes* murdered with his Wife and Children. These People inhabit the Mountain *Armenus*, dividing *Syria* from *Galicia*, which by reason of the difficult access thereto, was never yet subjected to the Ottoman Yoke; they are said in former times to have worshipped a black Dog, and dare not speak ill of the Devil, nor for love, but fear. But some report, that have lately been amongst them, that they have left off that heathen Superstition, and embrace a certain sort of Religion mixed with Christianity and Turcism; but yet without Baptism or Circumcision. In brief, they are a bad sort of gross People at the best, contenting themselves with little Religion, addicted to Blood and Robberies. These *Curds* or *Gordians*, being a people retired, keep within their Mountains, are shy in their Conversation and Discourse, and afford us little subject, or opportunity of knowing with any Satisfaction, their Religion or Manners; but from such of our Country-men, as have lately entertained Society with them, we have this account. They are seated on those Mountains, as we have said before, which of old are called *Cardian* or *Gordian*, beginning near *Aleppo*, but running out as far as *Perfia*; they make shew of the Turkish Religion for fear, but have in reality another of their own, which permits them to eat Swines Flesh, and drink Wine, as the *Druses* and *Kalbeens*; Bacon being esteemed by them a particular Cardinal, or Restorative for the Sick. The chief Country and City of those near *Aleppo*, is called *Jumee*, where they have a Convent of twelve Priests with a Superior over them, and another of the like sort near *Maful* or *Nineveh*. The two Chiefs of these Monasteries meet at fixed times to consult for the good of the Common-weal. Their Devotions are private in a Cave; they tell us of but one Book, which contains their Law and their Rites, being asked what they thought of our Saviour, they answered, he was their Breath, and their Soul; at the name of *Mahomet* they Spit, and with *Nicodemus*

Curdi.

mus his Circumpection and Assurance of Secrecy, they declared, themselves and Christians the same, which they would make appear to soon as they were delivered from their fear of Pondage to the *Turk*. They say that they worship God, and will not curse the Devil, to which no Force or Power can compel them; partly, perhaps because they have heard of our Saviours Precept, *Blasphemy*, but rather, because they hold, that the Devil and his Followers shall one day be restored to their former fears of Blessedness and Dignity. When their Priests are together, and Wine brought in amongst them, the Superior makes a sign for Silence, and afterwards a short Admonition, that Wine is the Blood of God. I have heard that a *Capucin* Friar was once invited amongst them, with Promise to give him a fight of their Book of Rituals, and being come to *Jumee*, was detained a day or two in a Cave, on pretence that the other Superior of *Maful* was then amongst them, who being a severe Person, if he knew of his being there, would certainly put him to Death, as one who came to alter their Religion; upon which Suspicion the *Capucin* forgetting his Curiosity, fled for safety, with all speed possible. Their Priests are said to be Grave, wearing black throughout; their Garments plaited or quilted; the Vestures of the Commonalty are agreeable to Mountainaires, whose Natures are Rough and Boisterous, addicted to Blood and Robbery, the common Vice of those People. I have heard, that the Son of a *Gourdene* Widow being killed by some of that Country, She absented her nearest Kindred, and required them to bring her the Windpipe of the Murderer, which when they had done, She together with her Friends, eat it in Revenge. In fine, their Religion may have some small Reliques of Christianity, but mix with the dregs of other Religions. 'Tis possible they may be of the *Manichee* Race. Their Opinion of the Devils Restoration, was once held in part by *Origen*: that of Wine (that is the Blood of God) was the *Heathenish* conceit of the *Egyptian* Priests. Their whole Nation, if well united, may compose an Army of thirty or forty thousand Men.

But to return to our purpose. The news of the Flight of *Mortaza* to this Ignoble Prince, troubled the Grand Signior, who still retained some Impressions of kindness to his Person, remembering his Generosity, Valour, and former Deserts, the memory of which was encreased also by the Friends of *Mortaza*, who wanted not in the Court to reprehend them with some Compassion, arguing that his flight was not of Contumacy or Contempt to his Masters Protection, but an effect of natural Preservation, which worked so far on the Grand Signior, that he immediately sent for the *Vizier* to enquire of him the State and Condition of *Mortaza*. The *Vizier* to defend himself, and make good what before he had counselled his Master, aggravated his Adversary's Crimes, and his Disobedience and Flight to an inconsiderable King; with which, and some other light Excuses and Perswasions, that the removal of such a Person was agreeable to the present State of Affairs, and conducing to his own Security, easily pacified the Mind and Affections of the Grand Signior; but no sooner was he returned to his House, but advice was given him, that the *Emam* of *Mortaza*, or his Priest or Chaplain, was then at *Constantinople*, whom the *Vizier* immediately sent for, and without any Plea or Indictment, struck off his Head, and threw his Body into the Sea, on pretence that he was sent thither, as spy for his Master, and to give Intelligence, and a beginning

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beginning to Rebellion: These were his colours and allegations for his deserved Death; for God vengours though never so wicked and so absolute, and that have no need to render any other cause to the World of their actions; than their own will, yet esteem it necessary to act under the specious guise of justice, and in the good opinion of the multitude. The *Agas* of *Basylum* encountered the same Fortune; for *Mortaza* giving place, he thought it fit for himself to do the like; resolving for *Constantinople*, but being intercepted in his Journey by the new *Patha*, his Head was struck off, and his Journey thwarted.

But that which again renewed the trouble and fears of the *Vizier*, was a report that the late *Kahya-beg* degraded at *Alriangle*, was secretly returned to the City, and lived concealed, giving such Orders to the Janizaries as tended to Mutiny and Insurrection, and that the preences and reports of his being gone to *Dereghis*, and thence in his holy Pilgrimage to *Mekka*, were but all false stories to conceal his Residence at *Constantinople*. This set the *Vizier* all on fire, and made him tremble with the thoughts of it; wherefore search was made for him day and night, but not found; for in reality he was gone on his designed Journey, only it was the misfortune of his *Kahya*, or Steward, as before it was of *Mortaza's* *Emam*, to fall into the *Viziers* hands, who being beaten to confess where his Master was, died afterwards of the blows.

But notwithstanding that *Mortaza* was fled, yet the *Vizier* laid not aside his fears and thoughts concerning him, nor knowing how soon he might be recalled home, and seated in his place; of which various Examples are extant in Turkish History; and therefore he sent orders to *Mashum* *Patha*, his late *Kahya*, now *Patha* of *Daribaguir*, as General (with the knowledge and consent of the Grand Signior) and to the *Pathas* of *Erzerum*, *Erivan* and others near adjacent, to prepare and assemble what Force was necessary to constrain the King of the *Curds*, to surrender *Mortaza* into their hands: But whilst these matters were in agitation, some unexpected troubles in *Georgia* diverted their Arms, and held them for some time in suspense, not knowing what the issue might be.

The Original and Cause thereof was this: After the *Curds* *Sulaim* had taken *Erzerum*, it was agreed in the Capitulations between the *Turks* and *Persians*, that of the seven Provinces of *Georgia* (anciently called *Iberia*, but now as supposed to have received the Denomination from *St. George*, the Cappadocian Martyr, there had in great esteem and reverence) three should be tributaries to the *Turk*, and three to the *Persian*, all governed by *Abis-bah* as head and supreme Prince, to whom the Seventh should also be subjected, without acknowledgment to either; in payment of which Tribute, they continued most willingly, left for default thereof, the importation of Salt, of which their Provinces afford none, should be hindered either from the Turkish, or Persian Dominion. And now it happened that *Abis-bah* dying, his Wife married again, who to gratify her new Lover, was contented to have the eyes of her Son put out, who was the lawful Heir to the Government. The Father was so bitterly received by the Princes of the three Provinces under the *Persian*, that with common consent, they elected one to succeed *Abis-bah*, and extorted the power out of the hands of the Amorous Traitor. The Princes of the three provinces under the *Turk* alarm'd thereto, made insurrection, resolving

The Provinces of Georgia in disturbance.

rather than any Foreigner, to set up one of the Kindred of *Abis-bah*, which the *Persian* Provinces better understanding, approved likewise, for confirmation, and maintenance of their choice, assembled an Army of Threecore thousand men. The *Pathas* tending towards *Curdi*, were surprized in their March with the news of these disturbances in *Georgia*, and not rightly apprehending the causes of these sudden commotions, gave an arrest to the progress of their Arms, inclining towards the parts of *Georgia*, to be in a readiness to suppress all designs against the Ottoman Dominions, so that the thoughts of War against the *Curds* was for some time laid aside. The news of these troubles did also alarm the Port, with which also came a report, That six hundred Tents of the *Kucillab-shes* (which are the best sort of Persian Horsemen) were pitched nigh the Confines of the Grand Signiors Territories; so that Orders were dispatched to the aforesaid *Pathas* to watch the motion and issue of those Affairs, but those storms blowing over by the establishment of *Abis-bah*, the Turkish Forces proceeded on their first design against *Mortaza*, marching to the pass of the Country of the *Curds*, which is very steep, asperous and rough. The whole Kingdom being, as it were, one Mountain of dangerous and difficult access, hath hitherto preserved the Inhabitants from the Ottoman Subjection. The entrance thereunto being strong by Nature, is also fortified with several Castles, the chief of which, possessed by *Mortaza*, is called *Zizari*, and the People thereabouts *Zeizali*. The Turkish Army being arrived at this pass, *Mashum*, the *Patha* of *Daribaguir*, appointed General, as we have said before, ordered five hundred of his select men to enter within the pass, which the *Curds* perceiving, with little opposition, put to flight, being so commanded by the General; the unadvised *Curds* eagerly pursuing the enemy, left the pass naked, and undefended, supposing their whole victory and success to consist in the Rout of those few: Whereupon the Turkish Army wisely possessed the pass, and got between the *Curds*, and their place of Retreat, and laying the Siege to the Castle, required them either to surrender themselves, or else *Mortaza* and his Complices into their hands.

The Turks sent against the Curdi.

The *Curds* perceiving themselves thus hardly beset, and in a manner defrauded, their Garison which possessed the pass without the Confines, the Enemy gotten possession of the Gate which opened to their Country, their Castles besieged, and in danger to be gained, and an inlet made to an Inundation by their Enemies, caused them to request a three days truce for Consultation, which being granted, they began to consider, whether it were better to hazard the welfare of their Country in a dangerous War, of which the *Turks* having already compassed the passage, had made half the Conquest; or to surrender up *Mortaza* to his own King, one in whom they had no part, no interest, nor relation. The latter Council was most generally pleasing; wherefore they seized *Mortaza*, promising at first to conduct him through the Mountains to the *Persians*, but afterwards being on Horse-back, and about a Mile distant from the Camp, they bound his hands behind him, and with his Steward, the Master of his Horse, and a Page, delivered him up to the hands of the *Turks*, who immediately struck off their heads, and sent them to *Constantinople*, where for three or four days they lay before the Door of the Divan, with Inscriptions on them whose they were, and afterwards were thrown into the Sea.

The first-render of Mortaza into the hands and death.

R And

1662.

1662 And thus ended this famous *Mortaza*, who had in like cases, by order of this Viziers Father, been an active Executioner of other Pathwars, and now included in the same Fate, by means of the Son, being procried (as we have said before) by Testament, and the most likely of any Patha in the Empire to stand in competition for the Office of Vizier.

The Vizier upon this success began to show a more cheerful Countenance than formerly, suspecting less of danger upon removal of so suspicious an Enemy. And truly it was now hard to say where in the whole Empire was a generous, bold, or ambitious spirit remaining, who had Reputation and Authority enough to attempt a Repture, such havock was made by this Viziers Father of all hopeful and daring dispositions, and such an Addition made to the slaughter by this man in present Office, that whether men's spirits were vanquished, and cowed with former Examples, or that the Age really afforded not such Heroes, it is hard to say: None now appearing other than obsequious to this Vizier, and to fear, and court him.

The Vizier having thus successfully contrived his Establishment and security at home, had time to confirm it by his Wars abroad, well judging that foreign Wars allay Civil Diffinitions, and the Prosperity thereof doth both produce reputation and terror of his Person amongst his Enemies, as well as reconcile affections, and increase Authority amongst his subjects at home. Wherefore he meditated on a War against the Emperor, and was glad to embrace the occasion from the late Diffinitions made in *Transylvania* by *Kemenius*, as we have related in the former Year. But yet like a crafty Politician, who looketh one way, and steers another; so the Vizier, that he might the better lull the *Germans* into a sleep, and apprehensions of security, he diffembled his inclinations to Peace, and to hearken to such propositions as were tendered him by the *German* Resident, namely, that the Fort of *Serini* should be demolished; being built against the intention, and without the knowledge or consent of his Imperial Master; that the Garisons of *Zechelid*, *Colofwar*, and other places should be removed, with other overtures, and the fairest Propositions imaginable, which might give the *Turks* satisfaction, and by some means or other reconcile the differences, if possible. To which counsel the Emperor was rather inclinable, in regard that a Treaty at that time was on foot between the *French* King, and the Duke of *Lorain* for *Alsatia*, and that the result might prove prejudicial to the Empire, should he at the same time be engaged in a War against the *Turk*, whilst as dangerous a friend as the other was an Enemy, crept easily into a suspected Neighbourhood. But the other Christian Princes, especially *Rome*, and the Allies, engaged in the *Venetian* Quarrel, perceiving the Emperor to detract from his resolutions of a War, upon this suspicion, endeavoured to clear him from all jealousy in reference to the *French* designs, and for better evidence thereof, had their own engagements seconded by Protestations from that King, not only not to molest the Empire during this War, but to afford him considerable aid and assistance both in Men, and Money. These Negotiations and incitements to a War, encouraged the Emperor, and the *German* Princes in that manner, that whilst the *Turks* expected the return of the Carrier from *Vienna*, as it were with an Olive Branch of Peace, and Confirma-

tion of all Articles, which before were esteemed to be concluded, and agreed; the Scene was wholly changed, and the Letters contained new demands and propositions, and in fine, made all doubtful and unsatisfactory. The *Turks*, penetrating rightly into this Affair, pressed hard to have a speedy Peace, or War; wherefore the *Reis Effendi*, or Secretary of State, did at a private Conference with the *German* Minister in name of the G Signior, and in few words declare, That three months were allotted to demolish the Fort built by the Count *Serini*, and for coming of an extraordinary Ambassador to confirm the Articles. Notwithstanding which, the Grand Signior unmindful of the time, and of the Conditions he had given, and prefixed for Peace, ordered the Vizier immediately to prepare for the War, declaring that he would in Person accompany him in part of his March, and remove his Court to *Adrianople*; for this being a Country, champion, and plain, full of Game of all sorts, so drew the heart and delight of the Grand Signior, that his Seraglio at *Constantinople* seemed as a Cage, or Prison, in respect of those desired Pleasures of *Thrace*: His Women were no palatine or recreation to him, in whole Apartments he spent little time: For this excellent humour in Hunting made him daily to press the Vizier to depart for *Adrianople*, not that he had so real a desire to the War, as he had to his Game; which gave occasion to that ordinary Saying amongst the *Turks*, That the Grand Signior had left some Hares behind him at *Adrianople*, and would return to seek them. At length the Vizier not longer able to resist his impurity without his displeasure, summoned a Council of all the Viziers of the Bench, where also the Janissars were present, to consult concerning the time of their departure, at which they unanimously concluded, that for divers Reasons, it was most necessary to defer this expedition until the next Spring. First, Because that three months time were already given to the Emperor for sending his extraordinary Ambassador. Secondly, Because in so short a time, Provisions could not be sent into those Parts for relief of the Camp. Thirdly, Because the Soldiers which were abroad could not have timely notice to repair to their Colours. Fourthly, Because many Soldiers had begun to rebuild their houses destroyed by the late Fires, which by the Spring they might be finished. And lastly, That the Summer being now almost past, was not fit for action, as the Spring, which gives new life and blood to men, as well as sap and moisture unto Vegetables. These Reasons being represented with all humility to the Grand Signior, he seemed to rest satisfied, and his heat of visiting *Adrianople* for the present allayed. And in the mean time, that the design against *Germany* might be the more covertly carried, it was given out that the preparations were intended against the *Venetian* Territories in *Dalmatia*, (*viz.* *Y Zara*, *Sibenice*, and *Catara*, and Proclamation was made that all Soldiers should prepare themselves for the Wars against the next Spring. In which Interim no accident intervening which might bring matters to an accommodation and better understanding, the daily Skirmishes on the Frontiers made the Controversy every day more difficult to be reconciled, and the breach the wider. The Count *Serini* also proceeded in finishing the Fortification he had lately raised near *Cansiza*; and the other Commanders of the *Cesarian* Army seeing the great progress of the *Turks* in *Transylvania*, secured *Claudioopolis*, *Comoswar*, *Seckilid*,

The Reason why the *Turks* deferred the War with the *German*.

1662 The sad Condition of *Transylvania*.

Seckilid, *Clowar*, alias *Colofwar*, and *Baslem*, with some other Towns and Fortresses. The *Turks* on the other side, under the Command of *Ali* Patha, penetrate into the very Center of *Transylvania*, and conceiving a jealousy of War from the passages before mentioned, lost no time to take their advantages, so that the Patha of *Varadin* not contenting himself with that Country, and limits formerly prescribed for maintenance of his Fortresses, adjoining to his Jurisdiction what Villages and Towns he thought fit, the whilst the poor Prince *Michael Apafi*, though made by the *Turks*, durst not lift a hand, or interpose the least Obstacle or Impediment to his quiet progress, or peaceable possession, which so horrified the People of the Country, and wrought that misery and destruction therein, that the Prince, deprived of his power in Government, and disabled by oppression to pay his Annual Tribute, had no hopes of redress, but from the assistance of Divine Providence, governing the hearts of Christians and *Turks* to compassionate the misery of his Country. Wherefore he craved the assistance of the Emperor, and of the King of *Poland*, acquainting other Christian Princes more remote of the sad estate of the Christian Cause; he sent also his Ambassadors to the Port with most submissive Letters to the Vizier, complaining against the Patha of *Varadin*, and craving his Commands for retirement of his Army, within their due and ancient bounds. Letters were also directed to the Publick Representatives of Christian Princes residing at *Constantinople*, one of which was directed to the Earl of *Winchelsea*, his Majesties Ambassador, which being that which may conduce to the more full understanding of the present deplorable Condition of *Transylvania*, I thought fit to be here mentioned.

Excellentissime Domine, & Amice obsequandissime,

The Prince of *Transylvania's* Letter to His Majesties Ambassador.

Afflictiones Regni *Transylvanie* quibus per complures annos iusto Dei Iudicio castigatur, toti Orbis Christiano manifestae sunt, nec possimus non fateri, inter duos Potentissimos Monarchas adeo indies hoc Regnum conculcari, ut nisi extraordinaria Dei clementia aliquod subsequatur levamen, vix, immo ne vix quidem, diu duraturum credamus. Sed ut rem proximius collimemus. Potentissimus Imperator per Legatos Regni, & nostros nunc reduces Clementissimum suum patrocinium pollicetur, interim autem Passa *Varadinensis* non contentus Villis ac Pagis ad dictam Arcem pertinentibus, usque ad medietullum plane *Transylvanie*, meta Mortis, integras ad deditionem cogit Regiones, quae nunquam eidem Arci applicatae fuerant, nec possibile est Principatum *Transylvanie* is ademptis, ulterius persisteret, Tributumque annuum persolvere posse. Quae de re tam Potentissimum Imperatorem quam Supremum *Vezirum* denuo requirere cogimur, vestram quocirca Excellentissimam Dominationem confidenter rogamus, eo quo convenientius putaverit modo continuo nostro Oratori optulari, eaq; quae pollet Autoritate Casam promoveret, ne gravetur rem non saltem *Transylvanie*, verum quoque Christianitati periculum factura, neq; ad vincula amicitiae arctissime devinctura,

cui felicem vitam precamur, & manemus indubitat.

Datum in Castris ad Pagum *Koczard* poliis die 26 Septembris. An. Dom. 1662.

Excellentissime Dominationis vestrae Amicus Benevolus, Michael Apafi.

In English thus.

Most Excellent Lord, and most worthy Friend,

The Miseries of *Transylvania*, which for many years, by the just Judgment of God, we have been afflicted, are manifest to all the Christian World; nor can we but confess, how between two most Potent Monarchs, our Principality is so daily straitened, that unless through the extraordinary Mercy of God, we obtain some relief, we believe not our selves longer able to subsist. But to come nearer to our Business. The Most Potent Emperor, by his own Ambassadors, and ours now lately returned, hath promised us his most Gracious Protection; yet notwithstanding, the Patha of *Varadin* not content with the Towns and Villages appropriated unto his Castle, hath entered into the very middle of *Transylvania*, and hath compelled, for fear of death, those Provinces entirely to yield themselves, which never before were belonging to his Fortresses, which being taken away, it is impossible for the Principality of *Transylvania* longer to subsist, and pay its annual Tribute; wherefore we are constrained again to beseech the most Potent Emperor, and the Supreme Vizier, as also we confidently desire your Excellency, in that manner which your Excellency judges most convenient, to be assistant to our Agent, and with your Authority to countenance our Cause, in which your Excellency will not only perform a matter beneficial to *Transylvania*, but to all Christendom, and oblige us for ever with the Bonds of friendship; and praying for all happiness of Life and Prosperity to your Excellency, we remain your undoubted Friend.

Given in our Camp at the Village *Koczard* the 26th day of September, 1662.

Your Excellencies Loving Friend, Michael Apafi.

This Letter was received by His Majesties Ambassador with that humanity as was agreeable to his Noble Nature; and with that sense of the Christian Cause as became a Religious Minister of the Faith's Defender, and an Answer returned thereunto full of affectionate Piety and Compassion. But it was feared that the time was elapsed, and the Disease proceeded too far to admit a gentle Cure; for it could not probably be expected, that the Vizier should, upon fair words or persuasions, or by the force of passionate and Rhetorical expostions, be induced to let slip the fair

The resolution of War uncertain.

ed *Ballarino* to take on himself the intire management of Affairs, referring only the Title and Honour to Signior *Capello*. *Ballarino* now managing all Affairs, *Capello* looked on himself as neglected and laid aside, howsoever comported his Condition with Submission and Gentleness, never openly resenting the Honours of *Ballarino*, or to see him preferred before himself; Howsoever secretly nourishing an inward Discontent, his robusious Nature, upwards of eighty years of Age, was forced to give way to its final Dissolution; and falling sick, he sent to the Earl of *Winchelsea*, then Ambassador for his Majesty at *Constantinople*, to acquaint him of his Distemper, desiring him to send me, who was then his Secretary, unto him. At these Summons I was easily persuaded to go, having always had his Person in great Reverence; and being come to his Bed side, he raised himself upon his Pillows, and embracing me in his Arms, I knied myself to receive the Benediction of one of the Ancient Patriarchs. He began with a weak Voice to say to me, Sir, I am near my end, expecting every Minute to render up my last Breath, and therefore as a dying man, I desire of your Master, the Ambassador, that so soon as I am dead, he would be pleased to deliver this poor Carcase of mine from under the covering of this accursed Roof. For I never whereunto did not stand to expoliate the Reasons with him, well knowing the cause of his discontent; but that I would communicate his desires to my Lord Ambassador, and speedily return with my Answer to him. Accordingly I departed from him, and quickly brought from my Lord a Promise to endeavour his utmost to comply with his request; at which he seemed to be much satisfied, and commanded his Secretary then present, especially one called *Sig. Tomaso Gubano*, his great confidant, to be Witnesses thereof. The next day he expired his last Breath, and the day following his Body being embalmed, his bowels were buried, and the Funeral Rites performed with such order and decency as was seemly in a Country where he lived rather like a Prisoner than an Ambassador. All things being thus prepared, the Earl of *Winchelsea*, according to the Will of the Deceased, sent for his Body, already embalmed, which was immediately without opposition or scruple sent to his house; where it remained for some months, in expectation of a conveyance for *Venice*. At length a Dutch ship, being bound from *Constantinople* thither, it was designed that the Body should be thereon embarked; but I know not for what reason, the Customer refused to suffer it to pass; though I may well be conjectured, that *Ballarino*, who was sensibly touched to have the care of the Body of his Master, his Countryman and Colleague taken from him, did with Presents prevail with the Customer to put difficulties in the way, which he supposed might vex those who were thought worthy of this employment. This opposition being made, and not to be overcome without much Money, it was contrived that the Ship departing should attend the Corps at *Tenedos*, which was without the command of the Castles, and the Body being divided from the Legs, was packed up in a Box of Caves, and so sent down by a boat with Licence of the Customer, as a parcel of Goods and Merchandise; and so safely arriving aboard, the Corps were separated from their adjuncts; and being laid decently in a Coffin, covered with a Pall of black Velvet, with Scutechons, and other ornaments appertaining to the Funerals of such great Personages, it arrived safely at *Venice*, where it was interred with the usual ceremonies, in the

Tomb of the Ancestors of that Ancient Family. 1662.

But the heads and thoughts of these Governours were not so employed in their preparations of War, but that the Vizier could lend an ear to the suggestions of some malicious Person, who, under pretence of Religion, informed him, That the Christian Churches, burnt down in *Constantinople* and *Galata* by those dreadful Fires in the year 1660, were again re-edified against his command, and the Law of the *Turks*, which allows the reparation of Churches, and continuance of such which were found standing when *Mohometanism* was introduced; but not to erect new, or re-build what are either by time, fire, or other accidents fallen to ruin. And being farther informed, that though those Churches were restored under the notion of Dwellings, or Ware houses, yet secretly served for Celebration of Divine Service, and thereby his Decrees and Edicts were frustrated and disappointed: Wherefore, furiously transported with a *Mohometan* Zeal, commanded immediately that the Authors of those Buildings should be imprisoned, the Churches themselves levelled to the Foundation, and the ground whereon they stood confiscated to the Grand Signior. This action, though naturally agreeable to the disposition of the Vizier, who was a perfect *Turk*, zealous in execution of all points of the *Mohometan* Law, being educated after the severest sort of Professors, and one of those whom they called *Sofates*; yet he was chiefly prompted unto this, and to a greater abhorrence of Christianity, by one *Vanni Effendi*, a Shegh, or Preacher, one who was as inveterate and malicious to the Christian Religion, as any *Enchilaf* or Fanatic is to the Rites of our Church and Religion. And thus we may see how troublesome Hypocrites and *Puritanism* are in all places where they gain a Superiority; for this Preacher not contented only to ruin the Christian Churches, but persuaded the Vizier that the terrible Fires in *Constantinople* and *Galata* in the year 1660, and the last years unparalleled Pestilence, and the considerable advance of the *Turks* on the Christians for some years, were so many parts of Divine Judgments thrown on the Mussulmen or Believers, in vengeance of their too much Licence given to the Christian Religion, permitting Wine to be sold within the Walls of *Constantinople*, which polluted the Imperial City, & enflamed the faithful by temptation to what was unlawful: Wherefore a command was issued, That no Wine should be henceforth sold within the Walls of the City. And it was further intended, that *Greek* and *Armenian*, & all other Christians, who had Dwellings or Possessions within the Walls of the City, should within Forty days sell those habitations; and depart; which otherwise should be confiscated to the Grand Signior; but God who supports the Faithful in Trials of Persecution, moderated this Decree, and reserved still his Church in the midst of Infidels; not suffering this City to lose the Name nor Religion of that holy Emperor, who both erected, and christened it; as also to preserve most of the Churches, which though again uncovered, yet were redeemed for Money from the possession of the *Turks*. Nor was the *Mohometan* Zeal satisfied in Demolition of the Churches themselves, unless it vented part of its fury against the poor Workmen, which for their hire and days Wages erected them; such as *Greek* Labourers, Masons, and Carpenters, who were all beaten and imprisoned. But it happening at that time that the Queen Mother, using a contemptuous Manner and having occasion of many Labourers and Writs to forward so vast a Work, sent to the *Maimarbashe* (who is the

The Vizier de-froyes the Christian Churches rebuilt after the Fire.

The Zeal of a Turkish Preacher.

1662.

the Master work-man, or Cape, over all such who are employed in Building) to supply such a number of Carpenters, Masons, and others, as were convenient to carry on that Fabrick with expedition; who readily replied, That he would provide all that was possible, but could not promise a sufficient number, unless those *Grahs* were set at liberty, who were imprisoned by the Grand Vizier for building the Christian Churches: which answer being reported again to the Queen Mother, she interceded with the Vizier in their behalf, who being glad of any occasion to gratify so great a Lady, immediately released them, without any fine or reward, which he delighted to obtain for their liberty. Howsoever the Vizier not well brooking such an indignity (as he supposed) put upon him by so mean a Slave, as the *Maimarbashe*, dealt with some of the imprisoned Labourers to accuse him, as the Author and Licenfer of building the Christian Churches. The *Greeks* easily enough persuaded to please so great a Personage, accused him accordingly, whose Evidence, though not passable against a *Turk* by the *Mohometan* Law, yet served the Viziers revenge for the present, who immediately commanded his head to be struck off, and his Estate confiscated; and thus we report to consist of two thousand Purles of Money, every Purle importing Five hundred Dollars, then found actually in his House, which, if true, is a strange Wealth for so ordinary a Person. But by this, and by many other instances, we may perceive that there is no People in the World more covetous and desirous to amass Wealth than the *Turks*, nor none more uncertain to enjoy it.

About this time the *French* Merchants in the Levant, having advised his most Christian Majesty that the *Turks* were sensible that the affront to the Person of *Monseur la Haye*, his Ambassador, was contrary to the Law of Nations, and such an affront as could not but provoke the Choler of so puissant a Prince to a just revenge; and knowing that his Majesty being powerful at Sea, was able to extend his Arms to the utmost Confines of his Empire, whilst the interposition of other Countries limited the *Turks* march by Land, and their ignorance and inactivity in Marine Affairs rendered them incapable to arrive those Banks of *France*, which the Sea washes: These Considerations the *French* Merchants having persuaded the King to be the thoughts of the Grand Signior, and that he desired the continuance of the Peace and Traffick with *France*, and as an evidence of his remorse and displeasure for the injury to *Monseur la Haye*, the Father, his Majesty was contented in satisfaction thereof to redress this injurious transgression of the Law of Nations, by some extraordinary marks of favour and honour to the Person of *Monseur la Haye* the Son; that so exceeding the usual method and rule of Ceremony towards this Ambassador at his arrival, the World might be convinced of the real affection, and hearty desire the Grand Signior had to renew his Peace, and preserve his Commerce with *France*. This is supposed to be what the Merchants of *Marseilles* and *Lyon*, governed by the Interest of their Trade, suggested to their King, to induce him to send an Ambassador to *Constantinople*; for at this time *Monseur Roboli*, a Merchant, remained only as Consul or Agent for the Affairs of Commerce. Things thus represented at the *French* Court, the King dispatched away two Gentlemen to *Constantinople* with Letters to the Grand Signior and Vizier, and one to the *Sieur Roboli*, the Agent, declaring that if the

Messengers from France to introduce a new Ambassador.

Turk would make amends for the last Affront done to the Ambassador, by some signal noies of Honour in the abused Person of *Monseur la Haye*, the Son, he would then condescend to confirm the Ancient League and Amity. The Letters translated out of the *French* Tongue, were as followeth.

To Our Dear and Well Beloved
le *Sieur Roboli*, Agent for Our
Affairs at *Constantinople*.

By the King.

Dear, and Well Beloved,

The Inclination We have to continue that Amity with the Emperor of the *Turks*, which hath remained so long between Us, and Our Empires, and maintain the ancient Alliances, hath caused Us to write to Him, and his Great Vizier, to know the Entertainment and Reception that they will give to the *Sieur de la Haye*, the Son, in satisfaction of the violence exercised before on his own Person, and the Person of the *Sieur de la Haye*, the Father, our Ambassador, against the Law of Nations. We write to You this Letter, to give you Order to conduct and present before the Vizier, the Secretaries du *Preffoir*, and Fountain, which We have sent to carry him our Dispatches, and return with the Answers, which you shall solicit without loss of time, the which you shall bring your self, in case they be not agreeable to that resolution we have taken not to receive any satisfaction, but in the Person of the said *Sieur de la Haye*, the Son, which is due to Us, for that Infidelity and Affront which hath been done them. Willing also notwithstanding, that before you depart, you assemble the *French* Merchants in *Constantinople* together; that they may chuse amongst themselves one for their Chief; but if the Answers be such as We have cause to expect, We approve that you remain in the Station where you are, in Quality of Our Agent, until the arrival of the said *Monseur de la Haye*, and that you send them by the said Secretaries du *Preffoir*, and Fountain, of which you shall not fail, for so is Our Pleasure.

Given at Paris the Twentieth
of January, 1662.

Signed,

LOUIS.

De Lomenie.

The

1662. The King of France his Letter to the Great Vizier.

To the Most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord, the Chief Vizier of the Sublime Port of the Grand Signior.

Most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord,
Although the Indignity offered to the Person of the Sieur de la Haye Ventecy, our Ambassador, and to his Son, which We have designed to the same Charge, have touched Us as far as becomes a victorious Prince, who holds the first rank over Christian Kings, and who hath under his Power one of the most warlike Nations of the World; Notwithstanding after being informed, that the disgrace which the said Gentlemen have incurred, hath proceeded rather from malice, and the ill Offices of some Persons, who have endeavoured to disturb, by this ill Treatment of them, the good Correspondence which hath been between Us, than from any design on the Grand Signiors part to offend Us; and that on the contrary, there continues in His will an intention to maintain the Ancient Friendship which remains between Our Estates and People after so many Ages. We being not desirous to estrange Our selves, shall send an Ambassador in ordinary to his high Port, and having cast our Eyes upon the said Sieur de la Haye, the Son, We are much inclined to dispatch him for this employment; but as We desire to be assur'd of the good reception that shall be made him, We give You advice of Our intentions by this Letter; that according to the desire You have testified of the continuance of Our friendship, and Our Ancient Alliances with His Highness, shall pray God to have You, Most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord, in His holy and worthy Protection.

Written at Paris the twelfth day of January, 1662.

LOUIS.

De Lomenie.

The King of France his Letter to the Grand Signior.

To the most High, most Excellent, most Puissant, most Magnanimous, and Invincible Prince, the Great Emperor of the Mussulmans, Sultan Mahomet, in whom all Honour and Virtue abound. Our most dear and perfect Friend.

Most High, most Excellent, most Puissant, most Magnanimous, and Invincible

Prince, the Grand Signior, Emperor of the Mussulmans, Sultan Mahomet, in whom all Honour and Virtue abound. Our most dear and perfect Friend. May God encrease Your Greatness and Majesty with a happy end. We have not known how to impute the ill usage, which hath been offered to the Person of the Sieur de la Haye, our Ambassador, and to his Son, designed by Us to the same employment, to any causes and motions in Your Highness, but rather to the Instigation of some People which would trouble that good Correspondence, which hath been so long established between Us, and our Empires. And as we have cause to believe that Your Highness desires much to continue this friendship and good understanding, upon what hath been wrote Us on Your Part; and to concur with You herein, we desire much likewise to continue to maintain an Ambassador at Your High Port, in place of the said Sieur de la Haye. And since We have none of Our People that is more intelligent than the Sieur de la Haye, the Son, in what concerns the Affairs and Functions of this Embassy; We have elected him for this employment, to which we We shall willingly dispatch him, if We may be assured of the good usage and kind reception which shall be given him. This is that which We expect from Your Highness, reserving a more particular information to be sent by the Sieur de la Haye, the Son, of the good Correspondence which We desire always to have and maintain with You. And hereupon We pray God, That You may be most High, &c. as above, in his Holy and worthy Protection.

Written at Paris the twelfth day of January, 1662.

Your true and perfect Friend,

LOUIS.

De Lomenie.

The Viziers Answer to the foregoing Letters.

To the most Glorious amongst the Sublime Christian Princes, chosen amongst the Great and Sublime of the Religion of the Messiah, Mediator of the Affairs of all the Nazarene Nation, Lord of Majesty and Reputation, Master of Greatness and Power, Louis Emperor of France, the end of whose days be happy. The Salutations which respect Friendship, and are desired from Love and Affection, being premised. Your Majesty shall know that the Letter which was sent to Your Friend, by the Honourable du Preffoir and Fountain hath been delivered me by the Sieur Roboli, Agent and Attorney of the Embassy, at the High and Imperial Port; the Contents whereof We have apprehended to be as Your Majesty gives to understand, touching the in-

tire

1662. tire Amity and good Correspondence. Certainly Your Majesty knows, that the Augmentation, and daily Encrease of that Amity, proceeds from the protection and honourable observance of Conditions and Capitulations between both Parties. By the Grace of the Most High GOD, the Sublime and Imperial Port of the most Happy, most Puissant, most Palatous, most Magnificent, and most Strong Emperor, Support of the Mussulmans, My Lord, whose Arms God prosper with double Force; is always open for our Friends, and others, without any Obstacle, as all the World knows, and particularly for Your Majesty, Who is our Friend, and hath been long in Amity with the most Serene Ottoman Family, whom God establishes until the day of the Ballance. It being a most certain Truth, that there hath happened neither on one side or other any Action contrary to the promised Faith.

And now, since Your Majesty desires for a new Ornament of the Ancient and Good Correspondence, and to the end that the Agreement and Conditions thereof be honoured as they ought, that the considerable Person amongst the Nobles of the Court of Your Majesty, the Sieur Denys de la Haye, Son of the late Ambassador, a Subject of Reputation, Your Gentlemen of Credit, whose Days may they conclude in happiness, be sent to reside at this Happy and Imperial Port, for Your Majesty, according to the ancient custom; to the end that the Intention of Your Majesty may be performed, We have exposed it at the High Throne of the thrice Happy, most Mysterious, and most Great Emperor, My Lord, Who with an Imperial regard of courteous Demonstration, hath accepted the said Demand with willingness, and therefore in signification of his Pleasure, We write You this Our present and friendly Letter; and if it please God, according to the ancient Custom, when the said Ambassador shall arrive at this High Port with the Letters of Friendship from Your Majesty, he shall be honoured on the Imperial part, and entertained according to the ordinary custom, the Imperial Capitulation shall be renewed, the Ornament of Affection on one side and the other shall be confirmed; and for an efficacious Confirmation of a good Peace between both Emperors, an Imperial Letter shall be sent to Your Majesty, whose health be happy and prosperous.

From the Imperial City of Constantinople.

The Poor Hamet Pasha.

The Vizier titles himself, The Poor, in respect to the Greatness of his Master.

In Answer to the Kings Letters, the Grand Signior made no reply, but only by his Vizier, by reason that in all the Ancient Turkish Registers and Archives, there was no example found, that the Grand signior ever wrote to any King, who had not an Ambassador actually resident at his Port. But this Negotiation about a French Ambassador took not effect, until some time after, in which other Letters and Messages intervened, as will appear by the following sequel of this History.

It was now towards the beginning of Winter, when the Season of the Year compelled the Turkish Fleet of Gallies to return according to custom, to the Port of Constantinople. The whole Summer before, they had for the most part passed in some Harbour or Creek amongst the Greek Islands, having afforded nothing of Convoy or succour to the safe Conduct of the Fleet of Grand Cairo, but suffered them to fall into the hands of the Enemy, as before mentioned, and indeed for several years the Marine Affairs of the Turks have always gone decaying in Fame and Force; and the preparations of the Armata every Spring, have been of Form and Course, rather than with hopes of success correspondent to the experience. In their return home, near Constantinople they encountered a fierce storm, so that three Gallies were cast away at Ponte Piccolo, (by the Turks called *Causcheckmaga*, about four Leagues distant from Constantinople). Howsoever the Weather clearing, the remainder of the Fleet got into Port, entering with Joy, with Volleys of great and small Shot, with Streamers flying, Pipes sounding, and all other sorts of their Country Musick, bringing with great Ostentation a small Flyboat, which had been a gorgeous Man of War, taken by them as they were cruising singly in the Archipelago of Pelago; which was brought in with so much Ceremony used in toasting her into Port, decking her with Streamers and Pendants, with such signs of Victory and Triumph, as if they had led Captive the whole Venetian Armata. But I must not omit the relation of what befel one of the Beghs Gallies, designed, with the rest, to rendezvous at Constantinople, whilst the bitered amongst small Isles in the Gulf of Neosada. It was Gally, the Commander of which had newly received as the Portion of his Wife, being a Young man lately married, who entertained great thoughts of raising his Fortunes by the spoils and prize he was to make. At these ill-fates several of the Officers, and several went on shore; where whilst they entertained themselves with Wine and merriment; the Slaves made an insurrection in the Gally, seized the Captain, cut off his Head, and threw his Body into the Sea; and so becoming Masters of the Vessel, weighed Anchor, and set sail. Those on the shore admiring at the unexpected departure of the Gally, accompanied her with their Eyes and wonder as far as they could perceive her in sight, but observing her to alter a different course from the Port, to which they were designed, suspected much of the truth of what had succeeded; wherefore taking their boats immediately, they hasted to Constantinople to give advice of what had passed, that (if possible) Orders might timely arrive the Gallies on the Hellespont, which might obstruct their farther passage. But alas! the poor Slaves were so dismayed with their own action, and so transported with a slavish fear and apprehension of what might succeed, should their escape not be effected; that they knew not what course to steer: All things seemed to contradict their liberty, the Wind proved contrary, their Spirits dejected, their understandings void of counsel and contrivance; so that wandering three or four days in the Propontis, at last ran their Gally ashore on the Asian side, near Palermus, from whence they were brought back to Constantinople, and there by sentence of the Captain Pasha, fourteen of them had their Legs and Arms broken, and so suffered to die in that torture, and afterwards their bodies were thrown into the

1662. The return of the Turkish Armata to winter at Constantinople.

The Slaves make an Insurrection in one of the Beghs Gallies.

* The Soldiers at Sea saluted by that name

1662 the Sea, to the terror of all other Slaves, who prefer a miserable Life at the Oar, before the torments of some hours in dying.

Though the *Turks* have their Affairs but ill managed at Sea, and their success accordingly fortunate; yet their preparation for Land services are more expedite, and executed with that fecerity and speed, that oftentimes Armies are brought into the Field, before it is so much as rumoured by common Mouths that any designs are in agitation: For though it was now Winter, yet the design against *Germany* went forward, Forces were daily sent to the Frontiers, Cannon, and Ammunition for War, transported by way of the black Sea, and the *Danube*. Orders issued out to the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* to repair their Wharfs and Keys along the River, for the more convenient landing of Men and Ammunition, and to rebuild their Bridges for the more commodious passage of the *Tartars*; that Horse should be provided against the next Spring, for drawing all Carriages of Ammunition, and Provisions; their Magazines stored with quantities of Bread, and Rice, their Fields well stocked with Sheep, and other Cattel, and that no necessities be wanting which concern the victualling, or sustentation of a Camp. The *Tartars* were appointed to have in a readiness a Hundred thousand Horses, men, and incursions on the Frontiers; likewise the *Pathlavs* of *Darbiquier*, *Allep*, *Caramania*, and *Anatolia* received their orders; and seven and twenty Letters, accompanied with as many Vests, after the *Turkish* manner, were sent to as many *Pathlavs* of the Empire, to dispose the strength of their Countries in a Warlike posture, so as to march when the Grand Signiors Commands should require them to attend his designs: And that the occasion of the War might appear the more justifiable, it was resolved, that no Acts of Hostility, or other Breaches of Peace should be pretended, than the Fort built by the Count *Serini*, being a matter really against the Articles of the last Peace; the Demolishment whereof, the *Ottoman* Force intended to make the principal end of their first Enterprize, in which if they encountered any opposition from the Emperor, the Cause of their War would be then the more plausible, for as yet the Emperor had not publicly declared his approbation of that Work, raised by *Serini*, as agreeable to his Assent, or Pleasure. On the other side with no less caution and labour did the Christians endeavour to secure their Frontiers, by raising their Militia, and reinforcing their Garrisons, and especially to perfect the new Fort near *Cansia*, which, as it was thought so considerable, as to countervail the inconveniences and miseries of a War, so the *Turks* thought it neither honourable nor secure, until he had seen it razed, and levelled with the ground.

All things thus growing black and stormy round about, that nothing seemed less probable, and it may be said, less possible, than an accommodation; behold, on a sudden, an Accident fell out at *Rome*, from whence this War with the *Turks* received its life and heat, which becalmed much of the fury and storm on the Christian Frontiers, and inclined matters in *Germany* towards propositions of Peace, fearing that *Italy*, who had begotten this War, was not able (as things stood) to contribute towards its maintenance and support. The occasion was this. It happened that in the streets of *Rome* the French Ambassadors Coach was assaulted by the Corsi Natives of the Isle of *Corfica*, which are of the Popes Guard, the Page killed at the Boot of the Coach,

1662 and the Ambassadors Lady wounded; whether this barbarous Act was designed against the Person of the Ambassador by any Persons of Eminency, or malice of the People, is little to the purpose I have now in hand; only the King took this Affront too heinously, that for the present no acknowledgments or satisfaction the Pope could make, could allay his just resentment, or any thing be imagined possible to expiate this indignity, besides a VV. This News of this Division between the Son, and the spiritual Father, filled all the Ministers of *Constantinople* with much Joy, and with subject of Laughter, and expectation of the Event, judging now that their daily Prayers for the Discord of the Christian Princes amongst themselves, were heard and granted, since they had so far availed, as to diuturne the very Oecumony of Christendom. And now they imagined that this difference would have a forcible influence on their Affairs in *Hungary*, and either incline the Emperor speedily to a Peace, or otherwise to undertake a War on disadvantageous terms. Things had an issue accordingly, for in a few Weeks after, advice came by Post from *Ali Pasha*, then at *Temiswar*, that is *Salam-Chaoui*, called *Chusein*, who had long since been sent to *Vienna*, with more distinct Demands of what the *Turks* proposed, and being supposed, through his long stay, to be detained a Prisoner, was again returned, and with him had brought the Baron of *Goez*, as Intercuncio, sent to *Ali Pasha*, to receive a more particular Information of the *Turks* propositions, for that the Emperor pretended, he was not as yet thoroughly satisfied therein. And thus matters, beyond all expectation, began to incline to an agreement, in regard that *Rome* being now in danger her self, not by the *Turks*, but by the Christians, held her self unable to administer that Fuel to the Fire of War which she had promised; so that the League treated there beginning to fail, the Emperor grew faint, and the Princes cold, in their Preparations, wishing some Course could be effected, which might bring matters to an accommodation. Such were the Discourses and imaginations of the *Turks*; in which condition we leave the state of Affairs until the beginning of the next year; and in the mean time it may not be from our purpose, nor tedious to the Reader, to record what befel this year most remarkable to the *English* Nation, and their Trade in *Turkey*, which also may be beneficial, by instruction of past examples, to such who shall for the future be concerned in the Traffick and Business of the Levant.

What Remarkable accidents befel the ENGLISH Nation, and their Trade this Year in TURKEY.

THE Messengers from *Algier*, as before related, having promised better Obedience for the future to the Commands of the Grand Signior, obtained a new *Patha* for their City, and Country thereto belonging; and before his departure, was enjoyed by the Grand Signior to dispose of the same with the Earl of *Winchelsea*, his Majesties Ambassador at *Constantinople*, as might demonstrate his dispositions towards a Peace, and his desire that the *Algerines* should do the like, and accept of that Clause in the Articles,

The Baron of Goez sent to Ali Pasha.

1662 prohibiting the search of *English* Ships, either for their own or Strangers Goods. The place appointed for the meeting between the Ambassador and the *Patha*, was a certain Chiosk, or Garden house, below to an Eunuch, the *Agas* of a Seraglio at *Pera*; where both parties being met, the *Patha* declared that the Grand Signiors desires were, That a Peace should be concluded on the Ancient Capitulations, and that by him these Orders were to be carried unto *Algier*, from whence he was advised, that the *Algerines* were ready to accept those Articles, if one of his Majesties Ships singly appeared about the Treaty; so that the World might not esteem their concession to proceed from *Force* and Compulsion. Henceforth Advice being sent into *England*, a Peace ensued in some Months after; but what faith these Infidels kept will be related in the Sequel of this Story; the Memory of which is engraven with the Point of a Diamond, and the Losses which ensued thereupon to the Exchange at *London*, deserve a particular Treatise, which in the mean time many Families retain a sad remembrance.

In *May*, Advice was brought to the Lord Ambassador, how that the *Anda*, a Frigate of his Majesties Royal Navy, commanded by Captain *Jonat Symna*, in her passage homewards stopped at the *Mores*, and came to an Anchor near a place in that Country, called the Black Mountain, commodious to Wood and Water in; to which end were landed three score men, armed with Swords and Firelocks; these made havock of the Woods on all sides, casting their Boats away as fast as they could, and not only so, but fired at *Tez* on Fire, which in that dry Season of the Year dispersed it self far and wide; which being seen at a distance in the Night, alarmed the People of the Country, so that the Begh; or Governor came down with some Force to discover the matter, supposing that some *Mulistes*, or *Venizians* might be landed. At the approach of this Body of *Turks*, our Men quitted the Woods, and shifted away as fast as they could to their ships, of which Thirty eight escaped, the rest falling short were intercepted by the *Turks*, and Eleven of them were killed, and Eleven taken Captives; and of the *Turks*, two *Agas*, and Two or Three others had the fortune to fall by some Musket-shot from our men, whilst in this confusion they endeavoured to defend themselves. On the news hereof, our Lord Ambassador represented the whole matter to the Vizier, declaring, That it was lawful according to our Capitulations, to take refreshments, and supply our wants in any part of the Grand Signiors Dominions; and that therefore he demanded Justice on the Begh of the *Mores*, and restitution of the Captives. But the Vizier understanding that some *Turks* were killed in the skirmish, lent not so ready an ear to these Complaints; howsoever, to be acquitted of the Ambassadors solicitations, referred the business to the Examination and Justice of the Captain *Patha*; but it falling out that at that time the Consul and Merchants at *Smyrna* had an unhappy difference with the Captain *Patha*, (which still in the next place be related) was the Cause that all Applications to his Favour and Justice were suspended, and a slow progress made towards obtaining the liberty of those poor unfortunate men. Howsoever, some months after it happened that the Begh of the *Mores* being removed from that Government, and coming to *Constantinople* with his whole Estate, brought with him the Eleven *Englishmen*, which

he had taken, and offered them to sale unto the Ambassador, who considering that they were *Englishmen*, and such as had been enlisted in actual Service of their King, he esteemed himself obliged both in Charity and Honour to redeem them. But the Cause appeared too foul to demand their Liberty by strength of the Capitulations; for besides that, the cutting Wood in places inhabited without permission, is a Robbery and a Crime in its self, not to be maintained by the Law of Nations, the killing of a principal *Agas*, and wounding others, might sufficiently warrant the *Turks*, without any Breach of Peace, to detain these men as lawful Captives: Wherefore the Lord Ambassador deeming it unfeeling, that those who had served in his Majesties Navy should be condemned to the *Turkish* Gallies, distributed Fourteen hundred Lion Dollars, which was demanded for them, which was afterwards repaid him by his Majesty, and having clothed, and provided them with necessities for their Voyage, conveyed them with the first occasions into *England*.

The difference between the *English* Nation and the Captain *Patha* which impeded the Liberty, for some time, of these Captives, had its Original at *Smyrna*, where some *English* Merchants making Collation one Evening in a Garden, were assaulted and beaten by certain drunken *Levents*, belonging to a Gally then in Port, in whose Company was a *Portuguese* Slave. The News hereof flying to the Frank Street, put all the Neighbourhood into an uproar, so that divers People with such Weapons as came next to hand, in a fury went in pursuit of the *Levents*, and unhappily meeting one, drew him into the *English* Consuls house, where they treated him with such blows as abated much of the heat and fumes of his Wine; during which disturbance and confusion, the *Portuguese* Slave found an opportunity to make his escape. The Consul knowing it some advantage in *Turky* to complain first, sent to the *Kadi*, giving him to understand the ill usage of Four of his Merchants (whose names he gave in writing) by the unruly *Levents*, whilst they innocently, and without injury to any, diversified themselves in a Garden; to which, for the present, little more was given in answer, than that on a farther examination of the Business, the Consul should receive Justice. In the mean time the *Turk*, who had been beaten in the Consuls House, resolved not to leave the Gate till he had received satisfaction for his blows; and the others that were his Companions demanded their Slave from the *English*, which was lost, by whose means and assistance (as they pretend) he had made his Escape. The matter came now to high Demands on both sides, which the *Kadi*, either not being desirous, or not of sufficient Authority to compound, the Gally departed without any agreement, and the complaint was carried by the *Turks* to the Captain *Patha*, who then being with his Fleet at *Mytilene*, with little other thoughts or business, was glad of this occasion to get Money, and therefore suddenly returned the Gally again, with Orders to bring before him the Four Merchants, whose names he particularized, to make answer to their accusation of having beaten his *Levents*, and contrived the escape of the slave. The Consul and Merchants being afflicted by this Message, and Command of to great a Personage, endeavoured with Money to accommodate the Business, by force of which it was at length taken up, costing in all the sums of Two thousand seven hundred Dollars, or thereabouts. The which passage

* Soldiers belonging to the Sea The Garden Avania.

1662. may serve for an example to such as live in *Turky*, that all troubles of this nature are best compounded for at first; for at the beginning nothing more was demanded than the price of the Slave, &c. of the broken pate of the Levant: But being suffered to come under the Cognizance of powerful and covetous Tyrants; as there is no fathoming their unfatiable desires, & no prospect into what inconvenient dangers such Affairs will involve, and entangle themselves.

As *Turky* hath been seldom or never without having false Money current, so the best sort of Silver hath been so clipped by the Jews, *Armenians*, Merchants, and others; that the Dollar was brought at *Constantinople* to six Drams, and at *Smyrna* to seven, which made great confusion in the Trade of these Countries. Wherefore the Vizier as he had already given proof and testimony to the World of his strict observance, and adherence to the *Mahometan* Law, so he was desirous to appear highly careful and sensible of the Publick Interest: And therefore as the most necessary work he began with the Dollars of six Drams, proclaiming that they should no longer pass in payments, and that those in whose hands they were found, delivering them into the Mint, should receive 8 s. in return of every such Dollar, by which means the Mint would advance a Fourth on every Dollar, esteeming every Dram worth Fourteen Aspers, and that for the present no Dollar being current under seven Drams, it might afterwards be brought to Lyons, and Dollars in nine Drams; which regulation, though at first grievous to some particular persons, would afterwards redound to the common advantage and benefit of Trade. To perform which Design, the Grand Signior, and Queen Mother sent all their Dollars of six Drams to be new coined into Aspers at the Mint, so likewise did the Vizier, intending to be very strict in prohibition of that Money. But a while after it happened that the Treasurer of the Viziers Steward having occasion to pay Monies, either for his own or his Masters account, forced some Bags of Six Drams on those to whom payment was to be made; the Receivers denied to accept them; but he being a powerful man, and very urgent, forced the Money upon them, with which laden, as they had received them, they went directly to the Vizier, acquainting him that they were desirous to obey his Commands, as to the six Dram Dollars, but his Stewards Treasurer had forced on them that sort of Money, which it was his pleasure that they should still pay, they were contented to receive; if not, they desired him to give Command for their payment in other Money. The Vizier being highly enraged, that the first Violation of his Commands should begin in his own Family, immediately ordered, without farther proof or process, that the Offenders Head should be struck off, and his body thrown into the Sea; which Sentence was executed in the same hour for example and terror of others, and to expiate the crime, and take away the scandal from the Fountain of Justice, whose streams can never be esteemed to run clear when the source is corrupted. In like manner the Overseer of the Mint was strangled, and *Emir* Pasha, formerly Pasha of Grand *Cairo*, was banished to the Isle of *Lenxos*, for making the Coin of Aspers 5 per Cent. worse than their true value.

The Merchants at *Alleppe*, being far from the Court, are more subject to troublesome Avants than others, who are nearer to the Head or Fountain, from whence Justice should proceed, as may appear by many examples,

and particularly by an accident which fell out there this year. For it happened, that a Janiary which served the *English* Nation, riding abroad with some of the Merchants, for want of heed, or the unruliness of his Horse, chanced to hurt a Youth playing in the streets. Whereupon the Merchants, and the Janiary, not to suffer this business to come within the knowledge of the Cities Officers, immediately for some Money quiered the complaints, and stopped the farther demands of the Father; and to make the business more secure, caused the Father to make Hogen before the *Kadi*, that he was well satisfied, and remained without farther pretence, either on the Merchant, or the Janiary for the hurt which his Child had received. But the Pasha, who had for a long time attentively watched an opportunity to exert Money from the *English*, was resolved not to let pass this fair occasion; and therefore sent to demand from the Consul those Merchants, which he called Accessories to this mischief, and the Assassins of a *Mufulman*. The Consul appearing in Person before the Pasha, denied to deliver up the Merchants, being guilty of any crime; and that for hurt to the Child, the Father had received full satisfaction from the Janiary, and gave a discharge before the *Kadi*. However this reason would not pacify the Pasha, who could acknowledge no other argument available than a Sum of Money; and therefore in prosecution of his design produced Ten false Witnesses, that the Child was dead of his hurt, and that *English* men had done the mischief. The Consul had now no other answer than a flat denial; for the Pasha had forced by threats the Hogen from the Janiary, and perfiting with confidancy in defence of his Merchants, the Pasha confined him for an hours time in a Chamber of his House, and beat, and imprisoned his Druggerman. The Consul afterwards returned home; and perceiving a difference between the Pasha and the Mufi, purchased the favour of the Multi on his side, and procured from him an Hogen of the several proceedings in this business, which was dispatched away with all expedition to *Constantinople*, that a redress of this injury might be obtained from the Superior Power. Whilst the Lord Ambassador in due manner related this breach of Capitulations, and prepared to make his complaints to the Vizier, it happened that certain Christians of *Alleppe*, from whom the Pasha had forced 18000 Dollars by unjust extortion, were then at Court following the restitution of their right. The Ambassador judging this a convenient and opportune preparation to prepossess the mind of the Vizier with a true apprehension of the injustice of this Pasha, encouraged and pricked forward these abused and oppressed Christians in their complaints; and the next day presented his Memorial to the Vizier, containing all the particulars of the late passages at *Alleppe*. Which with the other Crimes alleged the Day before, moved the mind of the Vizier, that he promised the Ambassador to send a Kapugibasshee of the Grand Signior to enquire into the Truth of these Allegations; and that he might be satisfied of his real intentions to do him justice, he advised him to send a Messenger in company with this Officer, who might witness the reality of his proceedings. The Kapugibasshee being in this manner dispatched, and arriving at *Alleppe*, made the Pasha return the Money he had unjustly taken from the poor oppressed Christians of that Country; in which good action my Lord Ambassador had been an useful instrument, having encouraged the Agents

of those Christians at *Constantinople*, counselled them what Course to take, and introduced them by his Chief Interpreter to the Presence of the Vizier, for which he received the thanks of the *Greek* and *Armenian* Patriarchs, who gratefully acknowledged to the *English* Consul at *Alleppe* how much they were engaged to the charity and favour of the *English* Ambassador: But whilst all mens eyes were in expectation what farther proceedings were designed against the Pasha in favour of the *English*, the Officer denied to have received any instructions therein, and so returned to *Constantinople* without taking notice of the *English* Consuls Concern. The Ambassador judging himself herein slighted, sent to the Viziers Kahya to know the mystery of this neglect; for the Vizier and himself having pawned his word and promises to do him justice against the Pasha of *Alleppe*, it seemed strange that his assurances should vanish into nothing; and that he so meanly esteemed his Quality and Office, as to disparage it with so much diffidence and contempt as must necessarily befall him, should this Pasha escape without exemplary punishment; for then the World might with reason believe his Applications of no prevalence, and his Merchants fear the insufficiency of his protection. To which the Kahya answered, That it was true, that the Kapugibasshee was not instructed in the Concernments of the *English*, in regard a more solemn and eminent piece of Justice was designed for the Ambassador, than any that could be performed by the Kapugibasshee, and that in twenty or thirty days at farthest, the Pasha should be deprived of his Office. The next day following the Kahya advised that the Hattenessiff, or Imperial Command for deposing of the Pasha, was signed, and that old *Mahomet* Pasha of *Darbiquier* was constituted in his place; which News was highly pleasing to the Lord Ambassador, in regard he had been an ancient Friend to the *English*, under whom he prefiged to our Nation at *Alleppe* all security and contentment. By which Story it is observable, That though the Supream Officers amongst the *Turks* are willing to satisfy Christian Ambassadors resident with them, in the Care they have of their Welfare, and maintenance of their Capitulations; yet are not desirous to publish to their own People the punishment of their bad Officers, at the indignity or for the concernment of a Christian. And that tho the *Turks* are apprehended amongst us for a People of great Morality, and singleness in their Dealings; yet it is observable in this, as well as in other their actions, that they have double Tongues and Faces, and know how to act with as fine a Thread, and plausible pretences, as are accustomed in the most politick and refined Courts of *Italy*.

Anno Christi 1663. Hegira 1074.

THE Baron of *Goez*, which at the end of the last Year arrived at *Buda* with several overtures of Peace, had so far proceeded in his Treaty with *Ali* Pasha of *Buda*, that all Articles seemed almost concluded, and scarce any difficulty to remain, unless the Surrender of *Zekel* by on the Confines of *Hungary*, which also was afterwards accommodated by Agreement. That the City should be resigned into the hands of the Prince of *Transylvania*, as the most equal Condition between the Emperor and the *Turk*. So that, matters thus seeming to be composed, all People talked of Peace with *Germany*, and that the force and miseries of War were to be turned

upon *Dalmatia*: And though the *Turks* had no design left in their thoughts than this, or any intentions towards a Peace, as will be proved by the Sequel; howsoever, the *German* Ministers, as men credulous of what they desire, gave the Peace for certainly concluded; in which conceit the *Turks* fo humoured and indulged their fancy, that they periwaded Prince *Portia*, the Chief Minister of State to the Emperor, in that manner of the reality of their intentions, that he neglected the necessary Provisions and Preparations of War. And though he was often advised by the Resident at the *Ottoman* Court, that all these Demonstrations of Peace were only Artifices of the *Turks*, to delude the Emperors Council; yet with so tenacious was he of this Opinion, that though it be but common reason, and the vulgar Rule of Policy for a Prince to arm, and suspect his Neighbour, who puts himself into a Warlike posture; yet this Great Personage, though in other things profoundly wise, and circumspect, was so deluded, that he replied to the Residents Advice to this effect, That it was the Office of a prudent and experienced Minister to discover with diligence the resolution of the Cabinet Councils of Princes, and not to give ear or credit to what is the common Voice or vogue of the Vulgar.

The Spring drawing near, the Vizier prepared all things for action, nominating and appointing such, who in his absence were to supply the Offices of State: *Mustapha* Pasha, then Pasha of *Buda*, was designed for *Chimacem*, or Governor of *Constantinople*, and *Adolphus* Pasha, Captain Pasha, Brother in Law to the Grand Vizier by Marriage of his Sister (and now the present Vizier) was made *Chimacem* at *Adrianople*, near the Person of the Grand Signior. All other preparations for War went forwards, Thirty pieces of Cannon from *Sentari*, and fifty from the Seraglio, most of a vast bigness and weight, which had served in the taking of *Buda*, with great store of Ammunition and Provisions of War, were transported up the *Danube* to *Belgrade*, and the Princes of *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, had now Commands sent them to quicken their diligence in making their preparations of War, and in providing Sheep, Beef, Rice, and all sorts of Victuals for supply of the Camp; and general Proclamation was made in all places, That all Soldiers, who received one Month of pay from the Gr. Signior, were to prepare themselves for War.

About the middle of February the Horse Tail was set forth at the Viziers Gate; (which is the usual signal of the Camps motion within the space of a Month) so that none may excuse himself from the War for want of due and timely intimation. And though the time for departure nearly approached, yet the Grand Signior was so impatient, that he would scarce expect until the Equinoctial, which was the time formerly appointed and published for this expedition; resolving sometimes to proceed before, and leave the Vizier to follow him, letting fall words of ten, That such as loved and honoured him would keep him company. But this hasty resolution, and eager desire of his Journey, the Vizier, Musti, and others of his Counsellors, did moderate, periwading him to a little longer patience: To which, though with some difficulty, he assented; yet he could not forbear from his Horrific back, and constant exercises abroad, nor could he be induced to take one Nights repose longer in his Great Seraglio at *Constantinople*, but lodged at *Daout* Pasha, a small Palace about four miles distant from *Constantinople*. Which extravagant manner of living most People attri-

The *Turks* with words deceive the *German* Ministers.

The Gr. Signior impatient to leave *Constantinople*.

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The Equinoctial being come, the Grand Signior would not have one days longer patience; for though the Season was wet and rainy, yet the Tents were pitched, and though the Wind was so violent and forcible as overruled almost the whole Camp, yet no difficulties and inconveniences of Weather could give one hour of intermission to the Sultans desires: Wherefore on the Ninth of this Month, the Grand Signior departed from *Constantinople*, attended with his Court, his principal Officers of State, and with what part of his Army was then in readiness for march. The magnificence of the show they made, was according to the usual Solemnity, yet worthy the fight of a Stranger, and perhaps not incurious to the Reader in its Relation.

First, marched with a singular Gravity, the several and distinct Orders of Civil and Military Officers in their proper Habits and Equipages, the sardines in their wild dress followed by the Emirs, or such as are of the Kindred of their false Prophet; the Great Vizier and Multi rode in rank together, the Vizier on the left hand, the most honourable place amongst the Soldiery, being the side to which the Sword is girt, as the right is of greatest esteem amongst such as are of the Law, being that hand which guides the Pen: The Trappings of the Viziers Horses were plated with Gold, and before him were carried three Horse-tails, called in *Turkish* (*Tugh*), and behind him came about Three hundred and fifty Pages, all Young men well mounted, and armed with Jacks and Coats of Mail: Next followed the Millions of the Court, or Seraglio, (*etc.*) the Paiks with Caps of beaten Gold, and embroidered Coats, the Solacks with Feathers, armed with Bows and Arrows: these two last are of the highest degree of Lacqueys, which more nearly attend the Person of the Grand Signior; these were followed by Nine led Hories of the Grand Signior, richly adorned with precious Stones, and Jewellers all covered with Jewels of an unknown value. Immediately before the Person of the Grand Signior was led a Camel carrying the Alcoran in a Chest covered with cloth of Gold: The Grand Signior himself was clothed in a Vest of cloth of gold lined with sable incomparably black, held up from the sides of his Horse by four Pages; his Person was filled with great numbers of Eunuks, and Pages with long red Caps wrought with Gold about the head, carrying Lances and Mails, with two Locks, one on each side of their Head, which are worn by such only as are of the Royal Chamber: After these crowded great numbers of Servants, with the chief Comp. of Spahes, commanded by the *Soldier Aga*, in number about 18000. And in this manner and order they marched to their Tents.

The Tents were raised on a small Hill as may be judged about Four Miles distant from *Constantinople*, and about Two Thousand in number ranged at that time without order, only the Grand Signior's seemed to be in the midst, and to over-top all the rest, well worthy observation, costing (as was reported) One hundred and eighty thousand Dollars, richly embroidered in the inside with Gold, and supported by Pillars plated with Gold. Within the Walls of this Tent (as I may so call them) were all sorts of Offices belonging to the Seraglio, all Retirements and Apartments for the Pages, *Blindes* or Summer-houses for pleasures; and though I could not get admittance to view the innermost Rooms and Chambers, yet by the outward and more common places of resort, I could make a guess at the riches and greatness of the rest, being sumptuous beyond comparison of any in use amongst the Christian Princes. On the right hand thereof was pitched the Grand Viziers Tent, exceedingly rich and lofty; and had I not seen that of the Sultans before it, I should have judged it the best that my eyes had seen. The ostentation and magnificence of this Empire being evidenced in nothing more than in the riches of their Pavilions, sumptuous beyond the fixed Palaces of Princes, erected with Marble and Mortar.

On the Sixteenth of this Month the *Aga* of the Janiaries first raised his Tents, and began his march; the next day followed the Grand Signior, Vizier, and other Officers, and Spahes. At which time all *Asia* was full of Soldiers flocking from all parts of the East, as from *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, *Arabia*, *Ercirum*, and *Babylon*: So that for a long time Boats and Arks were continually employed to ferry the Soldiery from *Savast* in to *Europe*: And the High-ways, Villages, and all parts of the Road towards *Adrianople* were filled with Soldiers, as if all *Asia* had issued out to devour and inhabit the *German* Possessions. And for greater expedition in the march of the Army, Proclamation was made of a general Rendezvous at *Sophia* at the *Birim*, then within Three weeks time, where they designed to foil their Horse, and refresh themselves before they fell in earnest to their business. But before the Grand Vizier departed from *Adrianople* to prosecute a War in *Hungary* against the Emperor, he called Signior *Ballarino* to his presence, as if he would treat with him of matters tending to an adjustment with *Venice*; when at the same time he had 30000 men in a readiness at *Scutari* to march into *Dalmatia*, and to join with other Forces in *Bosnia* and *Croatia*; but this diffimulation and appearance of Treaty served only to discover on what Terms a Peace might be obtained, in case Affairs in *Hungary* should be so pressing as to require an application solely of Arms to that Country.

Not only had Signior *Ballarino* Affairs of publick trouble, but likewise something touched him of private concernment in his own Family; where the *Turks*, I know not upon what information coming to search, found in his House two figures, one of a man, and the other of a woman made of Linen cloth, stuffed with Wool and Cotton; which were interpreted by the *Turks* to be Images of Sorcery and Inchantment; one representing the Grand Signior, and the other his Mother, were designed in a secret manner, by thrusting Needles and Pins into those parts, where the Heart and Liver is, so cause those others they represent to dye with mace and confusion, according to the Inchantment of *Medea*. In fear urged *acc.* And this suspicion was

The riches of *Turkish* Tents. In *Turkish* Persia.

The *Turks* begin their March.

* The *Turks* Fight.

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was augmented by the reports of the Neighbourhood, who hearing the Priests often read his Litany, and sing Evening-song, avouched that they constantly over-heard the Charms muttered in such forms as are used by Magicians and Sorcerers: Wherefore designing to take the Priest, who was the Father Provincial of St. Francis, and punish him for his Witchcraft, the good man, un-til Signior *Ballarino* could quiet the minds of the *Turks* by some Art, which he more forcibly practised upon them by a stronger charm of Money and Presents than that which was the subject of their complaint.

In the mean time all fears and dangers of *Canada* vanished, because the *Turks* bent their Forces and chief of their strength against their Enemies at Land: To provide against which, the Senate of *Venice* sent into *Dalmatia* the Baron *Spaar* for General, with many other Officers under him, namely the Marquess *Masculani*, Count *Estre Alban*, *Carlo Marimingo*, and *Roverelli*, Count of *Caudes*, the Cavalier *Grimaldi*, *Ebenfels*, and others. Into *Friuli*, *Francisco Morosini* was dispatched in quality of Protector General, with supreme Power and Authority, and in this manner all matters were as well provided and secured by Land, as they were by Sea.

The *Birim* elapsed to happen out this Year towards the end of *April*, by which time the Vizier, and most of his Army, assembled according to Proclamation at *Sophia*, where having continued some time, and consulted well in what manner to put their designs in execution, they proceeded in their March towards *Buda*, and the Confines of *Hungary*; but in the way the Vizier was encountered by a Messenger from the Emperor, offering all reasonable Propositions of Peace, if possibly a stop might be given to the farther progress of that vast and formidable Army. All matters were proposed which probably might give satisfaction; the Fort of Count *Serini* (the grand Eye-ore of the *Turks*) was proffered to be demolished, with other Conditions which before the March of the Army were never proposed or demanded. But the Vizier gave little ear to their fair Overtures, but proceeded forwards in his Demands, as he did in his March: Requiring now, not the demolition of the Fort, but the Surrender of it entirely with all the Strength, Artillery, and Ammunition into the hands of the Grand Signior. Had this condition been granted, it is probable the desires and intentions of the *Turks* would not have stopped here, but have risen, as the spirits of their Enemies had confederated, and exceeded all the hopes and advantage which they imagined probable and feasible to be obtained by the War. Wherefore this Message proving fruitless, the Bringer of it was peremptory Licence to return into *Germany*: But the Resident was refused dismissal, being detained in the *Turkish* Camp, as an Instrument to mediate a Peace, when both sides should grow weary of the War.

About this time the *Tartars* were greatly infiltrated by the Cossacks, who were then very bold and strong, appearing near the City of *Opoczno*, the Key and chief Fort of *Tartary*, and the Command of a Fisherman of the *Borzhom*, who having had great successes, and collected a considerable sum of Money, became a dangerous Enemy: By Sea also they commanded absolutely, rowing unconrolled, having a Fleet of Saykes and Gallies near an hundred and fifty Sail, against whom the *Tartar* Han or King of *Tartary* graved

The Cossacks visit the *Tartar*.

of the Grand Signior forty fall of Gallies that year to oppose them. But this Force of the Cossacks was soon abated; for it pleased God, that passing out of the *Palus Martia* through the narrow passage of *Celebo* into the Black Sea, the best part of this Fleet suffered shipwreck; which they were so dismayed, that the twelve fall of Gallies (which was the whole Force the *Turks* could spare this year for that Sea) gave a check to the remainder, and forced them again to the Banks of the *Borzhom*. The rest of the *Turkish* Fleet, consisting together with the Beys Gallies, in all but of thirty Sail, depended from *Constantinople*, with design rather to make some appearance of a Fleet, and a noise amongst their own people, and collect the Contributions of the Isles in the *Archipelago*, than out of hopes of effecting anything against the *Venitians*; and so it succeeded; for this Fleet remained the whole Summer at *Mylene*, not daring to appear abroad for fear of the Enemy.

Though the *Tartars* were so hardly beset by the Cossacks, yet their danger at home was not a sufficient excuse to disengage them from their alliance in the War of *Hungary*. For the Vizier, marching towards the Frontiers, sent one Messenger after the other to haften the *Tartar* Han with all speed possible to the Wars. But the *Tartars* seeming not so willing, or so ready as the *Turks* expected, more positive commands, and severe threats, were dispatched than before, that with all the excuse or delays, they should with all the Force of the Country attend in this present War against the Emperor, or otherwise the *Tartar* Han was to be deprived of his Government, and his Son constituted in his place. These severe menaces reduced the *Tartar* to great straits; fearful he was to displease the Sultan, not knowing what all consequences might proceed from thence; but more apprehensive of the approaches of the Cossacks, and of the displeasure of his own People, who were resolved to see this fire of War extinguished in their own homes, before they would attend the designs, or forsake the Lufts of a stranger Prince. In this Dilemma the *Tartar* Han finding himself made use of fair words and promises, engaging his word. That after the harvest was past, no obstacle should prevent his compliance with the Sultans expectations; for at present it was impossible, in regard that should their People at this season be diverted from gathering the harvest, the Corn and Fruit would remain the ground, and so occasion a Famine and destruction of their Country. And herein the *Tartar* had some reason; for these People are not to the Wars, as other Nations, who leave a sufficient number behind to cultivate their Country, and perform all other Offices and Employments in a Common-wealth: But these making their chief livelihood and subsistence on the prey and robberies they make on the *German* Marches, as so relieve to eat Bread and live, who are men old or impotent, able to bear Arms, betake themselves to their Horse and Bow to that when their Army is abroad, their Towns and Villages are only inhabited, and defended by their Women. But the *Turks* whole desires are never satisfied with seasons; or with food by words, or with any thing besides the execution of his Commands, dispatched another Message more full of threats and resolution than formerly, carried by the Emperor, or Master of the G. Signiors Horse, menacing nothing but Fire, and Sword, and Destruction to the *Han* and his Country, if he longer delayed to perform his Duty. But by this time the

The *Tartar* unwilling to go to the War.

The course of life amongst the *Tartars*.

They are threatened again.

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the Harvest being almost gathered, and their fears against the Cossacks partly extinguished, the *Tatars* promised with all expedition an Army of Seventy Thousand men, under the Conduct of the Prince his eldest Son, who whilst they were pursuing themselves in order, and assembling for the War; reports were murmured, as if the *Turks* were in a Treaty of Peace with the Emperor, and matters in a fair likelihood of compromise: At this news the common Soldiers amongst the *Tatars* were not a little startled, fearing that they who are free Booters, and have no other pay than their purchase, should by such a Treaty be forced to return empty; and therefore before they would proceed, sent to advise the Sultan of these their fears; supplicating him, that if he should think fit to conclude a Peace, and so oblige them to return into their own Country, that he would not take into their march home, they should make themselves good upon his Subjects of *Adonia* and *Valachia*, whose persons and Estates they resolved to carry with them, as a just prey and recompence for their loss of time and labour. The Sultan who sets a small value on the Lives and Estates of his Christian Subjects, judged this Proposition but reasonable, so long as upon these terms he might obtain the benefit of the *Tatars* alliance, who are the best Horse for forage, desert, and make desolate a Country.

The Story of Afan Aga the Mofapp or Favourite, and other instances of the uncertainty of the Turkish Riches, and Glory

THE Great Vizier being by this time arrived on the Frontiers with a very considerable Army; the G. Signior at *Adrianople*, throwing of his usual pleasures in Hunting, Rippes and sports of this nature; at which time calling his Eyes upon one *Afan* Aga, a sprightly youth of his Seraglio, a *Polonian* by Nation, to be more forward and active than any of his Courts took an affection to him, so fudden and violent, as might be judged neither well founded, nor long durable, for the Grand Signior having heard, that there were examples amongst the Emperors his Predecessors, not only in the absence, but in the presence also of the Vizier, of maintaining and constituting a Favourite, in Turkish called *Mofapp*, did open publicly the Election of this person for his Friend and Companion; so that this Minion was on a sudden so highly ingratiated in the favour of his Prince, that he always rode equal with him; Cloathed as rich, and mounted as well, as the Sultan himself, as if he had been his Coadjutor, or Companion in the Empire. The Queen Mother, the *Kazier* Aga, and other rich Eunuchs of the Seraglio, the Chief macearms of *Adrianople*, and *Constantinople*, with all the Great Officers and principal Ministers, were commanded to make Presents of Money, Jewels, and other Sacriees to this rising Sun; whom now every one so courted and adored, that he became the only talk and admiration of the whole Town; no other discourse there was, but of *Afan Chelabeh*, *Afan* the fine accomplished Gentleman, *Afan* the only Creature of Fortune, and idol of the whole

World. This high and sudden promotion of this Youth, greatly displeased the Queen Mother, *Kazier* Aga, who had Creatures of their own to prefer, and by their means became the Envy and Emulation of the whole Court, so that there wanted not such who posted the news to the Vizier, as him, on whom the growing greatness of *Afan* might have the most dangerous reflection: But the Vizier duly considering, that the deep impressions this Youth had made in the affections of his Master, were not to be removed by plain dealing, but by some more occult Artifice and dissimulation, took occasion to write to the Grand Signior, in favour of *Afan* Aga, extolling the prudence of his choice of so compleat and hopeful a Youth for his Favourite; but that it was pity, so pregnant parts as those with which *Afan* was endued, fit to promote his Masters Service and Interest, should be Encliostr'd, and Buried in the softness and delights of his Seraglio; and therefore his Council was, to have him preferred to some of the Offices of the Court, to which his Abilities and Education, in the Nurseries and Discipline of the Court, had abundantly accomplished him. *Puffinham* genus inimitabile, laudante, *Tucius*. Nor were the Queen Mother, and *Kazier* Aga, all this time wanting in their contrivance to undermine him, but not with a design (upon with his fine a Thread, professing themselves openly his Adversaries: For which Courtly Volney, the Vizier only received a check, and some few verbal reproaches, for intermeddling with what so nearly concerned his Masters Fancy and Affection: But the *Kazier* Aga, was by one word from *Afan* (whom he had discovered to be his Enemy) deprived of his Office, and had therewith lost his Life; had not the Queen Mother powerfully interceded for him, and gained an exchange of his punishment from death to banishment in Grand Cairo in Egypt. The *Balaghabee* also (who is the Captain of that part of the Grand Signiors Guard, who carry Hatchets, and are employed in cutting Wood for the use of the Seraglio) being discovered to be a Confederate in the same Plot against the Favourite, was condemned to the same punishment, and immediately both of them dispersed away to the place, where they were to spend the remainder of their days. Grand Cairo hath always been the place of Banishment for unfortunate Courtiers, or rather of such who have with much greatness, plenty, and contentment sometimes enjoyed the Fruit of their great Riches, gained in the Sunshine and summer of their Princes favour. To this City also was this *Kazier* Aga exiled, who in the enjoyment of his Office for several years, had amassed a most vast Wealth, incredible to be spoken, and much to be wondered, that a Negro, whose hue and person is contemptible amongst all, whom God hath created of a Colour different from those who partake more of Light, and are of nearer similitude with the Sun, and Nature of an Angel; one whose Origins was a Slave, and his price never above a Hundred Pieces of Eight, should be loaded with such Goodies of Fortune, and enriched with the Treasury of a Prince: His Retinue consisted of about 900 Horses (besides Camels, and Mules for his Baggage) amongst which a Hundred were led Horses, worth Seven or eight hundred Dollars a Horse, and which he might still seem to live by his Princes Bounty, a thousand Aspers a day was to be his constant pay, to be issued out of the G. Signiors Revenue in Egypt; by which we may in part calculate the greatness of this Empire, when so vast Riches is accounted but a reasonable proportion for so vile and mean

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mean a Slave: Howsoever the Grand Signiors Treasury suffers little hereby, for this wealth and pomp is but lent him to keep, and look on; he is incapable to make a Testament, or constitute an Heir; the Grand Signior himself succeeding to all the Estate he hath given him, and the improvement of it. This Negro being proceeded as far as to *Constantinople*, had his Companion the *Balaghabee*, recalled from him with design to be put to Death, but afterwards by mediation of some powerful Friends, who took advantage of the gentle and benign humour of the Sultan, his pardon was obtained, and he preferred to a small * Pashalik in the latter *Afan*. Howsoever the Eunuch proceeded in his Journey to Grand Cairo, where being arrived, after three Days, was by the Imperial Command stripe of all his wealth and greatness, which amounted unto Two Millions of Dollars, to be retired again to their first Master, who uses to lend his Slaves such gaieties and Ornaments, only to afford the World occasion to see and admire the vastness of his Wealth, and contemplate the vanity and unconstancy of Riches and Worldly glory. This poor Negro thus dejected of all, returned to his primary condition of a slave, in which he was born, and for many years had lived, and was now banished, forsaken, and disconsolate in the most upper Egypt; whither being forced with sufficient to preserve him from Famine and Beggary, the *Beys* of Egypt, out of compulsion, bestowed on him an Alms of twelve Purpes, being Eight Thousand four hundred Dollars, according to the Account of *Cairo*, now the only support and subsistence of his Life.

This Victory gained over these great Perfections, and foyl given to the Queen Mother herself, was not carried by this young Favourite with that prudent equality of mind as was decent; but being puffed up with pride and glory, he adventured to a judgment and censure of the deepest matters of State, which touched not a little the jealousy and form of the Great Vizier, who therefore wrote to all those grave Sages, to whose Council he conceived the Sultan gave any ear or credit; representing with extraordinary passion and fervency the dangers he apprehended might befall his Master, and his Empire, whilst both were subject to the inexperienced Councils of *Afan*, a Youth both in years and knowledge. That it was much to the disparagement of the Supreme Office of Vizier, whilst he was with thousands of *Turks* on the Frontiers contending for the Glory and Enlargement of the Ottoman Dominions, subjected to millions of dangers and labours; to be supplanted by a Boy, fit only for attendants in his Masters Chamber; and to have the privacy of the Emperors State Councils and policy filled by a Youth, whose years had not fitted him for the knowledge and continence of an ordinary Secret. These reasonable Complaints of the Vizier's were by some of his wise Friends, whose Age and Gravity had produced something of Reverence towards their Persons, not without hazard and fear communicated unto the Sultan, the violence of whose Love being with time moderated and abated, he began to consider the reasonableness of this Discourtesy, and so on a sudden, to the great admiration of all, cast off his Favourite, creating him a *Kapughabee*, or chief Porter, with a hundred and fifty Aspers a day Salary.

* Government of a Pasha.

The *Kazier* Aga banished to Cairo.

Asaifbhe *Balaghabee*.

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The Ruine of Samozade, the Reis Etazei, or Chief Secretary of State to the Great Vizier.

AND since we have related a Story which partly represents the unconstancy and tyranny of the Turkish Greatness, it may yet please the Reader, should we add another, tho' a little out of its due order, not less remarkable, and worthy of Record, than the former.

When *Newbahet* was befigged, called by the *Turks* and *Hungarians*, *Oyar*, and divers attempts made on it in vain; *Samozade* the Reis Etazei, with less caution and wisdom than he did usually practise in other matters, wrote a Letter to the Chief Eunuch of the Women, then in the Seraglio at *Adrianople*, to this effect. That if the Grand Signior desired to have that Fortrefs taken that was then besieged, he should chuse a more able Captain for his Army than the present Vizier, a Person who had only been educated in a *Teteb*, or College, and studied in the speculations of Law, and not in the *Ad* of the Janinaries, or Customes and Exercises of the Camp; And therefore if his Majesty thought fit to chuse another General, he could not call his eyes on any more able and delivering than *Ibrahim* Pasha his Son in Law, a Person qualified for the Office of Vizier, being skilful in all points both of War and Peace. This Eunuch being the person that had succeeded to the former lately exiled, having received this Letter, immediately without farther Art or Prologue, read it to the Grand Signior, at which though at first he was startled, yet not as yet weary of the Vizier, but still considering a kindness and esteem for him, read the Letter from the Eunuch, and sent it to the Vizier, permitting him to inflict what punishment he judged most agreeable to his own prelevation and vindication of honour. The Vizier, having received this Letter, seemed not in the least to be surprized with the perfidiousness of the Applications and Addresses (which we have mentioned before) at his first entrance into this Supreme Office, and judging from thence, that he was not a Performer capable of friendship, or a headiness to his Interest, sent for him, and for *Ibrahim* Pasha his Son in Law to his presence, and went of integrity, in return to all the Careless and Endeavours he had used to win his Faith, caused both their heads to be struck off by the Executioner.

This *Samozade* was one of the most wise and best practised Secretaries of State that ever served the Ottoman Empire, and one whom our English much lamented, being perfectly acquainted with the particulars of our Capitulations, and Constitution of our Trade, and had not his extraordinary Covetousness blinided his other moral Vertues, he might have been esteemed a man rare, and a Minister not unworthy the greatest Monarch of the World. The Riches he had collected during the time of his State-Negotiations were incredible and immense, for he spared and lost no opportunity of gain; which rendered him the more liable and obnoxious to the stroke of Justice. His Goodies were now seized on for services of the Sultan, his Master, as justly confiscated for Treason; his Estate was found to amount unto three Millions of Pieces of Eight in ready Money; he had sixteen hundred Camels, four Hundred

T Mules,

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Mules, Six hundred Horses of the best sort, besides ordinary Horses of service proportionable to those of value. In his Cheells and Stores were found Four thousand Girdles, or Sashes, of the best sort of Silver, never worn; Seven and twenty pounds weight of Pearl, three hundred Daggers (or Turkish Hajanars) moist set with Diamonds and Rubies, besides Ninety Sable Vests, each whereof might be valued at a Thousand Dollars, his Swords and rich Furniture were without number, or account, with a Cart-Load of the best and finest Chinchilla; over and above all this, remained to his Son a Revenue of about Ten pounds Sterling a day, who being permitted to the torture to confute the hidden Riches of his Father, at his first examination discovered One hundred and twenty five thousand Zaichins of Venetian Gold.

Of an Avania brought upon the Dutch Nation.

BEFORE we proceed on with the Relation of the War in Hungary, where we for a time shall leave the Great Vizier, it is not to be forgotten, that in the interim of our Recourse to our intermediate Accidents, which had reference to our own and the Dutch Nations Interest at the Ottoman Court. And first I shall begin with the Dutch, to whom a considerable trouble and misfortune befall, by means of a Ship of theirs called the Emperor *Oliviero*, which designed to load her Goods at Alexandria for Constantinople, had her Licence and Dispatches obtained by means of the Holland Resident, the Sieur *Warner*. This Ship being accordingly laden at Alexandria, whereon also the Grand Signior himself had Thirty thousand Dollars Interest, and being ready to depart, was near the Port surprized by the Venetian, and Maltese Corsairs, and so taken. This News was posted over land from Grand Cairo, and the Cargo sent of the Goods, importing Fourscore and four thousand Dollars, which in the Month of June arrived at Constantinople. The persons interested in this loss being many, in the nature of a Tumult applied themselves to the Grand Signior, and demanded sentence against the Dutch Resident for reparation, alleging that he had recommended the Ship, and Commander, who had combined with the Corsairs to surprize him, and that the Resident had engaged for the faithfulness of the Captain, who had betrayed their Goods, not endeavouring to defend himself so much as by the force of one Musket. The Grand Signior being likewise concerned herein himself, was easily persuaded to grant his Order and Sentence. That the loss of all should concern the Dutch Resident, and his Nation, requiring the Chimaam of Constantinople to summon the Resident, and intimate a pleasure therein, exacting a time limited for his appearance. The Resident being called to several Audiences thereupon, denied to have had any hand in the employment of this Ship on this Voyage, and that their Capitulations, to which the Grand Signior had sworn, acquitted him from being responsible for the misdoings of any of his Nation, for whose fidelity and good behaviour he had never personally engaged, and thereupon positively refused to make himself liable for payment of this Money, to which he was neither obliged by the Law of

Nations, nor his own private Act. Notwithstanding which, the Turks sentenced the Resident to be liable to make satisfaction, in regard that when the Ship was first freighted, he appeared before the Chimaam at Constantinople, and being asked whether the Commander of this Ship was an honest man, and one who might be intrusted with such a concernment of the Turks; his Answer was, That he believed he might, and that he was always esteemed faithful and honest to his Trust: which in the Turkish Law amounting to as much as if he had said, he would become his security, the Grand Signior confirmed the former sentence against the Resident, and with haste and fury dispatched a Kapugibassie to bring his Person to *Adrianople*, where being arrived, and continuing as yet confident to his first Answer, was committed to custody of the Chausabassie, or Chief of the Pursuivants, where they gave him time until after the Feast of the little *Buran*, to consult his own good and security of his Nation within the Turkish Dominions. The Feast was no sooner ended, but the Grand Signior sent immediately to know his ultimate resolution, declaring, That if he continued still obstinate against his Power, he had commanded that he should be committed to that Dungeon which had some few years before been the Lodging of other Christian Ministers. The Resident terrified at the thoughts of such an Imprisonment, declined from his former confidence, engaging to pay the Money in an Hundred and five days time, for no longer would be granted; so violent and unreasonable the Turks were in their demands, against the Laws of Nations, the particular Capitulations, and the common reason and justice of the World. This Money was for the most part taken up by the Dutch Nation in Turkey at Interest, and afterwards the debt extinguished by Money lent them by the States, for payment of which a particular Imposition was granted on all Goods brought from Turkey, until the Debt to them was cleared, with an Interest of one per cent. for the year. By which it may be observed, how little are esteemed the Persons of Christian Representatives in the Turkish Court; who having proved with what tameness some Princes have taken the affronts offered to the Person of their Ambassadors, and in the interim not observing with what patience the States of Holland have sustained the like insolence and injury in their Resident, they may possibly profess their Function sacred, but yet in matters of their own interest will never be induced to vouchsafe them that respect or just treatment which is due to them.

In what state the Affairs of England, in reference to the Turkish Court, stood about this time with Algier, and other Parts of Barbary.

IN the preceding year we declared how a Peace was concluded between England and Algier: For better confirmation whereof, and security of our Merchants in future in this Levant, upon occasion of a future breach, it was judged necessary by His Majesties Council, That the respective Articles last made and concluded with Algier, Tunis, and Tripoli, should be distinctly de-

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defined and ratified by the Grand Signior, with this Clause at the Conclusion of each, viz. "That in case the foregoing Articles were not kept by the said Subjects respectively, but should contrary to the meaning thereof through Piracy be broken, that then it should be lawful for the King of England to chastise those People by his own Arms and Force, without Impeachment or Breach of that good Peace and Amity which intervenes between His Majesty of Great Britain and the Ottoman Emperor: And this was supposed might always be a Plea in defence of the English Nation in Turkey, when at any time His Majesty provoked by the injuries of those faithless and piratical Nations, should take due Revenge upon them, not only on the Seas, but also on the Land, subverting those very Cities and Fortresses, which are the Nests of Piracies, and the common Chastisement and Galls of Christendom. When these Articles came to the hands of His Majesties Ambassador the Exr of *Vincibasso*, with Orders to have them ratified and subscribed in the manner foregoing, the Turkish Court was then at *Adrianople*, to which place on this occasion the Lord Ambassador made a Journey from his usual Residence at *Constantinople*: and having acquainted the Chimaam with the whole matter; and the Propositions rightly apprehended by him, they were offered, and the next day communicated in behalf of the Ambassador to the Grand Signior, who readily promised compliance with His Majesties desires, ordering the Articles and Conclusion of them, to be ingrossed and prepared for the Imperial Assent. Howsoever some considerable time ran on before they were delivered out, in regard that being matters of State relating to War and Peace, they could not be fully granted without Privy and Knowledge of the Grand Vizier, who was the supreme Counsellor, and therefore we were forced to attend thirty five days before an Express could go and return from the Frontiers with the Answer expected, which was as easily granted by the Grand Signior. On August 1. the Confirmation of the several aforesaid Articles was assigned unto my self in presence of our Lord Ambassador by the hands of the Chimaam, being my self designed in Person to deliver them; for which Service a Frigate of His Majesties Navy attended at Smyrna: so that very Evening I departed, and arrived at Smyrna the 15th of August.

In my Journey from *Adrianople* to Smyrna, omitting the Geography of the Countries, and the pleasant view I had from the top of a Mountain between *Malagra* and *Gallipoli*, from whence I could survey all the *Hellepont*, and at the same time take a prospect of the *Propontis* and *Ionian* Seas, I shall only relate two passages which befell me in this Journey, not unpleasing to be remembered.

The first was at a small Village called *Isheli*, at the foot of the Mountain *Ida*, not far from the Ancient *Trois*, now named by the Turks *Kaustog*, which signifies the Mountain of Geels; the People that inhabit here are of a rude Disposition; great Thieves, and of a wild and savage Nature; at my entry thereupon I was advised by those that were with me, that it was necessary to take Mules to carry my Baggage through the Mountains, and to press the People to convey me to the next Government by Virtue of a Command the Grand Signior had granted me for the security of my Travels; so that arriving at this place by break of day, I went directly with all my Attendance, being about eighteen or nineteen

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Horse, to the *Kadi's* House, where knocking hard at the Door, a Servant looked out at the Window, and spying for great company, wholly affrighted, ran to his Master, and awakening him with such dreadful news, he had scarce any Soul or Life remaining to render an Answer; for he was one of those, who three times a day was used to take his Dose of Opium, which gave him a strange kind of Intoxication or Drunkenness; during the Operation of which, men have their Spirits violently moved and agitated, that afterwards it leaves them so wearied and languid, that in the morning when they first awake, they remain like dead Stocks, their Members are benumbed, and can scarce turn from one side to the other. In this condition the News of new Guests surprized this *Kadi*, when wholly feeble he called to his Servant to reach him his Box of Opium, of which when he had taken his usual Proportion, and that it began to work, his Life returned again to him, and he began immediately to recover, so that he had Courage to open his Gates and receive us in: when he had read the Command, and found no hurt in it, the Man was transported with Joy and Opium, and was so kind, cheerful, and of a good humour, that I could not but admire at the change, he told me, that he had lived in a barbarous Country, and was forced to use that for Divertissement and as a Remedy of his melancholy hours. I easily perceived the effect it had upon him, for he seemed to me like a Pedlar, in which humour he called all his Neighbours about him, and after a while Confutation, they provided me with two Mules, and a few Men on foot with rusty Muskets without Powder or Shot, to guide and guard me through the Mountains. I had not travelled two Miles before all my Guard were stollen aside, and taking advantage of the Woods and Mountains, were fled from me, so that I found my self not more than ten of my own People, in an unbroken Path, and a way unfrequented; the man excepted who drove the Mules, who for sake of his heels was obliged to a farther attendance. We travelled in this manner through the Mountains about four hours, when near a Village called *Suratnee*, we met one of the Principal men on Horse-back, carrying a dead Mutton behind him, which upon Examination we discovered to be carried for a Bribe to the *Kadi* of *Isheli*, that so he would be his Friend, and favour him in his Cause: And further upon inquiry, finding that our Entertainment was likely to be mean at *Suratnee*, we forced the Gentleman to return with us, and to sell us his Mutton at the market-price, and so for that time we disappointed our *Kadi* of his Fee or Reward: and being upon the rise of a Hill defending to *Suratnee*, so that the People could see us at a distance, they like true Sons of *Kaustog* forsook their Habitations, and fled, which we perceiving posted after them, and caught two of their men, whom we brought under Short, (or the Country-mans Oath, which they account very sacred, and will by no means break) to be true and faithful to us, to serve, and not leave us for so long time as we should remain in their Village, and accordingly their men were not only servicable, but diligent; so soon as they discovered me to be one who would pay justly for what I took, and was not a Turkish Aga, or Servant of Great men who harra the People, and take their Service and Meat on account of free Quarter, the whole Village returned again from their places of Refuge amidst the Woods, so that I neither wanted Provvisions nor Attendance.

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1663. Another passage happened unto me of better Civility and Entertainment in the Plains of Pergamos, where not many Miles from that Ancient City. I arrived about six a Clock in the Evening at certain Tents or Cots of Shepherds, being on Hurdles covered with Hair-cloth, lined within with a sort of loose Felt, a sufficient defence against the Sun and Rain; the *Turks* call these People *Emuchs*, and are Shepherds who with their Wives, Children and Cattel, Live and Inhabit, where they most delight, or like the Shepherds of Ancient days, remove their dwellings to those Places where they find more plenty of Water and Pasture. Amongst these Cots to whom I slighted from my Horse, I was received and lodged by the Aga or Chief, with great Humanity and Kindness; for so soon as he understood who I was, and that I was employed in publick Affairs, he presently placed me under some neighbouring Trees, and called for Carpets and Cushions to sit on, which were more Fine and Rich, than agreed with the outward appearance of Men wholly unaccustomed to a City-life. After some Discourse had with me, which I remember to have been very Courteous and Inquisitive of my Condition and Business, he provided Provender for our Horses, and in a little time ordered some Eggs to be brought for to stay my Stomach, supposing that hard Travels had sharpened my Appetite. About an hour after that, he invited all my Company, and then we fed very plentifully of several Dishes, which the good Houf-wives had dressed within the Breecings of their poor Tents; whilst the Shepherds had in the Field killed a fat Kid, and were then roasting it whole at the fuel of a Tree which they had felled; this Roast meat they cut into quarters, and with Bread and Salt put it into a Linen-cloth, delivering it to some of my Servants for our Breakfast the next morning. Having thus well refreshed myself with the Charity of these good Shepherds, I arose with the Moon about eleven a Clock at Night; but before my Departure, I demanded what I had to pay; to which the generous Shepherd replied, That my Acceptance was a sufficient Payment, for that all Men were obliged to be Civil and Hospitable to Men who travelled the World like me for publick Service; and which he desired me to speak well, wherever I came, of such poor Men who led their Lives in the Fields, who were instructed in these Principles, viz. to hurt none, and to be humane and helpful to all Mankind.

In a few days after my Arrival at Smyrna, I embarked on the *Bonaventure* Frigate, Commanded by Capt. Berkeley, afterwards Sir William Berkeley, and thaping our course first for Tripoli in Barbary, we came to Anchor before the Town the 20th; and immediately going ashore, we were conducted to the Presence of the Pasha of that Country, whom I acquainted with the occasion of this Address, delivering into his hands two Copies of the late Treaty of Peace, one confirmed by the Hand and Seal of His Majesty our Gracious Sovereign, and the other of the Sultan; both which he received with singular Respect and Reverence, promising to maintain the Peace sacred and inviolable; and so being dismissed fairly from him, we speedily repaired on Board, and setting Sail again that Night with a prosperous Gale, we anchored in the Bay of Tunis on the second of September; and the next day being landed, we in the first place made our Addresses to the *Dey*, who bears the Office of Prince or Governor in chief, tho' in the *Arabian* Language the word signifies as much as Uncle, to whom I tendered

the Confirmations of Peace in the same form and manner as before at Tripoli: the *Dey* received them with Respect and Honour, promising to continue the Peace; that part which was from our King, he received himself; but that which was from the Grand Signior he advised me to deliver to the Pasha: for as to that, he was far from permitting him to intermeddle in the Government: that they confirmed him like a Prisoner, not suffering him to stir abroad without Permission and Consent of the Livan, and that very seldom, tho' he often pleased his Health was much impaired by his Restraint, and craved Enlargement, rather for necessity than his Pleasure. The Day of the great Divans Assembly being come, the Confirmations of the Peace was again read, and well approved, and so laid up in the Repository of their Writings; and promise made us for Releasement of our Ships. But let us now observe the levity and unsteadiness of this popular Government; for being the day following appointed to receive our dispatches, and discharge of the three Ships; there arose unexpectedly at the Divan, certain Scruples and Jealousies amongst them, which immediately qualified all our Negotiations, and instead of confirming the Peace, produced a new War. But the English, who were afraid to release the Ships, left the Soldiers who had sent them in, being then abroad, should call them to question for it at their return; and not to release them, might be an occasion of a War; which not succeeding according to their desire, the causes thereof might be called into question and punished for it; of which still remained the fresh memory of late Examples. In this Dilemma of their Affairs, they resolved to make the Act herein, to be of general and publick Assent; and to that end they assembled a Grand Divan, calling the Captains of Ships and Gallies, then in Port, unto their Council; who without hesitation, or questioning other Matters, declared, that the three English Ships were lawful Prize; and that it was no longer requisite to maintain the second Article of freeing Strangers Goods on English Vessels; it neither being the design nor interest of *Algier*, to benefit all Christianity by their Peace with England; this Sentence was followed by the whole Rabble of the Divan, with cry and noise; to which the wiser fort, notwithstanding our Plea, and Reasons to the contrary, which lasted for full two hours, were forced to condescend, and concur in the same Vote. However by importunity, and something of the force of Reason, which in the most blind and obscure minds of Men, hath something of forcible Violence, we obtained the release of the three Ships, upon discharge of the Strangers Goods, and payment of their Freight. But the second Article of Peace, forbidding the search of English Ships for Strangers Estates, or their Persons, was declared null, and no longer to be maintained; nor the Peace likewise, unless His Majesty would accept it upon that Condition, to which end, they wrote this following Letter.

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al Salutations passed, before we were interrupted by the Officers, and not suffered to proceed; but little esteem they made of the Pasha, to whom notwithstanding they allowed twelve thousand Dollars a Year for his Maintenance, so as to carry the fair and specious outside at the Ottoman Court, of receiving a Prisoner from thence, but were far from permitting him to intermeddle in the Government: that they confirmed him like a Prisoner, not suffering him to stir abroad without Permission and Consent of the Livan, and that very seldom, tho' he often pleased his Health was much impaired by his Restraint, and craved Enlargement, rather for necessity than his Pleasure.

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The Letter of the Government of Algier to His Majesty.

Great and Christian Prince, King of England. After Health and Peace, &c. Since we have made Peace with you, unto this

day there have no Salaries nor Damages been offered by us. Your Ships that have been as Prizes, for your sake we have let free, not offering them the least Injury, nor diminishing any thing from them in the least, until such time as your Confidant gave us Counter-presents, that what Ships were found with them, to be let free, and those that are without them, to be brought in; and we have found doors without them, which for Friendship sake which is between us, we have let go free. Now from henceforth, if that we find any of our Enemies Goods or Men in your Ships, we shall take the Goods and Men, paying the Freight to their Port. And we shall desire you, as soon as you shall receive this our Letter, that you will send your answer hereunto, for we shall think it long until we receive it from you; and for the future, what Ships shall be brought in without a Pass-port, we shall take them, and detain them here, until such time as we have an answer from you; which pray send without delay. The end of the Month Schar, 1074, which was then in the Month of September, 1663.

In this manner a second War broke forth in the space of two Years, by which a Person may judge of the inconstancy and unsteady humour of this People; who but three days before, gave us all the evidence of fair Correspondence and Friendship; and it is probable, that when they entered the Divan, they came not with Resolutions or Thoughts of War; however accidents and occasional Discourses each with other, following the cry and humour of some rude Savage Person, which leads the rest, carried all things with Violence towards a Breach: So that by what preceded, and from these following Reasons, it may be concluded impossible to maintain a firm and lasting Peace with this People.

First, Because these People are composed of the worst Sort or Scum of the *Turks*, and worth of Christians, which are Benighted, who have renounced God and their Country, and a Generation of People who have no Religion, nor Honour; Peace cannot be longer expected or maintained, than fear or interest enjoins them to compliance.

Secondly, The Government of *Algier* being popular, and in the hands of a vile Commonalty, who are ignorant Persons, guided by no Rules or Principles; unsteady in all their Councils, not resolving or consulting any thing before they enter the Divan, do commonly follow that Resolution, which they perceive to be carried on with the greatest noise; and therefore are a People not capable of Peace or Friendship.

Thirdly, This irrational Commonalty is over-ruled by a heady Soldiery, who are only then affrighted into a Peace, whilst a stronger force compels them into good Manners. But when that Power and Punishment is withdrawn, they again harden their hearts like *Pharaohs*, and then when the Temptation of rich Merchant-men presents it self, their natural Inclination to Piracy returns, and their Covetousness again prevails, and then they curse the Peace, and the makers of it, and without remorse break their Articles, and their Faith, having neither Honour nor Confidence to refrain them. Wherefore unless the Heads

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The Proceedings of the War in HUNGARY.

The Vizier despatched a Treaty to the Emperor, in the name of the Sultan.

The Treaty was paid by the Emperor to the Sultan.

WE left the Grand Vizier on his March towards the parts of Hungary, with an Army, as computed, to consist of Eighty Thousand fighting men, and of about Seventy Thousand destined for Pioneers, and other necessary services of the Army. In this march the Vizier out of design to slacken the warlike Preparations of the Christians, and to discover the inclinations of the Emperor to Peace, desired a Treaty, that if possible, matters might be reduced to terms of accommodation. The Resident of Germany, who then in the Army, but he, not being empowered singly for any such Treaty, the Baron of Goez, then with Ali Pasha at Temiswar, was sent for, and being arrived, were both called into the Viziers Tent at Biskade, to whom it was proposed, That in case the Emperor desired a Peace, he should resign into the hands and possession of the Sultan Zekelidj, Zazmar, Claufenburg, alias Colofwar, with the late built Fort of Count Scrinzi, without which, no Sacrifice could appease the anger, and give a stop to the progress of the Ottoman Arms. Whist these Propositions by Post were dispatched to Vienna, the Vizier proceeded in his journey to Strigonia, now called Gran, to which place, after sixteen Days time, the Messenger returned with an Answer from the Emperor, which showed an inclination towards an acceptance of Peace on the terms proposed, but with instructions to his Ministers to move by their discreet management (what was proffered) the removal of the demands. For by reason of the dissatisfaction of the Hungarians, whom the Emperor had lately disgusted by demolishing several of their Churches, and discountenancing the Protestant Religion which they professed; and by reason of the Violence of the Princes of Germany, whom different interests made slow and inactive in their preparations against the common Enemy; the Emperor was wholly unprovided to oppose the violence of this over-flowing Torrent, and became an unequal match for the Ottoman Force. The Turks perceiving that the Germans began to confound, and yield to any conditions, which might purchase their quiet, harried a farther demand of Fifty thousand Florins of yearly Tribute, and two Millions of Crowns for expence of the War, to be paid by the Emperor to the Sultan. These proud and unexpecting Proposals startled not the Baron of Goez, who readily made answer, that he clearly perceived now, that there were no intentions to a Peace, since the Vizier was pleased to make the matter so difficult and impossible, for that it were as easy to bring Heaven and Earth to meet, as his Master to meet the G Signior in the Concession of this particular. These extravagant demands awakened the Impe-

rial Court, who now observing the Turks without their Vizier, or money paid to satisfy this Court, vigorously roused themselves to make that convenient provision and defence by War, which the straits of time permitted them: So that in the first place they Assembled a Diet at Ratibonne, where it was resolved to raise four Armies; the first for the Guard and defence of *Mosavia* and *Silafia*, under the Command of Count *Selya*, a Native of *Rebel*. The second under the Command of Count *Raimond Monteculi*, for safety of *Raab*, *Newbanfels*, and *Komorra*, and the Frontiers of Hungary. The third under Command of Count *Nicholas Serini* for defence of *Croatia*. The fourth composed solely of Hungarians, commanded by the Palatine of that Country, which they reported to consist of Thirty thousand fighting men. Finally, it was ordered that all Garisons should be well provided of Victuals and Ammunition; and that the Inhabitants of *Vienna* should take into every House a provision for a years maintenance, and such as were not able at their own Cost, were to abandon their Dwellings. And in the mean time the Villages round about were demolished, to the great amazement and confusion of the People.

The Turks now bearing in their thoughts nothing but War, began to design and chalk out the best order and method for its prosecution. The principal places then in eye of the Vizier, were *Raab*, and *Komorra*, Fortresses of considerable strength, maintained and defended by Soldiers of known prowess and conduct, and provided equally with all sorts of Ammunition and Provisions, agreeable to such considerable Bulwarks and Walls, not only of the German Empire, but (I may say) of all Christendom. *Raab*, called by the *Turks*, *Jocovin*, and by the *Turks*, *Jackis*, situated in a plain, level, and Champion Country, the Town itself very regular and compact, the Fortifications most exact according to the new Model, and much improved in its strength since the recovery of it from the hands of the *Turks*, by whom it was once taken, in the year 1594. It hath its name from the River *Rab*, on which it is seated just on the meeting of the *Danube*. *Komorra* is a stronger Fortress, erected in an Island of the River *Danube*, called after the same name, which hath often been attempted by the *Turks*, but with ill success; at both which places I have personally been, and viewed them with much delight. Wherefore the Vizier considering the strength, and difficulty of these places, resolved to take due and mature consideration before he engaged himself in any enterprise, and to that end assembled together in Consultation with him the most ancient and grave men, that were Natives of the Country; some of their being such who had lived in *Rab*, been Slaves there, and had well marked and observed the strength of that Fortress both to Nature and Art, assured the Vizier, That the Work was immense, difficult, and dangerous, and not to be accomplished in the space of one Summer; and that the Winters in that Country were very cold and rigid, and ill agreeing with the temperance of the Garrison. The Vizier, though he farther considered that his Soldiers were as yet young and inexperienced, and that a foil encountered at the first Enterprise, might be a discouragement from following the continued Trade and Course of this War, which must be sustained with labour and patience, and that to withdraw his Forces in the Winter would be a dishonour to the Ottoman Arms, a blemish in the beginning to his own Reputation, and an encouragement of the Enemy: Howsoever, having a

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Raab.

Komorra.

The Turks of the method to be used in War.

1663 violent Ambition and Desire to become Master of *Rab*, he could not rest satisfied in this Council before he had consulted with Ali Pasha, and other Pashas of the Frontier Countries, who duly considering the matter as it stood, concurred in the same judgment that was formerly made of the difficulty of this design, and herein they were the more strongly confirmed, by the report of certain Hungarians, whom some parties of Horie, under the Command of Ali Pasha, roving and falling out near the Walls of *Rab*, had surprized and taken, who being brought bound before the Vizier, related that the Town was well provided with all sorts of Ammunition and Provisions, and the Garrison reinforced by Count *Monteculi* with supply of four Thousand men, and in this manner reported the Work as difficult as the *Turks* of the Country had formerly signified. This relation confirmed by so many hands, diverted the Vizier from this Design: yet before that time imagining it a place which might easily be subdued, he proposed to himself, without any interruption, a clear and undisturbed March to the Gates of *Vienna*, which he wallowing aloft in his thoughts, hoped by his own success to repair the blame of *Solyman*'s flight from the Walls of that City, and besides the glory of forcing the Emperor from his Imperial Seat, he should atone for the sin of the Ottoman Cowardice, and be the first who undertook to mend the actions, and outvie the proofs of the most magnificent, and most successful of their Sultans. But the Ambition of this grand design giving way to necessity, and to the other impediments which obstructed it, after due and mature Consultation, *Newbanfels*, called by the Hungarians *Opywar*, was fixed upon as the place to be first attempted, and held up to the eye of the Soldierly, as the reward and prize of their valour and hazard. Wherefore Orders were provided, and Planks, and Timbers for a Bridge to pass the *Danube*, which the *Turks* in a few days, according to their usual expeditions, had raised; so that the Army both Horie and Foot began to transport themselves as fast as was possible to the other side, but the multitude crowded over in that disorder and haste, that Three or four Thousand men had crooked and flattered, that some time was necessarily required to repair it, before the rest of the Army durst adventure to follow their Companions. The Approach of the *Turkish* Army alarmed all that side of Hungary, but especially the Inhabitants of *Newbanfels*, who obliging the *Turks* to bend their Course that way, plainly fore-saw the Storm of War to be breaking on them: The News also of the fall of the Bridge, and thereby the separation of about Four thousand *Turks* from the Body of the Army, was brought in by the Country people, who forsaking their Villages, fled for succour to the stronger Fortress of *Newbanfels*. Hereupon *Forcaez*, the Governor of *Newbanfels*, a valiant and experienced Soldier, though esteemed by the *Turks* unfortunate, taking this Alarm, judged that this occasion of cutting off that part of the *Turkish* Army which had past the River, was in no wise to be omitted, and therefore summoned a Council of War, which consisted of all the principal Officers and Commanders of the Garrison, (amongst which was Colonel *Vilser*, that commanded the Four thousand men, lately sent to reinforce the Town) he declared that his Opinion was, immediately to make a Sally on that part of the *Turkish* Army, which had already passed the River, before the Bridge was repaired for

Newbanfels.

Forcaez the Governor of Newbanfels, ill advised, and a Sally.

1663 Transportion of the others; which endeavors, by God's Assistance, succeeding well, might not only discourage the Enemy, but be a means to divert them from their present design upon their City. This Advice, though he pressed with heat of Argument, and violence of Speech, yet could it not prevail with the rest of the Council, which towards the other Officers, especially *Vilser*, who declared, That his Commission was not to fight in the Field, but to confine himself within the Walls, for maintenance of his Garrison: Some days passed in this Dispute, whilst *Forcaez* growing more eager and hot on this design, used opprobrious Terms, and expressions of infamy towards the other Officers, accusing all such of Cowardice and Treason, who refused to concur with him in this Enterprise and advantage on the Enemy, which Heaven seemed to reach out to them for their Deliverance, if their wisdom and courage afforded them only will and grace to lay hold on this opportunity. These flung words and resolution of the Governour provoked the minds of the Officers to a condescension, and thereupon about Eight thousand men of Choice, and approved Soldiers, well armed with stout hearts, and hard from not suffering themselves to be upbraided with such reproach, in the silence of the Night, under the Conduct of *Forcaez*, (their own Commander, *Vilser* remaining in the Town) took their way towards the *Turkish* Camp, and being armed with Firelocks, marched with all privacy, without lighted Matches, or sound of Drum or Trumpet. But whilst the *Turks* were thus halsted, the *Turks* had transported the grove of their Army over the River, and then lay on her Banks, resting securely under their Pavilions. The Christians approaching near the *Turkish* Fortresses, with the first twilight, and dawning of the Morning, (perceiving the Enemy unprovided, but not discovering their Force) dealt at first on foot, their shot most plentifully amongst them, and proceeding amidst the rickell, cutting, shooting, killing, and making havoc of all before them. The amazed *Turks* having many of their Companions brought to their last sleep, before themselves were thoroughly awake, and some flying before they discovered the reason of the danger, an Alarm was given by the confused murmur of *Allah*, *Allah*, and that the Christians were upon them, reached the farthest Quarters of the *Turkish* Army, which immediately put themselves into Battalia, and order of fight, whilst this handful of Germans proceeded forward, dealing their blows amongst their Enemies, cutting the Cordons of the Tents, and destroying all before them. But by this time the *Turks*, having put themselves into a posture of Defence, the Horie and Foot came marching in a Body, extending their Wings in the form of a half Moon, so as to enclose this thin number, and on all sides to assail them. The *Turks*, facing this formidable fire approach, and no safety in flight, encouraged each other to sell their Lives at as dear a rate as they could; all hopes of escape seeming desperate, they fought with that courage and obstinacy as amazed the *Turks*, and yielded not until their Spirits fainted with labour, and their Swords were blunted by the bodies of their Enemies. The Count *Vilser*, hardly escaped, but by the help of his Horie, with some few others, fled to *Newbanfels*, which unwillingly received him, wishing that the rashness of his Counsels had only proved his own destruction, and not involved so many brave and innocent Soldiers, who were only unfortunate for being over-

1663

Forcaez (surprised) the *Turks* (sally).

The *Turks* (man arc routed, and fly).

1663.

The Vizier did not like a Soldier with his Prisoners of War.

over-powered by his command and perfections: The rest overwhelmed with multitudes, yielded; for though they behaved themselves beyond the power and courage of men, yet the numbers of the Enemy prevailed at length over these Christian Champions, whose Gallantry was more eminent and conspicuous in being taken than the Glory of their Enemies in the Victory. In this skirmish few elapsed, amongst which Four hundred Gentlemen were slain, and about eighteen hundred Prisoners reported to be taken, a bad Omen at the beginning of this War. This Rout being given, the *Turks* triumphed in blood and success, and returned with their Captives, and trophies back to *Strigomium*, where the Vizier mounting a Throne of State and Majesty, treated these valiant Souldiers, not like men of War, or Captives taken in open Field, but as a Judge condemned them to dye by the hand of the Hangman or Executioner, passing a formal Sentence of Death upon them, as if they had been Thieves or Affiliates arrested by the hand of Justice: The Sentence being passed, and the *Turkish* Army drawn up, these valiant Christians were ranked in order and file to dye, who had so lately with Swords in their hands, ranged themselves in Battle against their Enemy; and so soon as the Executioners fell to their Capivies, and the Maffacre was begun, the Guns were fired, and the whole Camp retounded with barbarous Musick and shouts. In the mean while the most superstitious amongst them triumphed, that God was now destroying the Infidels, manifesting the truth of their Prophet, and doing his own work; not unlike the affections and desires of the Pretenders to Religion, who have always hallowed and excused their cruelties with the Name of God, and sanctified the blood they have shed by making their Enemies *Amalekites*, and by pretence of false Lights and Prophecies countenanced their most impious Sacrilege in God's Churches, and Invasions of their Neighbours Rights. The merciless Executioners had proceeded to bereave of life about Thirteen or Fourteen hundred persons, the Vizier standing a Spectator with zeal to his Sect and Prophet, until the *Turkish* Souldiers who inhabit the Borders, glutted with so much cruelty towards their Neighbours, began to measure, and at length to speak aloud, That to destroy Captives in cold blood was an Action against the Law of Arms, and might be revenged by their Enemies with like examples of cruelty, since none there present, being all Souldiers, were secure from the misfortunes and misadventures of War. The Vizier over-hearing these whippers of the Soldiery, gave a stop to the cruelty of the Executioners, and sent such as survived to different Prisons in *Buda*, *Ad iampole*, and *Constantinople*. I have seen not far from *Strigomium* the heads of these Wretches thus miserably butchered, thrown up into a heap, the Heads and Hair of those that lay underneath still growing; the Earth which sucked in their blood, became thence fenced up and barren, and the white bones and carkasses of their bodies lay dispersed and scattered in a large Field; so that I could not but call to mind the maffacred Legions under the Conduct of *Quintinus Varus* in Germany, and those *Althovallia*, and the barbarous Altars flowing with the Roman blood; and I could as passionately fancy to have seen the angry *German* return to appease the Ghost of their Country-men with decent Burial, as I was sensible of *Germanicus* in zeal, when he adventured to contaminate his Augustus Office by his too forward Humanity and Religion towards

the Country and Persepolis. But it is chiefly of the Vizier was recent perked by Count *Serini* not long after, who having had some success against *Avant Pasha* and his Army, of whom he had slain six hundred men, and such as he took alive, in cold blood he disemboweled and tortured, and having of some cut off their hands, and plucked out their eyes, sent them to report the reason of this inhumane and merciless usage to the Vizier.

In the mean time *Forcaus* advised General *Montecuculi* the Governour of *Rab* of this defeat, and how the flower and strength of his Garrison was destroyed; and that if he were not immediately supplied, he should be forced to abandon his Fort, and leave all to the fury and mercy of the Enemy. Hereupon a *Thousand Germans* were sent for succour with all sorts of Ammunition and Provisions requisite; but the *Turks* after their Triumph before *Strigomium*, returned and marched on so fast towards *Newhaufel*, having passed the *Danube*, that certainly they had intercepted this Recruit, had not *Forcaus* amused their minds, and for a while stopped their hasty approach, by advancing a white Flag to the top of the Walls, as if he had had a design of Treaty and Surrender of the Town upon Conditions: So that here the *Turks* Army stood at halt, and for Three or Four hours time remained with expectation when Conditions for the Surrender should come; every one wondering to see the Flag of Truce erected, and so much silence in the Fort, and yet no appearance of a Message. In this interval and breathing of time, the *Suec* soon fairly arriving within the Town, the white Flag was changed to colours of defiance, to the great astonishment and anger of the *Turks*: Whereupon the Vizier drawing somewhat nearer, began to intrench and begirt the Town on the 4th of *August*, which was defended by three principal Officers, viz. Count *Adam Forcaus*, the *Marquis Pin* an Italian, and one *Lucatelli* an old and experienced Souldier. But the Vizier, before he would offer any violence to the Town, thought fit to summon them in this stile: *That through the Grace of God and the Miracles of our Prophet, who is a Son of both Worlds, and by whom there is Happiness and Glory, that as the first of the Council, and General of the most Mighty Emperor of the Turks, that is the King of all Kings on the Earth, to you Adam Forcaus, that are the Chief among all the Nobility of Hungary, do make known, That through the Command of my most Gracious Lord, the most terrible, the most puissant, and most myriatic Emperor, I am come with his Forces before Newhaufel to reduce it to his Obedience. Wherefore if you shall deliver up the place to Us, you shall have liberty to march out with what belongs unto you from the highbest to the lowest, and be that would rather, stay shall keep his Goods and Estate: But if you will not yield, we will take it by force, and every man of you from the highbest to the lowest, shall be put to the Sword. If the Hungarians did but know the good intentions of the mighty Emperor, they and their children would Hail God for him. Peace be to the Obedient. The Christians not submitting to these Summons, the *Turks* continued to make their nearer approaches, and being now at a convenient distance, raised two great Batteries, on which they mounted a Hundred Pieces of Cannon, and from thence made such constant shot as shaked the Churches, and almost levelled the most lofty Buildings with their Foundations. The 14th of *August* was designed for a general storm, so that before break of day Faggots and Rub-*

The *Turks* approach to Newhaufel.The *Turks* enter *Moravia* and *Austria*.The *Turks* summons.The confusion of the *German* Council.1663. The *Turks* storm the Town.

bish were brought to fill the Ditches, and scaling Ladders to ascend the Walls; but though the *Ottoman* Forces were puissant, and their Assault they made fierce and brisk, yet they were received with that gallantry by the Defendants, that the Trenches early in the Morning were filled with the Carkasses of the Dead, and so that the *Turks* forced to give over the Assault, with the loss of great numbers of their men.

The Siege still continuing, and the *Turks* angry, and inflamed with the disgrace of their late fail, endeavoured to redeem their Honour by their Attempts, filling up the Ditches with Rubbish, serving themselves therein of the Christian Captives lately taken: The Defendants on the other side, by the dictates of Nature and Reason, were directed to maintain their Houses, Wives, and Children from the rapine and violence of an unjust Enemy; so that both Parties moving from different Principles, used all the Art and Valour possible for destruction each of other: The noise of Cannon from the Forts raised by the *Turks*, and the founded continually in the Air, and from the Town the shot were often so fortunately placed, that daily, besides great numbers of ordinary Soldiers, many Persons of Note and Quality amongst the *Turks* were slain.

But the *Turks* having before this Town a great number of Soldiers than they could possibly fight, or what was thought necessary to subdue it: The Vizier selected from his Army a very considerable Force to enter and spoil *Moravia* and *Austria*; of these were Six hundred *Tatars* joined to a strong Force of *Turks*, who by the guidance of the Natives passing the River *Waggh*, spoiled and destroyed all the Country they went about, carrying men, women, and children into slavery, leaving what was not conveniently portable, in the Air. But in passing the river, they encountered a considerable body of *Germans*, both Horse and Foot, and being opposed by them, were at first forced to retreat again over the River with the loss of about Eight hundred Janizaries; but the next Day renewing the Fight with better courage and success, pulled the River in despite of the Imperialists, whom they pursued almost as far as *Preiburg*. These *Turks* were led on by a greater body of *Tatars*, every one after the manner of his Country, being ordered two pair Horfes, made inroads within five miles of *Vienna*, destroying and laying in ashes all places before them; things there resembling Dooms day, continued with fire, and not so much almost left as marks or appearance of habitation.

The Troubles and Confusions in *Hungary* were the talk and amazement of all Christendom; and indeed little more they were than talk, for the Christian Princes farther distant, as less concerned stood at a gaze, expecting the issue of that Treaty which was between the King of France, and the Pope; and the Princes of Germany (whatsoever was resolved as the use like men surprised, knew not what success to expect: some thought it now time to treat with the Emperor, and recover the Rights and Privileges they thought their due, and to condescend to the Terms of confederate Alliance against the common Enemy, unlets with advantageous considerations to their State, and all in general acted with that negligence and coldness, as if only the State of *Austria*, and not the common Cause of Germany had been concerned. The Election of a General for the Imperial Army admitting long debate, was another retardment to the Prepara-

1663.

The Emperor removes to Linz.

The *Turks* make another assault on the Town.

tions for the War; the Duke of Brandenburg was nominated, and solicited to accept the supreme Command; but the Title of being General of the Empire, or the Imperial Army, was a dispute undeterminable, and a difficulty not to be overcome: And though the Enemy had passed their Frontiers, and triumphed in their Puff-blows, and threatened the subversion of all Christendom, yet Jealousies, Niceties, and airy Formalities took up all the time, so that as length their Councils had no other result than an increase of Animosities and Difficulties amongst themselves. The Emperor also retired with the Siege of *Newhaufel*, and the near Incurfions of the *Turks*, abandoned his City of *Vienna*, carrying with him the Records and greatest of his Treasures to *Linz*, to the greater apprehension, discouragement, and fear of the whole Country in general, and was an act which might have produced very fatal effects, had not the Winter approached, and the progress of the Infidels been interrupted by the Valour, Vigilance, good Fortune, and Conduct of Count *Serini*, who in request of those Incursions the *Turks* made into the Christian Territories, entered the *Turkish* Borders near *Komorra*, and there with Fire and Sword destroyed all before him, defeated a Party of about Three thousand Janizaries, taking from them a good Boxy of Money and Provisions designed for Relief of the League before *Newhaufel*.

During these varieties of success, the *Turks* still continued the siege, and having now made a breach, and almost filled the grates with rubbish, Faggots, and other implements, attempted a second storm on the 28th and 29th of *August*, but were repulsed with an extraordinary loss, by the courageous Gallantry of the Defendants: On the 9th of September was given another more furious Assault, every Pasha leading his men in the Front, so that the Action this Day was so violently and courageously performed, that the *Turkish* Infantry was advanced to the top of the Rampire of the Fort *Frederick*, where both sides coming to handy blows, the dispute continued a long time; but the courage of the Defendants at length prevailing, the *Turks* were driven headlong from the Walls, and their Colours were taken from them with the loss of about Five thousand men, and Four hundred Christians: Though the *Turks* were much abated in their courage, yet this days work, yet the Victory obtruded, continued the siege, preparing speedily for another storm, in which he hoped to force the Christians to a Surrender. In the mean time, to facilitate the design of the *Turks*, on the 15th of September the chief Magazine of Powder (known how long) took fire and blew into the Air, by which blow fifty soldiers and several Officers were slain; but the worst was, that the besieged were deprived of all their Powder, unless what remained in private houses, which so dismayed the Inhabitants, that immediately with one voice they demanded a Parly. The Women also began a confused tumult, crying out for a Surrender, in which they were so impetuous and violent, that they threw stones from their windows on the Souldiers. Admitt of this confusion the *Turks* dispelling their Companies to make another storm, the Officers resolved upon a Treaty, which concluded with these following Conditions.

First, That the Commanders and Garrison should march out on the Seventeenth of September, with bag and Baggage, and leave safe conduct as far as *Komorra*: And that for a convenience of the sick

1663. Sick and Wounded, the Vizier should be obliged to provide Four hundred Carts and more, if there should be occasion.

Secondly, That as such as desire to abandon their dwellings, may have liberty to depart, so such as desire to abide may continue their habitations: And that the Religious and Ecclesiastical persons may perform their Functions as in former times.

Thirdly, That upon the Surrender of the principal Works, no Turk shall enter within the Town, until all such as intend to depart have quitted their habitations.

Fourthly, That for performance of Articles, two Aghas should be given for Hostages: And that until the foregoing Articles were fully accomplished, all acts of Hostility should cease.

Fifthly, That the Garrison might not be necessitated to march through the Turkish Camp, the Turks themselves were obliged to make them a new Bridge, or repair the old to pass the Nitter.

These Articles, though punctually observed by the Turks, yet the Tartars, who are of a faithless and barbarous nature, upon certain pretences assailed the Garrison, as they marched out, and had doublets moved the rest of the Camp Rable to imitate their example; had not many of the Pathaws at the Head of their Troops, killed the most forward in this Rebellious attempt, whose perfidious insolvency and riot could not yet have been restrained, had not the Garrison quickened their pace, more like a flight than an orderly March. But the Vizier on the contrary, distributed Money to the Garrison, and especially to the Hungarians, with design (as is supposed) to allure and attract their minds to a belief of the gentleness of the Turkish Yoke; as if the compassionate miseries of that Country, which was the stage whereon the Tragedies of so many miseries and slaughters were acted. This Siege continued about the space of Forty three Days, of the Garrison marched out Three thousand five hundred found men, and about Five hundred wounded, those Inhabitants who would remain, had protection and liberty. The Army which besieged the Town, consisted of Fifty thousand men. In the Town were found Sixty pieces of Bra's Cannon, but most broken and unserviceable, with little Ammunition, but with great provision of Hungarian Wines. The loss the Turks might receive, is computed to have been of about fifteen thousand men, amongst which was the Spahetlar Agasie, or General of the Horse, Bica Pasha, Beglerbeg of Romania, Uffia Pasha of Anatolia, and Ibrahim Pasha of Seyda, with sixteen Captains belonging to Buda, and nine to Constantople.

The loss of Newbaschl effected the Austrian Court with so much apprehension of the loss of its Fortitude and Fury, that they hastened the finishing of the Works, and Fortifications of Pest; cutting down all the Woods and Boscage thereabouts, which might benefit or shelter the Enemy, and to great an impression did the fear of the Turks prevalence and power work on the minds of the Germans, that not only fortified the Frontiers, but secured the innermost parts of Austria, which extend along the River, as far as within three Miles of Linz.

But above all, Pessinum, which was upon the Frontiers, though not an open Town, yet of no strength or resistance, was not neglected, but reinforced to consist of the Garrison, and the Wall retired and repaired, with as many additional Fortifications as time would admit. But

the Inhabitants had lost so much of their Spirit and Courage, by the melancholy relation of the fate of Newbaschl, and the apprehension of the dreadful advance of the whole Turkish Force, that their constancy to the Emperor began to waver; and to entertain some thoughts of submitting to the mercy and clemency of the Turks, who had newly declared, that such as voluntarily submitted to the Ottoman Obedience, should for Three years be exempted from all Tributes or Taxes. This consideration adjoined to fear, so prevailed on those of Pessinum, that they shut the Gates against the Garrison who was sent to recruit and defend them; some publicly declaring the extremity of their affairs had no other safety than in a surrender of themselves to the mercy and protection of the Vizier. However the Count Strazzi, with his Italian artifices, so wheedled the grollier humour of the Hungarians, that they were persuaded to admit him and his Regiment within the Town, where he disposed all things with that Conduct, and built those Forts, and in a short time so apparently rendered the Town tenable, that the Inhabitants taking Courage, refused to defend themselves, in obedience to their Prince, to the ultimate point of Estates and Lives. In the mean time the Turks made themselves Masters of Leventz, a Town, though tenable, and not contemptible for its strength, yet was by the Peoples fears, and allurements of the Viziers promises and fair Propositions, committed to the mercy of the Turks, and swore in Fealty to them the 23d day of September.

By this time the news of the taking of Newbaschl, was arrived at the Ottoman Court, where it was entertained with so much joy, that a Ducelma, or Festival, was appointed for the space of seven days through the whole Empire; which according to the Fashion of the Turks, is Celebrated by adorning the Gates, and outward Walls of their Houses, so soon as it begins to be dark, with grate store of Lamps and Candles, during which time the Nights are spent with Music and Banquets, as the Days are with Visits and Presents, and Corbans, (which is an Alms which rich men make in flesh to the poor sort, and is given either at the little Biram, which is called the Feast of Corban, or upon some publick Thanksgiving, which is performed in this manner.) He that makes the Corban, first lays his hand upon the head of the Sheep, or Lamb, makes a short Prayer, and then in the Name of God cuts the throat, the Butcher afterwards flaying off the skin, the Corbanist divides the flesh into small pieces, to as many poor as flock to receive it. In the heat of these Revels and Banquets, every one spake high in praise of their fortunate Arms, and Congratulated each with other, the prosperous beginnings of this War, promising themselves the following year, rather a time of Peregrination or Travel through the pleasant Countries and Cities of the Christians, than blood and sweat in obtaining the possession of their Enemies. Nor were such imaginations vain or absurd for the Commonalty to entertain; in regard it was evident to the World, in what manner the Ottoman Arms roved through Hungary uncontrolled, without an appearance of any considerable Force to give them the least stop or interruption; so that under the very Walls of Raband Presburg, and on the Banks of the Danube near Komarva, Incursions and depredation were made, and great numbers of People of both Sexes, and of all ages, were carried into Slavery, the Country all round laid waste, the Cattle and Hay burnt; with all other miserable effects and Concomitants of War.

Count Strazzi.

Leventz taken by the Turks.

Festivals taken by Victory amongst the Turks.

The manner of Corban.

1663. In this manner all places seemed to fall down and yield at the very rumour of the Turks approach; for not only Leventz surrendered itself, but likewise Niira, though over-topped by a strong and an impregnable Castle, was by the Cowardice of the Commander betrayed at the first Summons of the Turks; for which action, the Captain afterwards, by express Command of the Emperor, suffered Death.

After all these successes, though no opposition appeared in the Field, to obstruct the luxuriant and wanton march of the victorious Squadrons of the Ottoman Army; and not only Hungary, but Austria, and the lower Germany was alarmed and terrified with the rumour of the Turkish numbers; and though the Vizier (as it is said) began this War with the ambitious thoughts of possessing Vienna itself, and out-vying the Acts of Solymann the Magnificent: Yet it seemed strange, that being come thus far, and almost in prospect of his hopes, that he should give a check to his Fortunes, and not advance towards Vienna, to which now the passage seemed wide and open; but it was almost a miracle, that he should not make a Visit to Pessinum, before which, had he only dislaid his dreadful Arms, it had rendered at his first Summons and Appearance. Instead thereof he attempted Szenta, the Magazine of the Emperors Arms and Artillery, but found not the same easy entrance as he did with the Governour of Niira; but instead thereof, being stoutly repulsed after several Assaults, concluded the enterprise too difficult, and requiring more time and blood than could be contraverted by the acquisition of that place. Wherefore raising his Camp, he employed a considerable Party to take Neograde, a Castle situated on a high Rock, encompassed with a Ditch of 34 Foot deep, Garrisoned with Six hundred Soldiers, and provided sufficiently with Victuals and Ammunition; however by ill Fortune, and worse Conduct, this place also was resigned into the hands of the Turks.

By this time the Winter approaching, and the season of the Year beginning to be unfit for action, the Great Vizier retreated as far as Belgrade, to take up his Winter Quarters with the grois of his

Army: Where remaining with full Satisfaction and glory, contemplating the successes of the past Year, and promising himself greater recovery, and exaltation of his mighty Acts, for that inflicting; he so contemned the Force of his Enemies, that he Licenced great numbers of the Affas Spahes, who came as far as from Babilon and Grand Cairo, to return home to their own possessions. However, to vex the Christians with continual Alarms, the Vizier ordered a flying Body of Turks and Tartars, to the number of 30000. under the Command of * Chergiegh, to pass into Siria and Croatia, the Country of Count Serini, and there to burn, lay waste, and depopulate all before them. Count Serini was now newly returned from Hungary, and supposing the season for action finished, had lodged the greatest part of his Forces within their Winter Quarters, and securely laid himself to repose; when an Alarm came of the approach of Thirty thousand Horse; the Count rowing his great Spirit from its ease, collected as many of his People into a Body, as the shortness of time would permit, which were not above 480 men; and with these he betook himself to the River Muer, to give a stop (if possible) to the passage of the Enemy, placing Centinels in all places where the River was fordable. On the Seventeenth of November, the Christians espied the Turks Encamped on the other side, and at the same time discovered Two thousand of them to have passed the River; on which, Serini immediately made that furious Assault, assisted with the Courage of Captain Chisfalas (a Person who had oftentimes given glorious proofs of his valour against the Turks) that he soon put them to open flight, and they seeking to pass the River, and missing the place where the River was fordable, threw themselves headlong into the Water where the most part of those perished who escaped the Sword. The Turks on the other side were so amazed at this stupendous Valour of Serini, that their Courages failing them, they desisted from their farther attempt upon Croatia; so that this poor Country seemed as it were for the present, to be reprieved by Miracle, from a total destruction.

* Pasha of Temiswar.

Count Serini overthrows a Party of Turkish Tartars.

THE HISTORY OF Sultan Mahomet IV. THE XIII. EMPEROUR OF THE TURKS.

The Third BOOK

Anno Christi, 1664. Hegeira, 1075.

THE Month of *January* was now well entred with its rigid Frosts, when *Apafi* Prince of *Transilvania*, beholding his Souldiers in their Winter Quarters, and all things quiet and still about him, judged it feasonable for his establishment to discover himself with some lustre to the World, seated in the usual Throne of the *Transilvanian* Princes; which sight appeared so universally grateful to the People, that they began to be enamoured of their Prince, and to applaud his Person, his Prowess and Vertues, and to cast an ill and envious Eye on those Cities which were Garrison'd with German Souldiers. About which time the Fortreſs of *Zachelbyd* revolted from Obedience of the Emperor unto *Apafi* the Prince: For the Souldiery of that Garrison having long Arrears of pay due to them, made a Mutiny, and expelled their Colonel *Dampnyal* from his Office, and pillaged his Houſe, placing the Quarter-Maſter of *Sirocz's* Regiment in his ſtead. The news of this ſedition flew quickly to *Vienna*, from whence immediately a Meſſenger was diſpatched with an Act of Pardon from the Emperor, upon ſubmiſſion, and proffers of full ſatisfaction of all Arrears; but the Souldiery finding themſelves only paid with words, hearkened to the more effectual Propoſitions of *apafi*, who taking hold of this opportunity, ſent every Souldier ten Dollars with a Suit of Cloaths, promiſing larger and more conſtant Pay than they received from the Emperor, with which the Garrison being ſatisfied,

ſurrendered up their City on the 20th of *January*. But whilst other Armies remained in their Quarters, and other Commanders gave themſelves up to eaſe, and drowned themſelves in Wine and Banquets; and whilst Jealouſies, Envy, and Ceremonies, diſturb'd and confuſed the reſolves of Diets and private Councils; the generous and vigilant *Serini*, having received advices from *Adriampole*, that the *Turks* deſign in the next Campaign, was to convert the whole heat and fury of the War upon *Croatia*, and through that Country to open a paſſage unto *Friuli*; his active ſpirit conceived that heat and flame, that the Winters cold could not chill; his hot and eager deſires for entering into the open Field, and commencing ſome attempt and enterpriſe on his Enemy. Wherefore on the 16th of *January*, he began his march from *Serinjwar*, with an Army of about 20000 men; and in the firſt place, marching along the Banks of the *Dravus*, ſhewed himſelf before *Berezenob*; which upon conditions of marching away with Arms, Bag, and Baggage, was ſurrendered to him. *Bakeczka* was likewiſe yielded, and a Palancka on the River quitted upon report of the Counts approach, leaving behind them Eight braſs Guns in the Fort. From hence he marched towards *Eſſick*, otherwiſe called *Ofſek*, which is the only paſs from the upper to the lower *Hungary*, having a Bridge of Wood over a Moor or Fen, about fix or ſeven miles in length, which once I remember, with my Horſe, I was an Hour and three quarters in paſſing (as I

obſerved

1664
Ofſek

The
Bridge
burned.

Quing-
Eccleſia
taken
by
Serini.

observed by my Watch), and reported to have been fix years in building. This Bridge *Serini* reſolved to burn, which coſt the *Turks* 500000 Dollars, and fix years time to build; imagining that to rebuild it again, was a Work of that time, as could not be repaired in one Summer, and that by this means the *Turks* would be diſappointed of all Action the following Year, and the Empire have time to breathe, and ſettle the unſettled of their Strength and Force together; wherefore taking opportunity of the hard Winter, when the Marſh was frozen, and a ſtrong Wind to carry the Flame; he ſent before him 2000. Dragons, and 3000. Croats, which encountering 6000. *Turks* at the foot of the Bridge, ſet for Guard of that place, were ſo ill treated by them, that they had been wholly cut off, had not a conſiderable Force of Horſe and Dragons come in to their affiſtance, by whoſe Reſolution they not only routed the *Turk*, but took the Palancka, which was the Defence of the Bridge, and having gained it in hot blood, put all to Fire and Sword; after which, Fire being ſet to the Bridge in divers places, in a ſhort time it was consumed, and remained in aſhes. The news of this Exploit was received at *Vienna* with great Joy; believing that for the following Year, they had diſappointed the *Turks* of a Paſſage; but by the ſequel it will appear, how much they erred in the account made of the Diligence of the *Turks*, who in forty days repaired that which they esteemed a work of ſome Years; and as I obſerved, it was all built of new Timber, and on another Foundation different from the old. From this place *Serini* marched to *Quing-Eccleſia*, or *Five Kirk*, at whole near approach, the *Turks* ſet out a white Flag on one of the Towers, ſignifying a deſire of Peace, as if they had had intentions to ſurrender on Terms and Articles of Agreement; the Chriſtians with this Confidence marched near the Walls, where the *Turks* eſpying their Advantage on their Enemies now under command of their Guns, fired upon them, and did ſevere Execution, killing amongst others, ſeveral principal Officers, of which were General *Hannemring*, and Count *Harberſtein*; which perfidious Action to tranſport *Serini*, that he reſolved on a furious Aſſault, and performed it with that Gallantry, that on the 5th of *February* he took the Town by Storm and Force of Arms, and in Recompence of their treacherous Stratagem, put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and gave up the Town to the Pillage and Plunder of the Souldiery, and afterwards ſetting it on Fire, rendered it the moſt horrid Spectacle of Fire and Sword that had as yet been ſeen or known in this preſent War.

Theſe Succelles of *Serini* gained him the Reputation of a valiant and fortunate Prince, and his liberal hand in frankly beſtowing the Booty and Pillages amongst the Souldiery, invited great numbers to follow his Banner. His active Spirit and Vigilance gained him likewiſe a Reputation amongst the *Turks*, that their principal Fear and Dread was of *Serini-Ogli*, as of a watchful and poliſtick Enemy; for in every place he made great Harvock and Spoil, being reported to have laden two thouſand five hundred Carts with Slaves, Goods and Ammunition, and to carry with him an hundred fifty five Pieces of Cannon taken out of ſmall Forts and Palanckas, and to have laid waſte all the Country between the *Dravus* and the *Danube*. In theſe Incursions, and victorious and dreadful Travels through the Enemies Country, the valiant *Serini* at length arrived at *Sigeth*, a Fortreſs conſiſting of a new and old Town conjoined by a Bridge which croſſes a

Sigeth-
Bee-
gieg.

famous Marſh or Fen, ennobled by the Attempt made thereon by *Solyman* the Magnificent in the year 1565. with an Army of fix hundred thouſand Men; in defence of which *Nicholas Serini*, the great Grandfather of the preſent Count, immortalized his Fame and Memory with the loſs of his Life, and renowned the Place it ſelf by his Feats at Arms. At this place *Serini* was reſolved to revenge the Blood of his Anceſtors, and ſacrifice great numbers to the Ghoſt of his Grandfather; to which end he ſent the Count *Olack* before him with part of his Army, to Summon the Enemy, and prepare the way to his own more effectual Force; *Olack* had ordered all things accordingly, when *Serini* full of Glory and Spoils arrived him in his Leagere, and joyning together, appointed a day for a general Storm; but whilst theſe things were meditating, and that *Sigeth* was reduced almoſt to the laſt Extremity, advice came of the near approach of a Body of twelve thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*; to encounter which, the Attempt was accounted difficult, conſidering the loſs and diminution of the Chriſtian Forces, which by continual Actions, and the bitter Sufferings of the Winter Season, were reduced to a number inferior to that of their Enemies; and wanting all ſorts of Provision and Ammunition, it was reſolved, as moſt expedient, to raiſe the Siege, which was the next day performed, and the Souldiery taken into Garriſons to Repoſe and Recruit themſelves. But whilst by the active and zealous Spirit of this great Champion, moſt matters proceeded ſucceſsfully on the ſide of *Croatia*, the Chriſtian Affairs on the other ſide, by the negligence of ſome Miniſters, ran into evident Ruin and Diſorder. For *Claudiopole*, which every many years paſt had defended it ſelf ſo valiantly againſt the *Turks* under the Command of the Governor *Rekani*, did now, wanting pay, (the Sinecure and Life of the Souldiery) follow the late Example of *Zachelbyd*, and ſurrendered it ſelf into the hands of *Apafi*; and tho the Complaints and Murmuring of the Souldiers gave a ſufficient time of warning to make due Proviſions againſt a Miſfortune ſo imminent and plainly appearing; yet the want of Expedition at *Vienna*, and the unproſperable Application only of empty Words and Air to feed the penury, and ſatiſſie the Appetite of ſtaring Men, was a Remedy ſo little available, that the Garriſon ſubmitted to *Apafi*, and yielded to Conditions whereby they might Eat and Live; the Story of which Place, compared with that of *Zachelbyd*, was ſo ſhameful and pungent to Men capable of any impreſſions of Honour or Duty, that at length it awakened the *Germans*, and admoniſhed them to provide better for *Zacemar* and *Tickey*, and other Frontier Garriſons, left they alſo ſhould incur the like Fate and Miſfortune with the two former.

By this time the Actions of *Serini* were rumoured in the Grand Signiors Seraglio, and the report of them became common in the mouths of the Vulgar; wherefore full of Anger and Diſdain, the Sultan wrote ſeverely to his Vizier, reproving him of negligence for ſuffering *Serini* to freely to range his Countries without controul, to the great Diſhonour of his Empire, and Damage of his People: whereupon the Vizier not as yet having received his Recruits, nor prepared to early for the March of the groſs of his Army, diſpatched notwithstanding a conſiderable Force to precede him, with Orders either by ſtrength to ſurpriſe *Serini*, or to ſlay to lay Siege unto it. This Army marching by the way

The Siege
railed.

Claudiopole
ſurrendered
it ſelf to
Apafi.

of *Poland*, the news thereof was brought to Count *Serini*, who was appointed by his Brother to be Centinel on the Guard of his Country, whilst he in Person was besieged in *Hungary*, who immediately thereupon, with what Force he could collect, ambushed himself at the narrow Pass of a Mountain called the *Adriatic*, where he had not long tarried before the *Turks*, without order or care, entered with their whole body, but being on a sudden surprized by the Count, were wholly defeated, leaving two thousand dead on the place, with many Prisoners.

The Month of *March* being now well entered, the Frosts began to thaw, and the Air became more mild and moderate, when Count *Nicholas Serini* entertained thoughts of laying Siege to *Kanisfa*: But to lay the Foundation of this Design with the better Judgment, it was thought first necessary to view the State and Situation of the Place: wherefore the Count in Person, accompanied with about fourteen Officers, went one day to take a survey thereof; but he was not so private in his Design, but that it was known to the *Turks*, who secretly laid five hundred Men in wait to take him, and upon the near approach of *Serini*, started from their Holes with Shouts and Out-cries; but the Count was so well mounted on his *Cavalier* Courier, that he out-ran them all, and got Refuge in the Thickets of a neighbouring Wood, where three hundred of his own Horse alarmed at a distance by the Echo's of the cry, came in to his Succor, and making Head against the *Turks*, routed and defeated them, killing and taking many Prisoners; amongst the slain was found one armed Captain, with a silk Tunic, or Cord of divers Colours about his Waist, who was, as reported by the Captives, to have been one who resolved to have taken *Serini*, and with that Cord to have brought him bound to the Feet of the Vizier. *Serini* having thus escaped, resolved to Revenge himself of the Affront, and therefore made most dreadful Spoils and Confusion in all Places round *Kanisfa*; so that the People flying thither for Sanctuary, were refused Entertainment by the Pasha, who at that time labouring with scarcity, and expecting a Siege, had no need of unnecessary Gueils.

Serini having now fully resolved to lay Siege to *Kanisfa*, thought fit first to disguise the Design to his Imperial Majesty; for which purpose he dispatched away the Engineer General with Letters to the Council of War of the Lower *Hungary*, containing a perfect Relation of the Success and Progress of his Arms in that Winter, and how he had laid waste and desolate all that Circumference of Land which lies between the River *Dravus* and *Seraphus*, by which means *Kanisfa* was already straitened for Famine, and that now was the only Season to recover that Fortrefs, if the Design were put into immediate Execution, before the *Turks* arose from their Winter-quarters, or had time to afford thousand Foot-soldiers. The Resolution of *Serini* was so well pleasing to the Council, that by the same Messenger they signified their Approbation thereof to the Emperor, then at the Diet at *Ratisbona*, humbly desiring, that this Design might proceed, which would undoubtedly take effect, if the Count were provided only with thirty thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse; but then the Siege was to be laid before the beginning of *April*, i. e. the early motion of the *Turkish* Camp should lift and defeat the too late beginning of this Action. The particular Journal of *Serini's* Successes was not less pleasing to his *Cæsar* than

justly, than his present Heroical Resolution against *Kanisfa*, who thereupon gave Orders to the General Council to supply him with all Provisions, Ammunition and Men which were requisite for this Siege, and was graciously pleased himself to express in a Letter to the Count, the Sense he had of his Merits and Valour, which he applauded and extolled in the Words following.

Postquam mihi Architectus Militaris de Passenboj eximius Vestris progressus famulosque Pontis Effluens exornavit, et cetera a Palis edita Virtutis Militaris singularia specimen longa ferre exposuisset, supereminet Vestræ de 19. Februarii, & omnia brevior, quam tantarum eorum magnitudo capit, enarratione confirmavit. Pedit fortunatus ille progressus laescenti rei Hungaria firmam dimiculationem, erexit conservatos morum fidem animos, & futurorum felicitum successum non exiguum jecit fundamentum. Proinde hæc Vestræ egregia facta non minus vobis gratæ & acceptæ occidunt, quam in Nominis Vestri perennitatem, & augendam apud Posteris memoriam reduntant. Spero omnino per Divinam assistentiam, virtutemque, & experientiam Vestram ejusmodi ultiores felices successus, atque hostilium armorum debellationem.

According to this Order of the Emperor, the Resolution of the Council of War was established on the 10th of *March*, and *Serini* published, That on the 8th of *April* he would begin the Siege; but in regard the *Germans* in *Sirvia*, and the Forces of the *Rhine*, by reason of the Absence of their General, the Count *Olack*, could not be so soon ready, the time of the Siege was deferred until the 30th of *April*, on which, or the first of *May*, the Town was formally beleaguered, not so much with hopes of Success, as with Design to maintain the Reputation of the Imperial Arms, and to divert the gross of the Enemies force from the more easy and delightful Plains of *Italy*, or the plentiful Confinnes of *Vienna*, to a Country less happy or fruitful, encompassed with Fens and Marthes, poisoned with bad Airs and Vapours, and made more miserable already by the Desolations of War. But let us leave *Serini* at his Siege before *Kanisfa*, and travel a while with our thoughts to the most effectual Means, and understand what is there forming and designing towards Preservation of the Commonweal of the Empire. The taking of *Neubausfel*, and the Progress of the *Ottoman* Arms, had awakened the *German* Princes with that Sense of the common Danger, that a Diet was assembled at *Ratisbona* to consult the most effectual Means, that might give a stop to the unconrolled Incursions of the *Turk*. And not to trouble the Reader with the Names of all those Princes and Ambassadors which there appeared, it will be sufficient to signify, That besides his *Cæsar* Imperial Majesty, there were present, as his Plenipotentiaries, the Elector of *Munich*, and Archbishop of *Salzburg*: And the many Princes followed themselves with Glory and Splendor; yet none appeared with that Pomp and Magnificence as the Elector of *Bavaria*, who for number of Coaches, richness of his Liveries, and compleat Government of his Retinue, was so neat and polite,

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The strength of the Christian Army.

Italy.

England.

Poland.

France.

The Diet at Ratisbona

lite, that he seemed not only to exceed every Count in particular, but in Elegance and Magnificence to equalize them all together. Upon Debate of matters in reference to this War, the Count of *Olack* was unanimously chosen General for the Confederates of the *Rhine*; but the more hot disputes between the Protestants and Papists about Election of other Generals kept matters in longer suspense; yet at length the Marquis of *Baden* was chosen Marshal General, in behalf of the League, the Marquis of *Durlach*, and the Bishop of *Munster* his Counsellors; and Director of the War; and Count *Francis Eucker*, General of the Ordinance, but in the Levies of their Forces they concurred more freely and willingly; for besides the Imperial Forces, which consisted of 41600 Foot, and 13900 Horse, the Allies and Confederates furnished 13850 Foot, and 3350 Horse; the Auxiliaries of the Empire made up a Body of 16991 Foot and 4037 Horse, besides the Forces of *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg*, and the Succours of *Prussia*; so that by Gods Providence, the Christian Army was this year esteemed equal, if not more numerous than the multitudes of their Enemies.

The next matter under consideration was the nomination of Ministers to be sent abroad to implore assistance from Christian Princes more remote, the Count *Pisciniano* was chosen Minister to the Courts of *Italy*; but having taken a Distemper in his Journeys, died after a short sickness at *Adrian*. Also the Count *Calato*, sent to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, died in his Journey before he arrived at *London*; notwithstanding which the generous Piety of His Majesty was not wanting with a liberal Hand to contribute towards the Promotion of the Christian Interest.

From *Poland* nothing more could be obtained than Terms of Courtesy, and Demonstrations of Good Will and Desires, for that their Forces being employed against the *Moscovites* to reconquer the lost Countries of *Lithuania*, could not possibly attend the Service and Command of his Imperial Majesty, tho' they could not but at the same time reflect on their Premures and Necessities with Shame and Confusion, which disabled them from answering with like returns the grateful Memory they still retained of the assistance against *Sweden*.

To his Most Christian Majesty Count *Straetz* was employed, before whose Arrival at *Paris* the common Report and Vogue was, That that King resolved to contribute an effectual Assistance to the Christian Cause in that present Conjunction; but pious Disposition *Straetz* so happily improved, that he obtained from his Majesty a Grant and Promise of four thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, raised and paid at his own Charge, to be united with the Troops of the *Rhinish* League: And farther, His Majesty was so gracious herein, that he published a Declaration, That what Person soever would serve the Emperor against the *Turks*, his Resolution and Action therein should be supported by him, in the same manner as if the Service were immediately tendered to himself. Upon which many Persons of Quality resolved upon this Expedition, amongst which was the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Marquis de *Villeroy*, the Abbot of *Richelieu*, and many other Heroes, and Persons of Bravery, who ventured their Lives with no other Consideration than that of Honour and Religion. But before I pass from this Embassy, give me leave to report a Complement which Count *Straetz* passed upon this King, which some say did favour a little too

much of Flattery and Affectation. The matter was this: Count *Straetz* being admitted to his Audience, so soon as he entered into the Chamber, I know not whether it was feigned or real, he seemed to be struck with such an Amazement and Fear, that for a while he was not able to pronounce a word Articulate or Intelligible; but at length recollecting himself, he began with a trembling Voice to make this Declaration of his Speech, having his Senes diffused, and his Eyes dazzled with the Rays and Splendor of so much Majesty; and with that, as in a Rapture or Ecstasy, broke out into an Admiration of the French Monarchy, the report of whose Greatness and Glory, tho' arrived to the utmost Confinnes of the Universe, came yet short of the real Majesty, which he saw and admired: whole dreadful and mysterious Throne was sufficient to revive the dead Ashes of the *Sabeen* Queen to prostitute herself before this new *Salem*, much excelling the Wisdom, the Riches, the Virtue, and Happiness of the former. And thence descending with the like sagacious Observations, to confute the malicious Reports of malignant Tongues, who, envious of the harmony of Christian Spirits, represented His Majesty as ill-affected to the *Austrian* Family; whereas to the contrary, he could testify to have found that excess of Affection, and admirable Disposition in His Majesty towards the Emperor, and his Ally as rendered his Embassy abundantly happy and successful, which joined to the Zeal His Majesty had towards the Christian Cause, was like Friendship united to Charity, and moral Virtues made perfect by spiritual Qualifications. In fine, he compared his Christian Majesty to that glorious Sun, which communicates his light to the Christian World, affords the most benign Influence to the Catholic Climate; with much better reason therefore ought *Germany* to participate in great a Circle of those Rays, as may derive wholly to obscure and darken the dim and barbarous Light of the *Ottoman* Moon. In sum, *Straetz* knew so well how to manage his Discourse, and play the Orator, that he obtained considerable Assurances, and returned to his Master the Emperor with full Lemonations of all obliging Terms, and courteous treatments. And having thus understood what Preparations are making in *Brissindon*, let us pass over into the *Turki* Quarters, and see what is in the mean time transacting in those Dominions.

At this time the Rumour of a Rebellion and Mutiny amongst the Great *Begs* at Grand *Cairo* in *Egypt*, afforded matter for Trouble and Contention at the *Ottoman* Court; for that those *Begs* who have great Possessions and Power in that Country, make Seizure of *Arabian* Pasture, and imprisoned him, being about the Expiration of his three years commonly allotted to that Government; and therefore near upon departure. The demands they had upon him was for no less than three thousand Purles of Money, which according to the *Cairo* Account, are reckoned seven hundred and fifty Dollars a Purle, and pretended to be taken from them against Law and Justice; and that without Restitution thereof they resolved not to restore him his Liberty. This Intolerance against so eminent a Pasha, qualified with such illustrious Power in his Government, and one related to the Grand Signior by Marriage to his Sister, compared with the late neglects and disobedience of that People who for some years had tasted in the full payment of their tribute, were inter, served as evident Symptoms of Disaffection and Negligency, which that People entertained against the *Ottoman* Subjection.

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Count Straetz's Speech to the French King.

Rebellion of the Begs in Egypt.

1664. Subjection. Wherefore the Sultan immediately dispatched away the Master of his Horse to Cairo, with full Power to appease this Rebellion, and with Lentives to moderate the Fury of the People, who seemed to be too Licentious and Unbridled to be governed by a Mueftin or Deputy: Wherefore the Seldat Aga was elected Pasha, and to depart with all Expedition. In the mean time this Messenger, to make greater haste, took post through Asia with thirty in his Company, and in a short time arrived at Grand Cairo, where, with fair terms, and Restitution of some Money from the Pasha, all matters were reduced to an amicable compofure, only the punishment of the chief Mutineers, with a fair Countenance, deferred for a Season, was reserved according to the Turkish Fashion, when time and opportunity presented, remunerated to those factious Spirits with a severe Interest, and Satisfaction to Justice.

Not long after, Ibrahim Pasha having obtained his Liberty, returned from his Government of Cairo to Constantinople, where refreshing himself some time with the Embraces of his young Sultana, an Imperial Command for immediate payment of four hundred Purfes of Money to the Grand Signior's Treasury, disturbed his delightful quiet. The Pasha made a present payment of one half, but deferred time for the Remainder, either in way of a bribe, or else in hopes of ease of his Fine. But the Sultan, who is impatient of any delay in his Slaves, which favours of obduracy or disobedience, tho never so reasonable, dispatched another Command, enjoining present Compliance, and as a Penalty for the late Neglect, raised the Demand from four hundred to six hundred Purfes, which if not as readily paid as required, the Chamber of Constantinople was impowered to commit him Prisoner within the four Gates of the Seraglio, the fatal Prison, from whence few find other Release than by Death. The Pasha not being able to comply, was there retrained of his Liberty; and yet had the good fortune in a few days to obtain his freedom, by the endeavours (as some suppose) of the Great V. Zier, who having by this Act weakened his Power and Treasure, did afterwards as an instrument of his Deliverance, conceive his Life, and obtain for him the Government of *Darbiquar*, where being remote and obscure at so far a distance, could never be capable to stir up, or by his great popularity and affable shadow, or by his great popularity and affable comportment endanger the present happy State of the V. Ziers Office.

Matters growing now towards Adion, by return of the Spring, the Grand Signior, to encourage his V. Zier in a continuance of his duty, sent him a Horse and a Sword as a Testimony of his favour and good Esteem of his Person; and Orders were issued out through all the Empire for publick Prayers to be made some days before the V. Zier began his March towards the Enemy. This appointment of publick Devotions occasioned matter of argument and dispute between the Muefti, and a Shegi or Preacher, one that was always on Confidence of his familiar Access to the Presence of the Sultan, and on Pretimpson of his Sanctity and Privilege of his Office, took Liberty to oppose and contradict the Oracle of the Ottoman Law. The Problem in question was, Whether Prayers appointed for success of the Ottoman Arms, according to the Law of the Prophet, were to be made privately, and in every Moleh or oratory apart, or in a general assembly of the whole City. The Muti maintained

the last Position, citing in favour of his Opinion the Testimony of divers *Arabick* Doctors, and the customs of the present and past times. The Shegh on the contrary was for Devotions to be performed in every Moleh, declaring, That the Assembly of all the People of a City into one Body did nothing avail or enforce the Power of Prayer; for they being true Believers, were all illuminates, and had need of no helps to make their Prayers more fervent or more acceptable. The argument was hot on both sides; and tho the Muti had got another shegh on his part, who might pretend to as much of Illumination as the other, and joynted to the Muefti's Opinion, who is the Mouth and undoubted Interpreter of the Law, and no need of helps to relieve the knot of difficulties, but to impose an Affent on them with greater Authority; yet the Shegh having the Grand Signior on his side, presently got most of Reason, and forced the Muti to recant his former Opinion as Erroneous; and to banish the other Shegh his Companion, pretending that he was now convinced, and had sooner discovered the truth, than not the Impostor, the false Preacher deceived him by his leged Illuminations. This Victory gained the shegh much applause and esteem with the Grand Signior, so that he vended what Doctrine he pleased, and all he said was taken for Divine Rules and Precepts. He was born about *Pan* on the Coast of *Paphos*, so that he is called *Panni Efendi*, and is of the *Armenian* Race; he preached every Friday at *Adrianople* in one Moleh or other, where the Grand Signior was for the most part present; and tho the greatest part of his sermons were fluffed up with Praises of the *Mohammedan* Religion, and Invectives against Christians, tenacious all polluted and profane who associate with them, and exclaiming against the abominable use of Wine; yet it is confidently reported, that he is no strict Observer of the Law he professes, the which his Disciples and Familiars are ready to excuse in him, saying, That it may be lawful for him to dispense with such matters, in regard his Illuminations and high Prerogatives of Sanctity have infringed him from observance of the meaner and less substantial points of their Law.

The Turks, who are as much given to Predictions and Interpretations of old Prophecies, as ever the Egyptians were, busied themselves this year more than ever, to know the Event of this War. Some, who had tried ancient *Arabick* Predictions, had extracted certain Astrological Figures, and from these framed strange Fancies, according to the humour or melancholy of the Astrologer; one whereof coming to the Grand Signior's ears, mentioning divers things obscurely, and in general of the great Effusion of Blood, but that at last the Advantage and Victory should remain to the Turks, and that the Grand Signior himself should shortly make a Journey; the Grand Signior troubled hereat, as much as ever *Pharao* was about the Interpretation of his Dream, fell for one of the Chief Judges of the Law, called the *Kadilicheer*, and with him conferred concerning this Prediction; all things pleased him well, but only the latter part of *Pharao*'s Journey. Whether that Journey should be, he could not imagine, his Arms were so prosperous in Hungary, that he conceived the V. Zier had need of his Presence either to animate or recruit his Army; and to any other part, he knew not what could move him from his delightful and beloved City of *Adrianople*. The *Kadilicheer* supposing that he might put that Interpretation

Predictions amongst the Turks.

1664. tion thereon which might not be ungrateful, replied, Perhaps, O Emperor, he may mean that you shall again return to your sublime and happy Port of *Constantinople*. The Grand Signior suddenly recoiled herself, but soon recovering, How, said he, to *Constantinople*? what joy, what comfort can I have there? Hath not that place been fatal to my Father? What benefit had my Uncle from thence? or any of my Race? Have not all my Princes Ancestors been subject to a thousand mutines and Rebellions in that place? I shall sooner that than venture further so, fire to my own hands, and rejoice to see that City with my Seraglio brought to ashes. And that we may farther discover the strange aversion the Sultan had to *Constantinople*, and his resolution to change the Seat of his Empire, it is observable, that he built a small Seraglio not far from *Adrianople*, in imitation of that of *Constantinople*, called *Osman Pasha*, the place to which he most frequently resorted after that City fell under his like and untreated. The Village where his Palace was built was called *Chionichio*, or the Village of Pots where earthen Vessels were made: but the Grand Signior changed the name, and called it *Osman Pasha*, with which name before the People were well acquainted; and that it was accustomed to their mouths, two poor filly Country men mistaking, and calling it *Osman* by the former name, were apprehended by some of the Hoffengers, and brought before the Grand Signior as contemners of the Imperial Command, and by his immediate Sentence were put to death.

About the end of May the Grand Signior had a Son born to him one of his Women, for joy of which seven days of *Dunama*, or rejoicing were appointed through all the Ottoman Dominions; but especially at *Adrianople* the Solemnity was great, all sorts of Artificers endeavouring to outvie each other in their Shows and Paffimes to entertain the City. At the Gate of the Seraglio was erected a magnificent Pavilion for the Grand Signior, before whom were shown rare artificial Fire-works invented by the most ingenious Masters thereof amongst the Jews; one of which firing a Rocket, which not ascending with usual strength, unhappily fell on the Velt of the Grand Signior's Favourite, flaming and setting on fire the Tent, so that the young Man being surprized, first to find out him who fired it, which happening to be a poor Jew, was condemned immediately by the Grand Signior's Sentence to receive eighty Blows on the Soles of his Feet; but as report went, this young Favorite not appeased with this slender Punishment, obtained the Sultan's command to put him to Death.

But to return to the Turkish Camp. The V. Zier was astonished to understand that *Kaniffa* was besieged, and wondered much at the rashness of *Serini*, in attempting a Work so difficult without probability of success; howsoever being advised, that the Garrison was ill provided of Victuals and Ammunition, he gave orders for his Supplies. In order to which eighty Carrs laden with Provisions conveyed by a considerable number of Turks, were conducted by way of *Sigets*; but being interrupted in their passage by *Serini's* Soldiers, were routed, put to flight, and their Provisions taken. In the mean time the Besieged made many vigorous Sallies and gave no outward sign of his Supplies; and to defend themselves the better, uncovered the tops of their Houses, and made their Lodgings under ground, secure from Granadoes, or shot of the Enemies Batteries. On the other side the Ammunition and Artillery from the Emperor came not so timely as was expected; nor were the Bomboes and Granadoes so artificially made,

1664. but that many of them spent themselves in vain: the Succours likewise of men fell very short of the numbers promised; and Souldiery being drawn from their Winter Quarters before the colds were paid, or the pasture grown, began to murmur, but nothing discontented them so much as want of Pay, the just complaint of Souldiery, which discouraged them more than the difficulty of their adventure: against all which *Serini* provided as much as he was able out of his own Purse, continuing the Siege more out of reputation than probable hopes of success; for his Army was at last diminished two thousand in its number, of which four hundred Hungars, and two hundred Germans were lost in the first Assaults made upon the suburbs, and the rest perished by sickness, and the vigorous and frequent sallies of the Enemy. Howsoever *Serini* seemed not to doubt of the success, if he could but be for some time secure of the assistance of the V. Zier, who now began to draw his troops and numerous Army out of their Winter Quarters into the open field; and therefore with the other Officers before *Kaniffa*, signified their advice to the Emperor and General Council of War, That it was necessary that the Imperial Army should be sent out by the Field into the open field; for the more methodical government of Affairs, that the Army should be divided into three Bodies, one to recruit the Forces before the Town, a second to march to *Ofch*, and hinder the Enemies passage over the *Dravus*, and a third to take the Field, and apply assistance where it was judged most useful. This counsel being accepted by the Emperor, Orders were immediately issued forth to General *Montecuculi* to begin his March, with design to obstruct the Turks passage over the *Dravus*; for that the success against *Kaniffa* was of that high importance, as might justly require the employment of all the Christian Forces in its concertment. Therefore one Foot was dispatched after the other to *Montecuculi* to follow it in speedy March, and to give a try to the V. Ziers Progress. But he answered, That he attended General *Sporch*, whom he every day expected to join with him; but this Answer proving by the effect to be nothing more than a pretext excuse, gave occasion for suspicion, and produced that discontent in the minds of the more zealous, as spread a rumour through all Germany much to the disreputation of *Montecuculi*. Time thus being protracted, and no Forces appearing to recruit the League, at length advice came to the Generals, when they were just going to disperse, that the V. Zier with a most numerous Army was within three Leagues of the Town. For the Bridge of *Ofch* was against the common opinion again rebuilt, planked, and completed with new Timbers in the space of forty days, many hands making light work; which when first founded, was the work of six years: which Expedition was the more remarkable, in regard this Bridge was not formed out of the Ruins of the old, nor founded on the same ground, but new framed out of the Woods with as much confinement and order as befits a bridge of that nature and length, passing over a wild Marsh or Fen. The news of the V. Ziers near approach was strange to *Serini*, who by the calculation made of his March, did not yet expect him for several days; but the V. Zier apprehending the straits in which *Kaniffa* might be, leaving the grofs of his Army, made more expeditious Journeys with a body of twenty thousand Horse, which not being unknown to *Serini*, his daring spirit was once relieved to give him Battle, in which opinion was also Count *Serini's* bet

* Fifteen English Miles.

A Dispute between the Muti and a Shegh.

The Grand Signior's aversion to Constantinople.

A small Seraglio by that name near Constantinople.

A Son born to the Grand Signior.

The Siege of Kaniffa.

1664.
The Siege
of Serin-
li.

The Turks
pass to the
Christian
Army.

but *Olach* dissenting, and refusing to engage his Forces, the Siege was raised, and all the Forces with good order retreated to *Serinliwar*, where they arrived the day following, leaving to the Enemy a great quantity of Powder, Match, Shovels, 20 Carts of Meal, and Two Iron Guns broken.

No Vilgrin ever followed his way with more devotion to the sacred Shrine, than the Vizier was willingly led in pursuit of his Enemy to the Walls of *Serinliwar*, being the place to which his intentions inclined, as the beginning and consummation of the War. Over against this envied Fort there is a little Hill strong by Nature, incampalled with a narrow Ditch, yet not so narrow, as that a Horse can leap over it, nor yet so shallow as to be forced. This Hill *Serim* proposed to the rest of his Collegues or Coadjutors, viz. *Olach* and *Spar*, as a place commodious to incamp their Army, because lying open to the River, could easily be relieved, and would serve as a Redoubt or Out-work to the Fort, in which upon all extremities they might find Sanctuary and refuge: But the apprehension of the Viziers Numbers, and his near approach had made that impression of fear in their minds, that no safety seemed to remain, unless they could fee the River *Mora* between them and their Enemy. Nor was *Serim* more successful in his persuasions to assault the Enemy, whilst they were wearied with their March, and busied in extending their Tents, the other Generals being of opinion, that it was too great a hazard for them alone to venture their Forces in unequal Combat, but they ought rather to expect *Montecuculi*, by the addition of whose Forces the lot of War would be less hazardous, if not wholly certain. In this manner great Enterprises have been disappointed, which have wanted only resolution to make them successful. Fortune being commonly favourable, if not a Servant, to bold and daring Spirits, the distinction also of Generals hath been the overthrow of the wisest Councils, and Wars have been observed never to have thrived where the Heads of Armies have been of dissenting humors or different interests.

This timidity on the Christian part raised in that manner the Spirits of the *Turks*, that without stop or opposition passing the River *Mora*, they arrived at *Serinliwar*, where they immediately tell for their Mattock and Spade, breaking ground for their Trenches, which by continued labour they so diligently attended, that in Seventeen days they arrived at the very Ditch of the Fort. Only whilst the *Turks* were transporting their Numbers over the River, the generous spirit of *Serim* not enduring to see their passage so easy and open, valiantly opposed himself and his small Force against the greater power of the Enemy, and so resolutely performed the Action, that he killed Five hundred upon the place, till at length being unfortunately hurt by a Musket bullet in the Forehead, he gloriously, together with one *Chisafas*, a renowned Croatian Captain, ended his days in defence of his Country and the Christian Cause.

In this interim General *Montecuculi* arrived with his Army, and was received by Count *Serim* with all evidences and demonstrations of respect and hearty welcome, and between both passed an appearance at least of friendly correspondence. But as to the present Engagement, *Montecuculi* was of opinion, That the opportunity was over flipp, which should at first have been performed, rather by way of surprize than open Battle, before the Ottoman Army had arrived to its full numbers, consisting now of an hundred

thousand fighting men. To which reasons *Serim* replied, That the Christian Cause, and the States and Confines of the Empire were not to be maintained by men that carry their thumbs at their girdles, or by Armies made refty with ease, and wanton with luxury. That those Armies were raised not to confume and exhaust the Revenues of their Princes, and Eschequiers of their States, without making satisfactory amends by a valiant defence of that interest which they owned. That the Enemy had not been before that time attempted, was no fault or neglect of his, who under the very Walls of *Kassifa* resolved to give them Battle; but that the other Generals supposed it more prudence and caution to protract the Engagement till his Arrival, who being now happily conjoined with them, nothing ought to deter them from a glorious Attempt on the *Turks*, who not confiding of above Thirty thousand men, ill disciplined, and worse armed, were not able to withstand the prowess of their Veteran Army, which far exceeded them in number, discipline, and courage. These or such like expressions *Serim* used; and to prove what he averred, he dispatched a confident Person of his own, who spake naturally the *Turkish* Language, with a Letter to the *German* Resident, then entertained under custody in the *Turkish* Camp, to know of him the true state and number of the *Turks*, which Messenger soon after returned with this short account.

*Nisi memoriam vestri, amplius non referat, hic vix sunt triginta milia, nec illa satis clemis, quidvis a pugna detestor? Turmentum Arcei nimis in auditu expulsum. Which in English is thus. Unless you desire my death, write me back to me again, here are scarce Thirty thousand men, and those ill provided, what then should deter you from an Engagement? The Cannon in the Castle are too high mounted, or foot over. Serim gave this Letter to *Montecuculi*, who replied, That so soon as General *Sporch* came up with his Forces, he would immediately draw up the Army into *Batalia*, *Sporch* being arrived, he then resolved to expel *Marques Baden*, and so deferred the Battle from time to time, until the *Turks* advantaging themselves by these delays, had worked themselves under ground to the very Ditch of the Castle. At length *Montecuculi* entering into *Serim's* Fort (it is not known upon what reasons of jealousy, or discontent) cleared *Serim's* Forces of the Garrison, and dispossessed the Governour; which when *Serim* perceived, full of anger and displeasure, he quitted the Camp, and retired himself to his Residence at *Chiancarone*, with intent to make his just Appeal and Complain to the Emperor's Court.*

The *Turks* availing themselves of these delays and discontent, proceeded forward in their work, so that having Mined to the very Walls, on the 9th of June, they blew up one of the half Moons, at which the Defendants were so terrified, that with amazement they Wit open one of their Sally Ports, at which the *Turks* entering, put the whole Garrison into disorder, consisting of 1900 fighting men; so that now no safety remaining; but in flight, they forsook their Fort, and crowding over the Bridge in confused heaps, broke it down with the over-pressure of its burden; by doing which, many perished in the Waters, and about Three hundred and fifty which remained, were cut off by the Sword; this was the fate of *Serim's* Fort, built with Art, and lost by Cowardice and ill Conduct, which Year before, only with Twenty Germans, and One hundred and fifty Hungarians, withstood a most importunate and fierce storm of the Enemy, but

1664.
Serim's
Reasons
to fight
with the
Turks.

The Ger-
man Resi-
dent re-
turns to
Count
Serim.

Monte-
cuculi con-
trary to
the opin-
ion of Se-
rim de-
clines the
Battle with
the
Turks.

Serim re-
turns from
the War.

Serinliwar
taken.

now

1664.

now was less tenable than a Palancha, the Garrisoned with 1900 Men, of whom in this last Assault one alone had Courage to fire his Musket, but none adventured to draw a Sword; unless certain Volunteers, and French Officers, whose Courage only renowned their own Deaths, and served to upbraid the Cowardice of their Companions. In the Fort were only found five small Field Pieces, one whole Cannon, a great Mortar Piece, and two small ones belonging to Count *Serim*; there were also one Mortar Piece, and two small Field Pieces, like to those of *Serim*, belonging to the Emperor; the other Guns of weight or value, were carried out of the Fort, as being judged not long tenable, and decreed to be abandoned to the Enemy. *Serim* crept being thus taken was immediately demolished by the Vizier, and razed to the Ground; either because he would seem to maintain his Word or Vow he had made; or because he would not multiply Garrisons, when the present Occasions required rather the active Force of a moving Army.

Reflec-
tions on
the digrace
of Serim.

But before we proceed farther, it seems pertinent to our purpose, to declare the Reasons and Grounds of the preceding neglects and discouragements passed upon *Serim* by the Grandees of the Imperial Army, which not being vindicated by the Emperor, seem to have been cast upon him by his capricious Order, or at least to have been willing for some private respect, to have the Person of *Serim* abused, and his Actions obscured. It is therefore to be noted (what before hath been said) That the first pretence the *Turks* made for this War, was this Fort of *Serinliwar*, raised against the Capitulations and Articles of the last Peace; for which the Violence against *Varadin* may be pleaded as equal, if not exceeding the present Breach, to which this was only subsequent, and seemed to be but a just Recompence or Effect thereof; yet because it was that fane of Scandal and Offence, which drew after it that deadly War, in which the Emperor unwillingly engaged against the Ottoman Power, and caused him freely to intimate unto *Serim*, his desire rather to see that Fort demolished, than the Peace interrupted; to which *Serim* yielding no Ear, drew upon himself the deserved displeasure of his most gracious Prince, who permitted the act of his Obduracy and Disobedience, to become a just Snare to his own Folly. But perhaps that Displeasure which was Justice in the Emperor, might be Envy, and Emulation in his Ministers, who beholding with jealous Eyes his Actions and Successes the Winner before, which engaged his Enemies, and exalted his Name to that Glory in all the Courts of Christian Princes, that the Pope honoured him with the Medals of Gold, the King of Spain, with the Order of the Golden Fleece; the French King as a Demonstration of his Esteem, with a Token of ten thousand Crowns; and Cardinal *Franco Barberini*, with a Pension of eight hundred Crowns a Month; and all other European Princes at least made the most part Applications to him by Congratulatory Letters, admiring his Virtues, and applauding his Successes; permitting their Gazets and Diurnals, Weekly to divulge and publish his Praises. From whence may rationally be collected the true occasion of that Envy, which by cold affluences, and flow success, obscured as well the taking of *Kassifa*, as the valiant defence of *Serinliwar*, which was decayed, not only as a Fort erected without due and mature Consideration, but without art, or regular Proportions, which might render it tenable; accusing at the same time as well the

Rashness and Temerity of *Serim's* Councils, as his want of Judgment and Experience in Military Affairs.

But to leave now the sad subject of the Christian misfortunes, occasioned by their own quarrels and dissensions, which the Grand Enemy of Gods Church always endeavoured to fow for advancement of his own Kingdom: Let us cast our Eyes on the other parts of unhappy Hungary. The Siege of *Kassifa* being raised, and *Serinliwar* taken and demolished, *Turks* had fuelled, and pulled up the minds of the *Turks* to a height that nothing seemed difficult or impossible to the redoubles. On the other side, controversies and delays gave that advantage to the Enemy, that nothing could be expected, but losses, slaughter, and in the end, a total ruin. But God who pitied the miseries of poor *Christendom*, cast his Eyes of mercy on the Frontiers of the upper Hungary, granting some more happy successes to the Christian Arms, conducted by the Valour and Fortune of Count *Saife*, a French Gentleman, who having the Command of an Army distinct from that of *Montecuculi*, began his first attempt and enterprise upon *Nitra*, where several Persons of Quality, and Officers of the *Turkish* Army, were allowed to confider of the Affairs of War. *Saife* having taken his convenient measures, and made his due approaches, began to batter the Walls, a great part of which in a short time he shook so furiously, that he opened a very wide Breach, and continually playing Grand batteries to the Town, so frightened the besieged, that immediately they offered a Parly, which *Saife* accepted. (the rather, upon advice, that *Varadin*, *Solno*, *Timiswar*, and the places adjacent, were collecting Forces to raise the Siege, and relieve the Town) entered into Treaty, and concluding upon Conditions, the Town surrendered, and the *Turks* marched out with the Colours folded, and Muskets under their Arms, leading their Horses, had Convey as far as *Csomar*.

Saife having obtained this success, entered into Consultation about recovery of *Neuhof*, it being having no Forces judged sufficient to attempt the difficulty of that place, he turned his endeavours and designs upon *Leana* or *Leventz*; but in the way thither he was casually engaged with a Body of fourteen thousand *Turks* and *Tartars*, who were marching to the relief *Nitra*, and fell in unawares upon his Rearguard; whereupon *Saife* commanded the Regiment of his Major General *Guarrieri*, and of the Colonel's *Cavara* and *Zetich*, and the Horse and Dragoons of *Brandenburg*, then marching into the Van, to face about, and Charge the Enemy, which they performed with that Courage and Vigour, that they routed and purified them as far as the River *Gawa*. At which place *Saife* Encamped with his Army, and in an advantageous Situation made a line of Circumvallation about his Camp, strengthening it with five Pieces of Cannon. The *Turks* having recovered a convenient Retreat upon the River, remained opposite to the Christians, and having there reinforced themselves with additional Recruits, returned again to give them Battle, and in many places with extremity of Fury and Despair, assaulted the Christian Camp: Fortune for a long time remained doubtful on both sides, till at length the admirable Resolution of the Christians overcame, leaving a thousand *Turks* executed on the place; many were drowned and the rest fled, leaving a rich Booty for reward to the Conquerors.

The Christians in this manner being successful, resolved not to check the current of their Fortune, but without delay, proceeded to *Leana*. X 2 Which

Nitra re-
taken by the
Christians.

The Tur-
ks about
Saife.

Leana ta-
ken.

1664 which having been for some time battered with great Guns, surrendered it self to the mercy of the Conquerors; in which was found a considerable quantity of Meal, and twenty great pieces of Artillery.

In the mean time, the difference between the King of France and the Pope (on occasion of the insult offered at Rome by the *Caffi*, to the Embassadors House and Person) being this Year composed; those Forces of the French being in all about 3000. Horse, sent first into Italy to avenge this Affront, under the Command of the Count Coligny, were ordered to pass into Hungary, by way of Venice, to the Assistance of the Emperor; to which, several Generals, Volunteers of the same Nation, joining themselves, formed a Body of 4000. Horse well appointed, Valiant and desirous of Action. The Pope also, whole words excommunicated and breathed out nothing but holy Zeal against the common Enemy, promised a supply of 10000. Foot, and 3000. Horse, which were to pass by way of Trieste into Hungary, according to the Promise and Assurance of the Nunzio at Vienna: for acknowledgment of which religious and considerable Succour, Count Lesly was dispatched from the Imperial Court, in a private Character, to pass those Offices of grateful Acceptance, as were due to so high a Merit and Sense of the Christian Cause. But (as Count Lesly arrived at Vienna, before he understood (so his great Admiration) that the holy Army was by Order of the Pope disbanded, for which no other Cause was assigned, than only, that at Rome it was seriously debated, and in the end, it was concluded, that the Expense was too great to be charged on the Ecclesiastical State; and that the Soldiers also were themselves willing to be so far separated from their own Country; all which at Vienna were understood to be trivial Pretences, and the causes thereof attributed to the sinister Offices of a Person ill affected to the Emperors Interest, by which the Pope and Don Mario his General, falling from their Resolutions and Promises, Count Lesly was revoked from his Employment, and the Imperial Interest, and hopes disappointed of so considerable a Succour.

Howsoever, that the Pastoral care might not seem to be altogether dormant and careless of the Universal Flock, the Pope having disbanded his Army, could not doles than to supply the defect thereof with Money; for raising of which, he charged the Ecclesiastical State through all Italy (the Dominions of Venice only excepted, whole Wars already with the Turks exempted them from further Taxes) with an Impi- of 6 per Cent. of their yearly Revenue, under the notion of Tenth or Tithes, which in all amounted to the sum of 700. thousand Dollars, which by Bill of Exchange, was remitted by way of Venice to the Imperial Court. In the mean time, the French Troops were arrived in Hungary, under the Command of the Count Coligny, which joining themselves with the General Montecuculi, followed the motion of the Viziers Army. The Turks designed to pass the Danube, for recovery of Leva or Leveniz, and in their way to destroy and lay desolate the Country of Count Badian, and in virtue and strength of that and former Successes, to pass forward to the Subjection of Polovina and Vienna. But God who disposes the Affairs of this World, and gives Laws and Rewards to the Licentiousness and unlimited Pride and Avarice of Mankind, took off the Wheels of the Turkish Charriots, and caused them to move slowly and warily, having an Eye always

backwards to the Forces of Armenians, who attended them along the Banks of the River *Almor*, or *Adara*.

But whilst these two great Armies marched in view of each other, the *Wallachian* and *Moldavian* Forces joining with a considerable number of Turks and Tartars, under the Command of *Chussein Pasha*, resolved to assault, and again to recover *Leveniz*, which tho scarce settled, being so lately taken by the Christians, yet valiantly repulsed two fierce Assaults of the Enemy, with that Courage and Bravery, that 2000. were slain under the very Walls. By which time, it being the 1. of July, Count *Safa* pasha, with his Horse and Foot, and thence halting his March with all Expedition, he first Encamped at the Foot of a Hill called *St. Beni*, from whence he discovered the Enemies Body from the Top of a Mountain, and thence approaching nearer, threw up some Earth and Works by the Banks of the River *Gravea*; the next day having found a favorable place of Advantage, he sent in less than two hours passed the gross of his Army; which the Enemy observing, left their Siege, abandoned their Trenches, and displayed their Army in open Field, which consisting of 25. or 30. thousand fighting Men, appeared much more numerous than the Christians. For to these Forces, under the Conduct of *Hussein Pasha* himself, were joined the Pasha of *Anatolia* and *Caldacea*, the Pasha of *Tinazli*, four Buloches of Spahies, and a good Force of Tartars, together with the Militia of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, under their respective Princes, which composed an Army, as was computed, of above 25000. Men. Upon approach of *Hussein Pasha*, the Christian Army retired, intending to receive the Enemies in a larger Field, and afford an occasion to them of greater Confidence in Execution of the Design they came to Act. The Turks supping the Christians to be fled for fear, with more boldness marched forward. And believing this Retreat to proceed rather of Fear than Policy, continued to condemn the Pusillanimity of the Christians; and left it should argue too much regard and esteem of their Force, vouchsafed not to send Scouts abroad, either to view their Camp, or to prevent surprisal; but some of their Officers wily considering, that a Soldier ought never to despise his Enemy, they were persuaded to find a considerable Body of Horse, to view and discover the Enemies Force, who in the way, meeting with a party of the Christians, after a small skirmish put them to Flight, and taking some Prisoners, brought them before the General; the Prisoners upon Examination confessed, that Count *Safa* was fully resolved the next Morning to give them battle, and declared the number and courage of his Army to be such, as altered the Opinion *Hussein* had conceived of the Cowardice and Weakness of the Christians power; so that that whole Night the Turks past with watchful and vigilant Guards, their Arms ready, and the whole Camp in a posture of Defence.

The next Morning being the 6th of July, the Turks breaking divided the Christian Army at no near a distance, as that their several Motions might be discerned; and putting themselves in Array for the battle, made two Wings of Horse; each Wing consisting of 3000. Horse the most armed Cap-a-pe, and well provided; the Foot marched in the body of the Army, well appointed and fitted with all sorts of ammunition and Arms, and so raised with cheerful Courages, as rendered them in appearance to the Turks, a Warlike and formidable Army. The Turks like-

1664.

Count *Safa* marches towards the Siege of *Leveniz*.

The Turks before *Leva*.

The Christians may put themselves into *Battalia*.

1664 wife drew themselves into *Battalia*, desirous to try the fortune of the day; the right Wing was Commanded by the Prince of *Valachia*, and the left by the Prince of *Moldavia*. The Body of the Army was composed of Turks and Tartars, almost all Horse, except 2 or 3000. Janizaries, sent as an Auxiliary Force from *Neapolis* and *Serignium*. These two Armies thus ranged in a Posture of Defence, stood in view each of other, until *Hussein* Commanded his Men to pass the Marsh or Fen, which was between them and the Christians; but several would have persuaded him the contrary, lest the success of the day not proving to Expedition, the Marsh should be a disadvantage to their Flight, and an occasion of greater Slaughter in the pursuit; to which *Hussein* Courageously answered, That Men who would Conquer were to look forward, and not behind them; those that would save their Lives by flight, were fit to perish in it; and that for his part, he was resolved to cut off all hopes of safety from his Army, but what consisted in their Swords and Victory over their Enemies. The Turks having thus passed the Marsh, made a halt and faced the Christians until Noon; who moved not a foot from their ground, that so they might obtain the advantage of the Sun; which in the Morning being in their Faces, and upon declining, he an offence unto the Turks. In the mean time, question but both Generals made their Orations to their Soldiers, encouraging them to Fight in Defence of their Faith and Religion; of their Countries Glory and Safety; suggested with those Arguments and Rhetoric, as was agreeable to the Principles and Condition of both Parties, and which we may well suppose according to the sense of Historians, to have been in these words, or to this effect.

The Speech of Count *Safa* to his Army.

When I see, and consider before us (Fellow Soldiers) these Enemies who are the object of our Fury and Rage, I conceive words more necessary to moderate the heat of your Anger, so as to Fight with Discretion, rather than to raise your Spirits to that height of Warlike Courage, in which consists the safety and glory of this days Fortune. For these are they, who lately in cool Blood against the Laws of Arms and Nations, unhumanely butchered our Countrymen and Kindred, and made no difference between Captives of War, and Malefactors; but like Thieves and Murderers, sentenced brave Men to Death, who had no other crime, than that they unadvisedly fought in defence of their Country. These are they, who in the very times of Peace, consume your Borders, and rob your Markets; and whose Capitalities of Peace, make yet all sorts of hostility lawful: These are the grand Enemies and Despoilers of the Cross of Christ; against whom whoever dies, is both a Conqueror and a Martyr. This Army before your Eyes, consists in part of Moldavian, and Valachian Christians, forced to this War by compulsion, not of choice; the rest are either Turks educated in the softness of Asia, or Tartars who never made advantage by Battle, but by flight; these are they

with whom you have this day to contend before the Walls of *Leva*, where many of your Wives, and Children, and Friends, are immured, and are Spectators of your Virtue and Courage: Let us therefore valiantly address our selves to this Battle; on the success of which the fortune of Hungary and Germany depends.

The Speech of *Hussein Pasha* to his Soldiers.

Will our General the Grand Vizier is so successful in his Arms abroad, having subdued the strong Fortresses of Ouywar and Serinwar, and struck a Terror and Amusement to all the Enemies of our formidable Emperor; let us be unwavering, or wait our share in the renown and Fame of Triumph and Victory. I shall not need to put you in mind of the glorious Exploits of your Ancestors, whose Valour and Virtue, which formed this of Empire round about us; you ought now to imitate, and give the World new proofs, how embold you are to exceed the Courage and Bravery of former times. The other Divisions of the Ottoman Power have contended hitherto with their Enemies on unequal terms, and driven them forth from their Shelters of Trenches and Bulwarks; but here you have an open Field to fight, nothing between you and the naked Breasts of your Enemies; we stand in equal numbers and terms with them; nothing can win the day but only Valour; and nothing lose it but meer Cowardice. These are the shattered Companies we have expelled last Year from Ouywar, and the Companions of those, whose Bodies and Heads we have beaped before Serignium; should we submit to be subdued by these whom our Osmans have so often Conquered; we should not only stain our selves with the highest infamy and shame, but give a turn to the Universal Fortune of the Ottoman Arms.

By this time it was Noon, and the Sun turning it self from the Christian to the Turkish Army, a warning Piece was fired from the Christian Camp, at which sign their whole Army began to advance, and with cheerfulness to approach the Turks, who stood ready to receive them. At the first onset the Christians poured a plentiful Volley of shot on the Turks and Tartars, which composed the main Body; at which immediately they put themselves to Flight, leaving the two Wings to an unequal Battle, who retired not long before they followed the Example of their Companions, leaving their Baggage and Cannon, with the Honour of the day, unto the Christians; who in the pursuit flew the Turks without Compassion or Reliance; filling the Fields with dead Bodies, and the Rivers with Blood, until Night, which is the shelter of the distressed, gave a stop to their farther Slaughter: such as escaped betook themselves to Serignium, where they were refused either passage over the Water or Provisions, or any other Refuge or Entertainment after their wearisome Flight; for Serignium it self was judged now in Danger, and the next attempt after the foregoing Victory; and therefore there

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Count *Safa* marches towards the Siege of *Leveniz*.

The Turks before *Leva*.

The Christians may put themselves into *Battalia*.

The Christians may put themselves into *Battalia*.

1664. General of the Artillery of the Empire, Collorell *Plester*, with his Lieutenant Collorell and Sergeant Major, and with many other Gentlemen of the French Nation, who deserve for ever to be chronicled for their Virtue and Valour. For herein the French Nation ought not to lose their just praise, having made proofs of their Valour, as well in this, as in other Battles; it being reported, That Monsieur *Alger*, their General, killed Thirty *Turks*, with his own hand.

The News of this Victory, which put into *Vienna*, with what Honours, with what *Euclopes*, the Fame of *Montecaval* was celebrated, for beside the Triumphs, with Fires, founding of bells, banquets, and other demonstrations of solemn joy, the Glory of *Montecaval* was the Theme of every Ballad sung in the corners of streets; which Honours of the Commonalty were seconded by greater and more substantial of the Imperial Court, who conversed upon him the Title of Lieutenant General of the whole Army, a Dignity so eminent as is inferior to none, except the Emperor, in order of the Militia; and was not without some scruple granted to the Archduke *Leopold* by his Brother *Ferdinand* the Third; and withheld from *Picolomini* Duke of *Amalfi*, until he had highly merited it, and made his way to it through bloody fields, where Providence first crowned him with Laurels of Success and Victory.

And here is just occasion for us to doubt, why *Montecaval* should be thus admired and loaded with Honours, whilst the services of *Serini* and *Seife* were so far from being taken notice of, that they seemed to effect the disgrace and ruin of their Worthies, rather than to produce the favour of their Prince, and the applause of their Country, the natural Rewards of Valour and Virtue. And indeed I cannot but confess, I myself have wondered, when in the Court of *Vienna*, I have heard the Actions and Zeal of *Serini* so lightly spoken of, or contemned, when a Stranger took the liberty but to defame on his actions, and to vent any thing which but favoured his commendations. The reason of which, I adventure to assign unto two causes. The first is, that Antipathy or natural aversion the *Germans* have to the *Hungarians* and *Croatians*, these endeavouring to maintain the Privileges of a People, who have free liberty of the Election of their Prince; whilst the others desirous to take occasion to weaken and impoverish them, would necessitate them to yield their Kingdom to the Emperor by an hereditary Right. The second is, the fury of *Serini* and *Seife*, whose zeal without consideration of irritating the *Turks*, or fear of moving the puffing of the *Lyon* beyond the terms of an easy pacification, transported them to commit all damage and ruin, which are the just concomitants of War; which rage seemed over violent to the Court at *Vienna*, and not to suit with the present Policy of the War, which was designed to be carried on rather in a defensive than in an offensive posture; imagining perhaps, that the good name of the *Turk* might be complemented into Peace, and that gentleness and generosity might have the same effect upon them, as it had upon *Saul*, when *David* had his life at his mercy, and yet spared him: according to which counsels of the Court, *Montecaval* squaring every particular of his motion, and therewith adding success, mounted on the wings of Fame, and had his glory celebrated without diminutions; but the hot and zealous temper of *Serini*, which Soldier-like understood

Reasons why the Services of *Montecaval* were accepted better, than those of *Serini*.

1664. nothing but down-right blows, knew not how to use that moderation and caution, which the Imperial Court judged an ingredient so requisite to the prudent management of the present War, that he was esteemed incapable of command, who had not discretion enough to practice it: And this was the true reason that *Serini* was discontented, and that his Command was taken from him, and that his Appeal to the Court was without redress: Howsoever in regard that the Fame he had won carried him high in the esteem of all Christendom, he was everlastingly with hopes and fair promises; and even after the very "battel of *Rab*", nothing was more commonly discoursed than the giving *Nicholas* so a command independent of any other General: But in the end it proved nothing but vain Proposals to humour the fancy of *Serini* himself, and to satisfy the World, which admired his "refusal" so qualified and deserving as he, should be made a subject of to much disgrace and neglect.

With this News the *Turks* remained greatly ashamed and dejected, having but two days before demonstrated excesses of joy, congratulated the happy News one to the other, and after their manner sent Presents abroad, desiring the Christians upon the News, expatriated them with a Thousand injuries, and applauded their own Virtue, Valour, and the righteousness of their Cause and Religion: But on a sudden Intelligence coming contrary to their expectations, such a damp fell upon their spirits, that for some days there was a deep silence of all News at *Constantinople*; they that the Day before sought for Christians to communicate to them the Miracles of their Victory, now avoided their Company, ashamed of their too forward joy, and the liberty they had taken to condemn and deride the low condition of the Christian Camp. And now the ill News not being able longer to be concealed, Prayers and Humiliation were appointed publicly to be made at all the great Mosques of *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*, where all Emuams with their young Scholars were commanded to resort, and sing certain Prayers appointed for such occasions.

The minds of the Soldiery after this defeat were very much discomfited, tending more to sedition than obedience. Every one took licence to speak loudly and openly his opinion, that the War was commenced upon unjust and unlawful grounds. That the total Eclipse of the Moon, which portends always misfortune to the *Turks*, should have caused more caution in the Commanders in engaging the Armies this year, until the malignancy of that Influence had been overpuffed. All generally accused the first Viceroy as the Author and ill Manager of the War, *Imiquissima bellorum conditio esse, prospera omnes ibi la. vendicant, ubi esse huius imperatoris*, and calling to mind the solemn Oath with which Sultan *Solyman* confirmed his Capitulations with the Emperor, particularly vowing never to pass the *Rab*, or place where the *Turks* received their defeat, without a solid and reasonable ground of War, concluded that this invasion was a violation of the Vow, and an injury to the sacred Memory of that fortunate Sultan; and therefore that all Enterprises and Attempts of this War would be fatal and destructive to the Mussulmen or Believers, and the end dishonourable to the Empire.

This opinion was rooted with much perfidiation and strength of fancy in the minds of the *Volgar*: And the rumors in the Camp that the Viceroy upon a false alarm of the approach of the Enemy towards his Quarters, had commanded the Army to retreat,

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1664. retreat, administered fury and courage to the Christians, and fear and amazement to the *Turks*, from which error and timidity was occasioned that slaughter which ensued; on which discourses and reports dangerous discontents daily increasing in the hearts of the soldiery, it is thought they would have vented their passion and revenge on their General, had he not at a publick Assembly of all the Heads and Commanders of the Army cleared himself freely, by charging the miscarriage of all upon the Grand Signior, having acted nothing but with Authority of the Imperial Command; promising with as much speed as honour and safety would permit, by agreement and composition of Peace, to bring the War to a conclusion. And this confidence and assurance (as it is supposed) which for the present secured his life for the Soldiery were greatly terrified and possessed with a dread of the Christians, and amazement upon every Alarm. For the old and experienced Commanders and Veterans Soldiery were either dazzled by the secret Proscriptions of the Viceroy *Keplese*, or slain in the engagements of this Year, and the *Asian* Spahes and other Soldiers having Wives and Children, and Possessions to look after, were grown poor, and desired nothing more than in peace and quietness to return to their homes: So that nothing could come more grateful to this Camp, no largesses or donatives could pacify the minds of the soldiery more than the promises and expectations of a Peace.

The Sultan during these disturbances and misfortunes was preparing for a hunting Journey to an obscure Village called *Zombi*, about three or four days travel from *Adrianople*, desirous to drive all those evil Warts along the Wood Sea for Game, where he had a small ruinous Seraglio. The Queen Mother, the Chemician, with all the Court, were to accompany him. The Equipage and Pomp he went in, perfwaded many, that the design of that Journey was grounded on other duties of Policy, than what were generally suspected: Some conceived, that the Viceroy contrived his Journey thither, to divert him from opportunities of receiving intelligence from Spahes, and others of the true state of the Camp, and management of Affairs: Others judged it might be to avoid in that obscure place the numerous seditions of the Soldiery. On war confirmation fever it might be, the Grand Signior having spent some time abroad, returned again to *Adrianople* with all his Retinue, without doing any thing more important than killing great numbers of wild beasts, and enabling those Wildernesses and Woods about *Zombi* with the fame of his renowned Hunting. *Keplese* Patha being slain (as we have said) before *Serajissa*, who was his Sister, the Viceroy's Sister, the Viceroy bestowed the Widow on *Hafise* Patha of *Silybria*. And much about the same time the Grand Signior considering that his own Sister, by the death of her old Husband *Ismail* Patha, slain in the last Battel, led a single life, conferred her in Marriage upon the old *Madame* Patha, who before we have related to have been *Kabya* to the Viceroy, late Patha of *Darbiquier*, and now of *Allepo*, who as an Honour charged with a weight of troubles and other inconveniences, seemed thankfully to receive her; and though he was a man of Ninety years of age, and had long since forgot the solaces of the bridal Bed, yet according to the custom of Marriage with a Sultana, he was induced to divorce his former Wife, with whom he had pait the Summer and Winter of his age, and as a constant Husband,

The Grand Signior hunting at *Zombi*.

Sedition in the *Turks* this Camp.

See in *Vizier's* *Agrius*.

1664. was still uxorious in his love. So that in the midst of Wars, where some found Graves, others found Marriage-beds, and reason of State found a Vacation to conjoin *Mari* and *Venus* without interruption of other Enterprises.

The Great Viceray after his defeat marched to *Sindivienburg* or *Alba Regalis*, to recruit and refresh his Army, and expect the Recruit of the Patha of *Allepo*, who was fild to bring with him about Eight thousand Soldiers.

From *Saktsienburg* the *Turks*, with the grofs of their Army, returned to *Strigonium*; and here the Viceray not unmindful of the shameful flight, and rebellious return of the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* to their own Countries without his order or permission, sent one Messenger after the other in great haste and fury, after the *Turkish* manner, to recall those Princes to the War; and that laying aside all excuses whatsoever, they should immediately, with what Forces they could collect, repair again to the Camp. The Princes weary of the War, and fearful of the Viceray's evil intentions to take away their lives, endeavoured to excuse their flight, alledging, that their People would not obey, or follow them to the Wars in any considerable numbers, and that now it being the end of the Summer, new Levies would be of great expence, and of little benefit, and desirable them from paying their yearly Tribute, of which (notwithstanding their consumption of Treasure in the last Expedition) they were like to find no ease or relaxation, though a burden too great for their harassed and impoverished Country to support. But these excuses were no arguments to refresh *Turks*; so that Commands came from the Sultan one after the other full of threats and menaces, to march forward with what Forces they could collect, the Messengers assuring them, That there was no design prepared against them by the Viceray, but what was friendly and of good intention. At length the Princes not able to remain longer without a censure of Rebellion to the Porte, with heavy Hearts and *Purple* Furies set forwards with about fifteen hundred men apiece, finding before such fumes of Money and Presents, as they hoped might mollify and prepare their access to the Viceray, whilst they themselves marched slowly, to afford longer time to the Operation of this Physick. The Prince of *Moldavia* had intrusted about Forty thousand *Zaichins* to an Officer of his called his Velharior, or Master of his Wardrobe, whom he had sent before him, therewith to make his access easy and free to the Viceray: Of whose faith that he might assure himself the better, he made him swear before his Holy Altar, and take the Communion there, upon that he would be faithful and active in this Negotiation. The Velharior thus departing, added to his religious Vows, common promises and protestations; but no sooner was he a few Miles distant from his Master, before he tired in his Vows, and altered his road from the Viceray, to the way leading to *Constantinople*, declaring as he went, That his Prince was become Rebel, and was fled, and that he, not to be Partner in his perfidities, was halting to *Constantinople*, there to give evidence of his faith and submission to the *Turks*. This unexpected news coming to the Prince, caused him to despair of all force him by flight to make good the words of his treacherous servant; so that taking with him his Wit and remainder of his Wealth, passed through *Transylvania* with much difficulty, and at length arrived within the Emperors Territories, relin-

Vizier's order for the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* recalled to the Wars.

The Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* recalled to the Wars.

Fides Græcæ, or the honesty of a Greek.

1684. vng to exchange an inconstant and dangerous Principality for a more secure and private course of life. But this impious Greek did not rest quiet with his acquired Estate without receiving disturbance from the Bots or Nobles of the Country; and *Stridia Bei* the new-made Prince, justly accusing him for having robbed the Publick Treasury, extorted from him the Sum of 150000 Dollars towards his Investment in the Principality, and safe of the Country, which was now wretched for payment of old debts, and the growing charges of the new Prince. And thus much of the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*.

At *Serigium* great were the Conflagrations, what cause was to be taken: The Christians were now Masters of the Field, and the Turks discouraged, and now the Summer was so far spent, that it was too late to think of recovering their reputation that year with the hazard of a Battle. So that at length it was resolved to unite the shattered Forces of *Chuflein* Pasha, lately defeated by Count *Susa*, to the Army of the Vizier, and attend to secure *Opyar* or *Newhausen* with Provisions, Ammunition, and Reinforcement of that Garrison, whereby this War might conclude with some Trophies of advantage, and enlargement of the Ottoman Borders, which in all their Wars is the design and Maxime of the Turks. So that marching thither, they gathered and collected all the Provisions possible, and having supplied the Garrison, they returned again to *Serigium* with all expedition, retaining still in possession of terror from the late ill success. And that they might march with less impediment, they sent their Artillery and heavy Baggage down the *Danube*: Such was the fear of the Turkish Army at present, that it is supposed, had the Christians eagerly pursued their Victory, they had not only defeated the whole Turkish Force with little opposition, but also without any impediment marched to the very Walls of *Buda*.

But what infatuation forever blinded the Christian Counsels, little or no advantage was taken, as if the design of the Emperor had only been to repel the Enemy from his Borders, or that he feared to irritate the Turks with a too inveterate and pernicious prosecution of his Victories. Instead of which, the Vizier making false Overtures of Peace, and evidencing the reality of his intentions by his Presents of a Vest of Sables, and a Horse richly furnished, with which he flattered and caressed the German Resident, the Articles were accepted and embraced at *Venna* with much greediness, and the Peace almost wholly concluded and clapped up in a moment, to the astonishment of the whole World. But as matters of this nature cannot succeed without just and due considerations, so on both sides certain causes concurred which inclined and disposed them to an accommodation. For on the Turkish part there wanted not such in the Ottoman Court, who emulous of the Grand Viziers fortune and charge, endeavoured to remove him from the favour of his Prince, by accusing him in many particulars of negligence, and imprudence in the conduct of his Affairs. To answer the evil accusations of his Adversaries, and an argument irresistible, when moved by the Authority of his own Presence. On the Emperors side, the demand of the City of *Erfurt*

by the Elector of *Menz*, situated on his Confiners, at a time of so much exigency as this, and seconded by hopes of alliance from France, and the Hans Towns on the *Rhine*, whereby it was probable great turbulences might ensue, inclined the Emperor with much reason to Proposals of Peace; instructions for which, being conveyed to the Resident then in the Turkish Camp, from the *Casarian* Court, after a short Treaty the Articles were agreed and concluded, as followeth.

First, That Transilvania remain with its ancient Limits and Privileges under the Command of Prince Maximilian Apafi.

Secondly, That the Emperor of Germany have liberty to fortify both *Gutta* and *Nitra*.

Thirdly, That the Turks shall not alter or innovate any thing on the Confines of Hungary, or any other part bordering on the Empire.

Fourthly, That Apafi pay Six hundred thousand Dollars to the Ottoman Port for expenses of the War.

Fifthly, That all acts of Hostility between the Emperor, and the Grand Signior, and their Subjects, for ever cease.

Sixthly, That the two Provinces of *Zatmar* and *Zaboli*, granted to *Ragotski* by his Imperial Majesty during life, return again to the Emperor, to which neither the Prince of Transilvania, much less the Ottoman Port, shall ever pretend.

Seventhly, That the strong Castle of *Zechelhyd*, which revolted from the Emperor, be demolished, in regard neither Party will relinquish his Right thereunto.

Eighthly, That *Varadin* and *Newhausen* remain to the Turk, having conquered them by force of their own Arms.

Ninthly, That for confirmation of this Peace, Ambassadors be interchangeably sent with Presents of equal value.

On these Terms (of which none seems disadvantageous to the Christian Interest, unless the fourth Article, the dishonour of which seems to be covered with the name of *Apafi*, though the score was paid by the Emperor) the Peace was established, and the Vizier, as a beginning thereof, gave liberty to many Christian Captives, some whereof were of Quality, and Proclamation was made through all the Confines for a Cessation of Arms. Howsoever, some petty matters remained undecided, which were deferred until the Arrival of an extraordinary Ambassador, who was to exchange with the Turks another Ambassador in the Month of *May* following; and in the mean time suspension of Arms, and all other Hostilities was confirmed. At which News all sorts of People amongst the Turks were greatly rejoiced, and the Publication thereof the more welcome, by how much the more unexpected. Whereby we may observe the alteration of that ancient Marital disposition, which was natural to this Empire, which whilst it was exercised in War, grew hardy, active and inured to warlike exercise, but now through idleness and want of War (except the *Venetians*, which affords the Soldiery no considerable employment) their minds became reddy, wearied with one year and a half labour and dejected with the unprosperous success of one Summer.

But what Considerations forever the Emperor might have to conclude this Peace, the Hungarians were highly dissatisfied with it, because it was founded on their proper loss; and that *Newhausen* was given for a price of the common quiet, which none but themselves paid

1664.

1664. and yet all Germany enjoyed the benefit. That that Town was an appendage to the Kingdom of Hungary, and so which the Emperor having only the claim (as they pretended) of an elective Prince, could not dismember any part without consent of the States thereof; and this passion they maintained with that heat and fury, that they declared themselves dissatisfied from observation of the Articles, resolving to vindicate their own right in despite of all opposition whatsoever; and that since the Emperor had undertaken their Protection, he was bound to assert their freedom, and defend their Cities, even with the expence of his own Treasury, and at the hazard of his own hereditary Possessions. But to these exorbitant Demands, the Emperors Council replied with these following reasons and moderation; That they themselves were the first Beginners and Promoters of this War: That his Majesty at their influence and request condescended to protect them as Subjects, not only with draining of his own Exchequer, and Blood of his Patrimonial Dominions, but with the charge of hired and mercenary Strangers. In the mean time what assistance had the Hungarians brought to this War, or to their own defence? What Contribution did they ever make? What Forces did they ever unite in the Field by a general assent of their whole Kingdom? Notwithstanding his Majesty was ready to continue the War, could they themselves propose either a safe way for the maintenance of it, or that the protestant Commonwealth did not offer honourable Conditions of a happy Compromise. Moreover, That the King of Spain, his Uncle, and Father in Law, being aged and decrepit, leaving no other Heir than an infirm and sickly Child, to support the charge and weight of all Kingdoms, it was requisite that at such times as this, he should be assisted with all incombrances, either to assist the Infant in Administration of the Government, or to assist his own Rights (if so it should please God) in the Succession. And that now, since a Treaty was on foot for Election of a Successor to the Kingdom of Poland, it was necessary for his Imperial Majesty to bear his part in that Transaction; but above all, it was considerable, That the common Enemy being Rich and Powerful, God had seemed to put his Victory into their Hands to no other end than to improve it unto a Peace, which being at this time neglected, the best that could ensue would be the miseries of War, which turning on the inconstant Wheel of Fortune with variety of successes, is always attended with Slaughter, Captivity, Fire, sword, and a thousand other Calamities. These and such like reasons, moderated and mollified the exasperate spirits of the Hungarians, so that they consented to equiesce and be satisfied, and making a Vow of Necessity, had patience whilst there was no other remedy.

The sudden News of this unexpected Peace did in like manner affect the French King, and the States of the Empire, judging it unreasonable for them to be involved in the War, and yet unconcerned in the Conclusion of the Peace. However, things being well represented, and as well received and understood his Most Christian Majesty accepted of the Reasons as just and satisfactory. In the mean time the French had a free liberty to make choice of such Winter Quarters, which they fixed upon in *Batavia*, but their King being unwilling to burden the Country with his Soldiers for a longer time than they were serviceable to him, he ordered them to march, and quarter in *Alsatia*; but before their departure the Emperor

The Emperors Reasons for a Peace.

The French Army march homeward.

1664. honoured Monsieur de Coligny with his Picture incircled with Diamonds, and the other Officers with Gold Chains and Medals; ordering the Troops not to march above ten miles a day, and every Third to be a Day of repose, and to be entertained all the way at free Quarter, so as to return into France sound and healthy, as they departed thence. But before they would bid adieu to those Countries, the General and Officers paid their Visit to Count *Nicolaus Serini*, professing him with a Historic Furniture, and Pistols, as a small Tribute to that Great Captain, whose Fame was celebrated through the whole World ingeniously confelling, That the rumour of his name struck more amazement and terror in the Enemy, than the Armies that actually faced them, and was more influential in obtaining the Victory on the Banks of *Rab*, than their weapons or courage which fought against them. But not long after this worthy Heroe *Serini* hunting one day separated from the rest of his Attendants in the Thickets of a Wood, behold, on a sudden was surprized by the rushing forth of a wild Boar, which raging, and more furious by some Wounds which he received, struck him in the Knee, with which falling to the ground, the fierce Beast not giving him leisure to recover himself, gashed him again in the head with his broad Tusk, which proved so mortal, that in a short time he expired in the Arms of his Pages. This was the end of this valiant Captain, who conquered in many undoubted Conflicts of his Enemies, was made the prey of an ignoble Beast. Such are the secret and occult Providences of Heaven, which men interpret or reflect on as they are governed by prejudice or interest. And so did the Turks attribute the Fall of this illustrious General to the righteousness of their Religion, and justice of their Cause; as if he had been a Person unworthy to dye by the hand of a man, was condemned to be executed by that Beast, which is most abominated and detested by the Turkish Rites. He was a Person as mortal an Enemy to the Turks, as ever *Hannibal* was to the Romans; rather in Dangers most courageous, in War valiant, and patient of labour; in Peace courteous, and moderate in his pleasures; his Diet was natural, rather than artificial; in Banquets, or Drinking Meetings, after the fashion of that Country, was sparing in Wine, and rather abstemious than intemperate; his Conversation obliging, his Discourse facetious; his Conversation obliging, his humour affable, and yet severe and majestic; he spoke much, and yet well; his disposition was liberal and generous, especially to his Soldiers, whom he never restrained or defrauded of their Booty and Prey, but contented every one with a just and equal Division. In short, he was one of those zealous Champions of the Christian Cause, who in the Chronicles of past Ages ought to be placed and numbered amongst the worthiest Heroes.

The Winter now approaching, and the conclusion in all appearance made of the War, the Vizier returned to *Belgrade*, desiring to remain there until the German Ambassador had entered the Turkish borders, and in the mean time sent for his Mother thither, pretending that in an

Serini's Death.

The Character of Serini.

The reason which inclined both Parties to Peace.

The Vizier sends for his Mother to Belgrade.

uncertain and changeable estate the Maternal blessings of his birth Confolation, it being esteemed pious amongst the Turks for a man to dye at the Feet of his Mother. His Mother of his was a cunning or wife Woman, by whose Charms and Incantations his Father, and he were supposed long to have conferred the Office of Vizier; and as my own Ears can witness, the common Soldiers Discourse, That his Mothers Art consisted much in Philtrums and Charms, reconciling Affection and friendship, and had a power over the Grand Signiors Inclinations and Understanding, rendering all things and actions the Vizier had performed in this War full of merit and admiration. This I say was the Discourse of some common Soldiers.

In the Month of December, that blazing-flare which appeared formidably to most parts of the known World, was also seen within the Turkish Empire, not without a general terror of all, as prognosticating disasters of Sword, Pestilence, and Famine; and let the Turkish Astrologers at work to find out the mystery it portended: from whose Art most commonly was divined the death of some great Person in the Empire, which some would have to be the Grand Signior, others the Vizier, others both, as they desired alteration and change of Government.

The Grand Signior continued all this time at Adrianople, taken up with an extraordinary delight and pleasure in his Court there, with which his aversion to Constantinople so much increased, that he could not endure so much as the name of the place; and if accidentally in his Hunting (as is reported) he chanced to fall into the road which led thither, and remembering himself thereof, would immediately turn thence, as one that corrects himself of some desperate error, or avoids a path which tends to an evitable destruction. The Kadeifchier and the other grave Judges of the Law observing this unreasonable hatred of their Prince to his imperial Seat, considered how prejudicial it was to him and his People to have a City of that renown, antiquity, and commodiousness of living, despised and abandoned: and that perhaps the soldiery now upon their March from the War, might be impatient of returning home, as all the Dependents on the *Dewan*, and Personages of great Quality, desired to enjoy their Habitations and Gardens at Constantinople; from which discontent on all sides it was concluded, That there might result dangerous Seditions and Mutinies, and therefore resolved (and as some say also at the instigation of the Vizier) to prostitute themselves before the Grand Signior, and tender him their opinions and fence in that particular, which they accordingly performing and assigning the Kadeifchier, or the Chief Justice with all humility to be their Mouth in this Petition, their counsel was received with that indignation, that they were chased from the Grand Signiors presence with fury and high displeasure, and the Kadeifchier at that moment deprived of his Office.

To these other extravagances the Grand Signior would have added another of a higher nature and cruelty, by cautiously purring to death his brother *Seyitan*, whom all the time of his Reign, together with another Brother, he had kept Prisoner in the Seraglio: for now having a Son of his own, he conceived it more secure to remove all competition that might be for the Government, according to the example and custom of the Ottoman Princes; but suffering some remorse of conscience in the thoughts of imbruing his hands in the blood of his guiltless Brother, con-

ceived it more justifiable to perform the Fact by process of Law, and to that end sent to the Mufti for his Fetta or sentence, viz. That in such a case, where there is a sufficient proof of an continuance of the true Lineage of the Ottoman Family, whether it may be lawful, according to their Law and ancient Precedents, to take off some as superfluous Suckers, that draw not only nourishment from the root, but endanger also the life of the Tree. But the Mufti was not so cruel or unjust as to pass this Sentence, but rather supplicated the Grand Signior to deter from this resolution; for having but one Son, and that a Child, which was subject to the common chances of mortality, the Ottoman Family was not so sufficiently provided of Heirs, that he could pass his Sentence for taking away one, who was so necessary a reserve and member of it; with which reply the Grand Signior suffered himself to be overcome, having some touches of Conscience, and perhaps, not being naturally cruel, some fence of compassion towards his innocent Brother.

But returning now to the Great Vizier, we find him in his Winter quarters at Belgrade, where having taken an affection to the eldest Son of the Tartar *Chan*, or else having conceived some hatred or displeasure against the Father, frankly proffered to depose the Father, and confer the Government upon him who was the Son. But it seems this young Tartar, though barbarous, had yet so much of filial obedience and reverence implanted on him by his great abilities and courage, advertising him, that immediately dispatched a Messenger with secret Advice to his Father. The Tartar *Chan* received this Intelligence with great indignation, and purposing to play that game in reality with the Vizier, which he had passed on him only by way of overture, wrote a Letter to the Pasha of *Buda*, a man of great abilities and courage, advertising him, that bearing a true and worthy character of his prowess and wisdom, he could not but desire to be his friend; and that he might make demonstrations of his being such, he proffered all the interest he had at the Ottoman Court to promote him to the supreme Office of first Vizier. What Fate never accompanied this matter, either from the Confidants of the Tartars, or of the Pasha, the substance of the Message came to the knowledge of the Vizier, who obtaining a private Commission immediately from the Grand Signior therein, sent for the Pasha, and without farther process, or evidence of proof, or accusation, thruck off his Head.

Anno Christi 1665. Hegira 1076.

THE Peace thus happily concluded with Germany, was a subject of singular contentment to the People, and not less so to the Grandees, who hastened so much the consummation thereof, that in the beginning of January one *Mahomet Beigh*, of the Order of the *Mutafaracces* (who are those that attend the Services of the *Dewan*, and are of a Degree somewhat above the *Chaoques*) a man of considerable Riches, was designated Ambassador for Vienna, and qualified with the Title of the Pasha of *Romelia*. In the Month following, being February, this Ambassador having received his Presents and Instructions, departed, with Orders to remain on the Frontiers, until the Emperors Ambassador met him at the place of Exchange, where according to custom at the same time

The Vizier offers to depose the Tartar Chan.

Rumours of the People on occasion of the death of the German Ambassador.

Mulla Pasha's affection and popularity.

The Turkish Ambassador departs.

time that one enters into the Dominions of the Emperor, the other passes into those of the Grand Signior. The Precious that one Emperor sends to the other are according to the ancient Canon, and are to be of equal value, and are commonly estimated to be an Hundred thousand Dollars. I have sent by the Grand Signior to the Emperor, were:

Three Horses with their Furniture adorned with precious Stones.

Twelve ordered Horses of great price.

A Royal Tent with all the Apartments, valued at Eighty thousand Dollars.

A Royal Feather bed with Jewels.

Ambergrease of a considerable value.

Seventy Gossams or Velts of Three farts.

Six Turkish Carpets.

Forty very fine Turbans, with other Persian Commodities of divers sorts of Linnen.

The Spring being now well forward, the time of action, and the Summer at hand, the Turks remained with great expectation of the German Ambassador, and with greater impatience in regard that their Ambassador had for some time continued upon the Frontiers. It was now May, and yet no news from Germany; so that many began to doubt the reality of the Peace, others reflected on the dishonour of the Grand Signior, in having his Ambassador so long on the Frontiers, as if the Peace had been precarious, and desired by the Turks: Some considered the present ill consequences, in case the War should break out again; for that licence was given to the greatest part of the Army to return home, and all such as came as far as from *Babylon*, *Damascus*, and *Egypt*, to the Frontiers in Hungary were departed; and to recall these soldiers with great order, and to keep company with them for thirteen days. On the last of June the Vizier arrived within six hours Journey of Adrianople, intending in Two or Three days to prepare for his solemn Entrance.

But it is reported, that the Viziers Mother had by her Art affected the heart of the Grand Signior towards her Son, that he could no longer want his presence, and therefore in the way dispatched frequent Messengers to him to hasten him as fast as his convenience would permit. And better to assure him of his grace and favour, sent his young Favourite, a handsome Youth of about Twenty years of age, to meet him with a Present of five Horses richly adorned and furnished, and to feast him plentifully on the way. And being come within a few hours Journey, the Grand Signior could not contain his desire of seeing him, until the day of his Entry; but ordered him immediately to come to him, being impatient of a private Conference. The Vizier accordingly obeying, and being come to the Royal Presence, the Grand Signior killed him on the shoulder, and honoured him with a Topool of Gold studded with precious Stones, and a Sword, a Dagger, and a Horse richly furnished, with which Regal Munificence he returned triumphing to his Tents, being now fully assured of the real grace and constant favour of his Master. The second of July the Vizier made his Entrance with solemn Pomp and Glory through part of the City, passing again into the Field to remain under Tents with the whole Camp, being fo ordered by the Grand Signior, in regard the City Chimaacian, yet being by conversation well acquainted with his private disposition, guessed at his thoughts, and the rest of his actions, and so deal with him in the same terms, wrote a Letter

to the Grand Signior, bewailing the ill success of the War against Venice, and the ill estate and condition of the Fleet; to repair which, and to give courage to their men, and reform the Discipline in Marine affairs, the presence of the Captain Pasha was necessary in the Fleet, who had now for Two years enjoyed the benefit and the title without personal attendance on that important Charge. The Grand Signior having received this Letter, concurred in the same opinion with his Vizier, and gave Orders to the Chimaacian to prepare himself to ferry that Summer at Sea; for that now it was necessary he should be in Person there, and left requisite his presence in the City, where his Office would speedily be made void by return of the Vizier. The Chimaacian immediately in obedience to his great Masters command, put himself in a posture for his Voyage, and in the first place sent away his Women to Constantinople, and appointed the Fleet not to depart until his farther order: Yet in the mean time so secretly and under-hand made use of the friendship of the Court-Favourites, representing as from themselves, how useful the service and attendance of the Chimaacian was to the City, by reason that the delays of the German Ambassador made the Viziers return uncertain, and that this Office would ill be supplied by any another; they obtained licence for his continuance in Office, and disappointed the intentions and designs of the Vizier.

About the end of May, after long expectation arrived the German Ambassador at *Buda*, to the great joy of the Turkish Camp. I then was there myself, and observed the general satisfaction at this news: so that now the Ambassador being entered the Frontiers, and his arrival secured, on the Twenty ninth of May, the Vizier began his March from Belgrade with great solemnity, and kept company with them for thirteen days. On the last of June the Vizier arrived within six hours Journey of Adrianople, intending in Two or Three days to prepare for his solemn Entrance. But it is reported, that the Viziers Mother had by her Art affected the heart of the Grand Signior towards her Son, that he could no longer want his presence, and therefore in the way dispatched frequent Messengers to him to hasten him as fast as his convenience would permit. And better to assure him of his grace and favour, sent his young Favourite, a handsome Youth of about Twenty years of age, to meet him with a Present of five Horses richly adorned and furnished, and to feast him plentifully on the way. And being come within a few hours Journey, the Grand Signior could not contain his desire of seeing him, until the day of his Entry; but ordered him immediately to come to him, being impatient of a private Conference. The Vizier accordingly obeying, and being come to the Royal Presence, the Grand Signior killed him on the shoulder, and honoured him with a Topool of Gold studded with precious Stones, and a Sword, a Dagger, and a Horse richly furnished, with which Regal Munificence he returned triumphing to his Tents, being now fully assured of the real grace and constant favour of his Master. The second of July the Vizier made his Entrance with solemn Pomp and Glory through part of the City, passing again into the Field to remain under Tents with the whole Camp, being fo ordered by the Grand Signior, in regard the City Chimaacian, yet being by conversation well acquainted with his private disposition, guessed at his thoughts, and the rest of his actions, and so deal with him in the same terms, wrote a Letter

* It is in the fashion of a Mace, which the Turks wear at their Soldiers.

open air of the Country. Besides, matters would be in a far greater readiness for a departure towards *Constantinople*, to which place, the Vizier had perwaded the Grand Signior to make a Visit after Audience given to the *German* Ambassador, whom the People now expected with wonderful Impatience.

Not many days after arrived Count *Leff* the Ambassador Extraordinary from his *Cajarian* Majesty to the Grand Signior, who made a solemn Entrance into the City, passing first through the *Turkish* Camp, where the Grand Signior remained, and thence to the House furnished and appointed for him at the expense of the Sultan. The Cavalcade was as follows:

In the Front of all were the Ten Chaoues which had attended the Ambassador through the whole Journey, these were followed by an Hundred fifty five other Chaoues with Muzzeves, with some Captains over the Janissaries. The Ambassador had of his own Retinue about a Hundred and fifty Persons on Horseback, well mounted, and clothed after the *Hungarian* fashion, his proper Guard consisted of Four and twenty Persons armed with Pistols; before him went his Trumpets, and Kettle Drums, but not founding, with Two Banners of foreign Eagles flying; one of them richly embroidered, carried by a Count of the Empire. The Ambassador himself was clothed with a Cloth of Silver Velt, lined with Sables, on his Cap he wore a Jewel, which they call (*Sargouk*) and is only used by the Grand Signior, and his principal Officers; before him went Eight led Horses richly furnished; immediately after him followed the Pages and Servants of the Spahelars Agasies, and of the Aga which conducted him from the Frontiers. Next came his Litter covered with Violet coloured Velvet, and carried by Mules; then his three Coaches with six Horses a piece, one of which being richly gilded, and made cheerful with Glass Windows after the new mode, the Grand Signior became much pleased with it, and at his request it was presented to him: after these followed four or five other Coaches of Four Horses, in which were Churchmen and uniform persons; and last of all came the *German* Wagons, and other Carriages with those of the Country with baggage.

This Ambassador was not long arrived before he was admitted to Audience with the Prime Vizier, who bestowed on him a Vest of Sables, with a Horse and Furniture of considerable value, and a Hundred of his Retinue were vested with Coffans, which amongst the *Turks* are testimonials of favour and acceptance. About Four days after, the Ambassador had Audience with the Grand Signior himself, at which were only Forty Coffans given out, which coming from so Grand a Personage, were in value multiplied much above the number given by the Vizier.

The Presents brought by the Ambassador were as follows:

A Looking Glass of about a man's height, in a Silver Frame, standing on a pedestal of Silver, turning round on every side.

Two great Balons of Silver, supported with three Pillars at three Corners, a man's body and a half high, adorned with several Figures; at one Pillar was fastened a gilded Balon, over which was a Fountain Cock for the Water to run through.

Two great gilded Balons full of holes at the Bottom to make a Passage for the Water.

Twelve Silver Candlesticks, every one about Two Ells high.

Six Silver Flower-Pots.

Twelve gilded Ewers for sweet Waters.

Twelve Silver Dishes with Covers made after the form of *Turkish* Turbants, all gilded within side.

Two great Writing Desks of Jasper-Stone, with Prospectives within.

Two other of Ebony Wood, and Tortoise shell, inlaid with Gold and Silver.

One great Ice Vessel, and one great Drinking Pot of Silver.

Four Pieces of Spanish Tapestry wrought with Silver.

Fourteen Clocks with *Turkish* and *Christian* Figures.

A Grota with a Clock in it, and a Cafe of Virginals which found with the motion of Water that runs through it.

A Cupboard an Ell high adorned with Boffes of Silver, in which was a Salt-box, Candlesticks, and other appurtenances thereto.

A large Chert with Figures of Silver gilded.

A high Writing Desk of Silver gilded, with many Boxes and Drawers, which for the Art and Invention is not to be defcribed.

Presents to the Valide or Queen Mother.

An embroidered Cushinet to lay upon, in which was a Looking-Glass, and a Virginal founding of it self.

A large Looking-Glass in a Silver Frame.

Two Silver Candlesticks of an Ell and half high.

A Basket of Silver rarely worked and engraven.

Four great Cups.

To the Great Vizier.

Twelve Silver Platters with Covers.

Two Silver Candlesticks of an Ell high.

Twelve Silver Plates handily worked for Coffets.

One Basket of Silver engraven.

Fourteen very large Silver Cups.

For other Ministers to be bestowed as occasion was.

Thirty two Clocks of several sorts, some with *Turkish*, and others with *Christian* Figures.

Twenty one Watches gilded.

Seven gilded Balons and Ewers.

The Weight of the Silver all together amounted unto Three thousand five hundred pound weight. These were the Particulars of the Presents sent from the Emperor to the Grand Signior, from whom he received the live value by the *Ottoman* Ambassador. And though this Relation may seem impertinent to the Weight of History, yet in regard on such matters things many times greater matters depend, and thereby the curiosity of the Reader satisfied, I thought it not from our purpose to infer a Lift thereof.

This year gave the first Beginning to trade between the *Ottoman* Dominions, and that of *Germany*. For in Company of the *German* Ambassador, in condition of a private Person, came the Marquis *Durazzo* a Nobleman of *Genoa* with Letters from that Republick to the Grand Signior, and Great Vizier, importing their desire of friendship and commerce with the *Ottoman* Port. This design of opening a door to a new Trade was commenced and carried on wholly by the contrivance and power of the Family

of the *Durazzo's*, falsely founded on the course alloy of Money, then current in the *Turkish* Territories, which proved not long durable; as will appear by the Sequel. This Marquis being arrived at *Constantinople*, declared his Message, which if favourably accepted, an Ambassador or Resident with Merchants should be sent to hold a Trade in the *Turkish* Dominions.

In answer whereunto the Vizier replied according to the usual complement, That the Arms of the Port are always open to those who desire to entertain a friendship and correspondence with it. But because in former days Merchants should be sent to hold a Trade in the *Turkish* Dominions, and *Genoa* having like promise of admission, were notwithstanding, through the union of the *English*, and *French* and *Venetians*, obstructed in their passage, and forced to return home, though one of them as far as *Scio* in his way, and the other as *Ragusa*; therefore this Marquis in remembrance hereof, pressed the Vizier farther in his promise, desiring him to give him the assistance, that what opposition might be made to the contrary by other Ministers, he would yet keep firm to that word he had given to his Republick. The Vizier constantly promised that he would; and if any other Ambassadors were not pleased with this satisfaction, and Treaty of that day, they might seek the remedy as they pleased, and if they pleased might have liberty to depart. The Marquis being satisfied with this assurance, took Letters to his Republick in allurance thereof, and Articles were given, and Privileges for Trade signed according to the Tenour of the Capitulations. And being herewith dispatched, he returned home by Land, and the next year appeared again himself in the Person of Ambassador Extraordinary to the *Ottoman* Court; where after high and considerable Presents and great Expenses made, chiefly supported by the House of *Durazzo*, a Resident was seated at *Constantinople*, and a Consul at *Smyrna*, where we will leave them for a while, and some years after (God willing) take an account of the profit and loss this prrogging Nation had made by this Embassy and Trade. But before we leave this point, it will be worth our noting, how haughtily the *French* Ambassador *Montieu La Haye* took his entertainment at *Genoa*, in regard he was so concerned against his admission, that he declared to the chief Ministers of State, how he had received Orders to oppose the entrance of the *Genoise* Nation, as highly prejudicial and obstructive to their Trade; and in fine, to acquaint the Grand Signior, that in case refused to entertain them, the *Genoise* kept their stations, in which they were the better secured by those frequent occasions of disgust his most Christian Majesty in defence of the Christian Cause, had given to these Enemies of the Christian Faith.

The Great Vizier and the *German* Ambassador being now both at the *Ottoman* Port, the Wars were concluded, and every one began to dispose his affairs to a quiet and a repose. But this Empire being still by God's Providence in a condition of growth and augmentation, could not remain long in Peace, nor long in health without exercise and action. Wherefore no sooner was *Germany* at ease, than the Vizier be-

gan to move the prosecution of the War in *Candia*, desiring to obtain the glory of conquering totally that Island, which for the space of Twenty five years had been the principal subject of the *Ottoman* defence and exercise, and acquire to himself the Fame in History of being Conquerour of *Candia*, and Concluder of the *Venetian* War. Wherefore the Vizier, with several other principal Persons, assembled in a Garden near the City of *Adrianople*, sent for the Signior *Bellariva* Representative for the Republick of *Venice*; where being come, at the first word demanded of him the Surrender of the whole Island of *Candia*. To which he modestly replied, That for great a gift was not in his power to give, and that his office was only to be assiduous to that happy hour, wherein all matters might concur towards Peace, and that his Mediation might contribute towards a conclusion of this long and tedious War. In the mean time he should acquaint his Prince with the demand the Vizier was pleased to make. To which the *Turks* added menaces, with high and insolent words, desiring to bend their whole force and power against *Candia*, the effect of which will hereafter be a material subject of our History. And thus much, to my best remembrance, I received from the mouth of that *Venetian* Minister.

In the mean time the Grand Signior, though he continued his Sports and Hunting, without regard to the violent heats of the Summer; yet he began to entertain something more of warm affection towards his Women, and to be reconciled to that sex, in contemplation of his little Son, who beginning now to play and prattle, afforded him matter of entertainment in his Apartments of his Women; so that he affectionately doing on his Queen, gave order for increase of her Revenue and Attendance, and appointed the best Artisans of *Adrianople* to make her a Crown studded with very precious Stones to adorn her Head, of which he was so impatient, that he ordered the Goldsmiths to work in the Seraglio, permitting them scarce time to eat or sleep until it was finished. In recompence of which affection of her Sultan, this Lady so corresponded, that she appeared passionately in love, practising certain pretty tricks of wooing and of an unsteady condition in his absence, which he endeared him in all respects to her, that it was said the Sultan kept himself constant to this Queen only, and contrary to the custom of other Emperors, and permission of the *Turkish* Laws made use of the multitude of his other Women only for Slaves, or Attendants (to the greater fear and adoration of his beloved Queen).

And now the Grand Signior, at the persuasion of the Vizier and others of his Council, resolving to winter at *Constantinople*, certain Women of the lower rank were dispatched before, as forerunners of the removal of the Court; and being in the Seraglio at large without observance, and aware of their usual Spies, two of the boldest Wenches finding a Cradle, wherein the Royal Infants were usually laid, adventured to pick out the best Jewels, of which some were very good Stones, and afterwards laid it up again in a private place, where it was not easily found. Not many days after the Queen-Mother waiting the Cradle of so much value and antiquity, where so many of the young Sultans had lain, sent to the Seraglio at *Constantinople* to fetch it thence. But it not being found, inquisition was made into all secret corners, the Wardrobes were searched, but nothing appeared, to the great fear of those to whose care it was committed, one accusing the other to

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The German Ambassador Entrance.

Audience given to the German Ambassador.

The Genoise received.

The G. Vizier particularly loves his Queen.

The Genoise make Peace with the Turk.

acquire himself. In fine, the matter was so treated, that time while whistlers there were concerning those in whose hands the Gradle nor longer being was seen to remain. The Women having pity confidences were amazed in being so closely held, and fearing the matter should be yet evilly covered, entered into consultation what course they should take to save their lives and their honour. In fine, they both concluded, that in such an extremity desperate remedies ought to be used, than which none was better than to set fire to the seraglio, by which means, either the thing sought for, would be esteemed for burnt and consumed by the fire, or in so great a tumult he hoped that matters of smaller moment would not be remembered. Wherefore the bold Wenches without other consideration gave fire with their Candle to the roof of Cedar, of which wood most of the Womens rooms in the Seraglio are made, which in a moment made such a flame, as with the help of a little wind, was carried through all the quarters of the Womens Apartments, and thence took its way to the Dining Chamber, and near considerable parts of the Court, where many Records and Registers of Law were consumed to ashes, together with one of the latter Prefaces, where much riches, which endured not the test of fire, perished: And the whole Seraglio had run an evident hazard, had not the Strangers and other Servants of the Court ventured far into the flames, in which many of them miserably perished. The fire being quenched, and the Women afterwards (I know not how) detected to have been the Authors thereof, were sent to *Adrianople*, and being there executed, were strangled by the immediate order of the Grand Signior.

As for the destruction of that considerable part of the Seraglio was no impediment to the Grand Signiors return to *Constantinople*, being rebuilt with that speed and industry, equal or exceeding the negligence of the former, that the day previous to the Journey thither was not prolonged by reason thereof. However the Grand Signior, in availing to the place made the wheels of his chariot move slow, and the quickness of his Attendants grew slack and cold, observing so much displeasure in their Emperor to the place detained. For though he was pressed by the Vizier to his journey, and could not handily refuse to comply with the time appointed; yet to defer the resolution as long as was possible, he contrived a new way of Meander towards *Constantinople*, forming his Journey in Company with the Great Vizier by way of the *Dardani* upon the *Hellipont*, on pretence of viewing the Fortifications of the new Ports raised at the entrance of that Strait, and taking some Provisions from thence for Relief of *Candia*; wherefore the Captain-Pasha was commanded to Sea with three Gallies, and at the same time to attend the Grand Signiors arrival, before he should return to the Gallies, and begeth him. And the design being now resolved, he set out to prosecute the VVar in *Candia*; for transporting thither a numerous Army, it was concluded, that the Captain-Pasha should propose to the High Ambassador the Grand Signiors desire of Peace, and his ships, with consent of our King, forth to receive, and the King paying what reasonable Rates should be demanded. But the Earl of Arundel, who was then in the city, made no reply. That though His Majesty of England did always enter into a good affection and zealous disposition towards the affairs of the Grand Signior; yet at present the VVar with *Holland*, and ill understanding with *France*, made his occasions for

his own Shipping more urgent than usual, and the time most unseasonable to press his Majesty in this particular: by which reply and several other excuses of the Ambassador, the Captain-Pasha perceiving an averiness to the Proposition, and that Christians unwillingly arm *Turki* against the Cross, gave an account of this discourse to the Grand Signior and Vizier, who immediately give order for the building of sixty Gallies against the next Spring, which with what they had before would make up above an Hundred Sail. The Rendezvous of this Fleet, together with Saykes and other *Turkish* Vessels, from thence to transport the Vizier and his Army for *Candia*, was appointed to be made at *Maldiva* of the success of which we shall have occasion (God willing) to discourse in the following Year, which gave a beginning (as we may say) to the total loss of that Country, and to that famous Siege, which in History will bear the Fame of one of the most memorable in the World. And as a preparation thereto, and as a supply of the present urgent necessities, three Ships, *one English*, another *French*, and a third *Dutch* were laden with Corn, and thirty Sail of Beys Gallies, with all sorts of Arms and Ammunition, with a Recruit of a thousand Janizaries, were dispatched from *Constantinople* for Reinforcement and Succour of that Island.

And now at length the Grand Signior after his long circuit arrived at *Constantinople*, where he made his solemn Entry the Third of October, but not with that Joy and Pomp, which usually attended other Sultans in their return from the Wars and labours to their Imperial City; but all things seemed like the Sultans humour, full and displeased; for he seldom lodged in his Seraglio, or slept there, but at a small Palace called *Dauu-Pasha*, where he for the most part made his abode; only sometimes in the day he passed a few hours at his Seraglio, but retired not there in the Night. The reason hereof some attributed to the remembrance of those dangers and troubles which he had seen in that Court, and which made so deep an impression on his fancy, that he could never enter within those Gates without some sense of terror for the late disorders.

The German War being thus concluded, the Sultan returned to *Constantinople*, and Affairs disposing themselves to spend their fury against *Cambray*, all things growing black and tempestuous towards that Coast, the *Venetians* prudently provided to oppose the storm. And as an able General, and wife and experienced Captains, are the supports of an Army; and that the success of War depends much on Martial Discipline, and on the vigilance and wisdom of the Commanders, the Senate gave order to their Ambassador at *Torin*, called *Antony Bellegio*, to offer unto *Marquesse Giose Francesco Villa*, a Native of that Country, the honourable charge of General of the Foot, with a stipend of 12000 Crowns of yearly Pay; the said *Marquesse* obliging himself to bring with him Four Captains, and two Lieutenant-Generals, for entertainment of whom the Republick allowed Five thousand Ducats, besides Seventy Ducats a Month pay to an Engineer. To this *Marquesse Villa* a power was given to command in chief over all, and to question by any other than the Captain-General, and to the Provost General in *Dalmatia*. And when he waged War in that Province: And in short, his actions were not to be questioned or examined by any other than the Senate itself, to whom he was immediately subjected, and a Gally was

The *Turky* prepare for a War on *Candia*.

The Speech of *Marquesse Villa* to the Senate.

The G. Signior arrives at *Constantinople*.

Marquesse Villa received into service of the *Venetians*.

to be allotted purposely to transport him and his Family to *Candia*. Upon these conditions agreed at *Torin*, *Marquesse Villa* took his Journey to *Venice* about the beginning of April, being accompanied with his Kinsman *Francesco Villa*, his Nephew *Benedetto* Count of *Lagnasco*, Count *Lodovico Salazera*, and Count *Bernardino Barreto*, to which Four served in quality of Captains, together with *Gio. Francesco Vullaria*, and *Alfandro Negri*, who were Lieutenant-Generals, and *Gio. Girolamo Quattrupano* Engineer. With these Companions and several other Volunteers, Gentlemen of Quality, the *Marquesse Villa* was received with much honour by the Nobility and People of *Venice*; and being introduced into the Colledge, with a singular grace and fluency of Language he began to speak in this manner.

If thanks, most Serene Prince, and most Excellent Sirs, ought to be equivalent to the benefits we receive, I must of necessity (not to appear ungrateful) refuse those favours, which this most Serene Republick is pleased to confer upon me; or resolve to appear ungrateful, because I am unable to make a compensation. But I satisfy myself in this, That as the mind which receives favours, and returns thanks is the same; so that mind which makes acknowledgments with a due sense of them, doth in some measure equal the benefit, though it prove defective in expressions to declare it. I do therefore confess and acknowledge, that the Election you have been pleased to make of me amongst so many conspicuous Persons, unto a Charge graced by most renowned Predecessors, and in it self most honourable, is a most singular favour, and an effect of your immense Bounty to me; which though it be limited with some subordination, yet it may serve for the ultimate Goal to a glorious Course of Military labours. I must also farther acknowledge, That as it is the property of this most Serene Republick to receive momentary Services, and to render them Eternal by Records in History; so they have been pleased to adjoin unto my mean deserts a remembrance of the humble devotion which my Ancestors professed towards them: I mean *Alfonso Villa* my great Grandfather, who in that most glorious Fleet at *Lepanto*, whose Sails were the wings of Victory, evidenced his Christian Zeal against that People, which issuing from the bowels of Sea-monsters, continue to vent their ancient rage against your most Serene Highness. Nor will I let promptness of mind, had my Grandfather *Francesco Villa*, and my Father *Guido Villa*, consecrated their Powers to your Command: but that the unparalleled Equity of this most Serene Republick gave permission, that one of them should take the charge of General of the Artillery of the Holy Church under the Pope his Supreme Lord, preferring a natural duty be-

fore a voluntary service; and that the other being entertained in service of the most Invincible *Charles Emanuel* in *Piedmont*, you were pleased to judge, That the Service due to a Prince your Confederate, and Son of this Republick, was a service and duty rendered to your selves: so that this Election made of me by this most Serene Republick, and approved by the singular goodness of that *Charles Emanuel*, who now reigns, evidences the Destiny of my Family, and obliges me to satisfy that hereditary debt by performances, which my Ancestors entertained only in their wishes. Hence it is, that to this my Election some celestial influence hath concurred, by which I am clearly assured, that your more than humane Power is desirous to imitate the Divine, which oftentimes makes use of weak means to operate miraculous effects; that to you only the success may be acknowledged, and to you only the thanks be returned: That if the Providence of your Serenity, and of this most Serene Republick will be pleased (as I am assured you will) to imitate the Divine Providence, which co-operates with means, the number and quality of your Troops and plenty of your Provisions, which are the Nerves of War, are those means which correspond with the ends you design: And therefore I dare preface, that I shall not only see the threatening horns of the changeable Ottoman Planet precipitated into the Sea by the Venetian horn of Strength; but those glorious Conquests renewed, which render your Name more bright, and resplendent than the Sun it self in his Oriental parts. With these auspicious Prefaces, I feel already in my breast an impatient heat to sacrifice my life in so worthy a Cause; fancying that I serve the Universe, whilst I am engaged in the service of the greatest of Republicks, which communicates delicious Fruit to all People, gathered from those triumphant Palms, which were planted and watered with her own sweat and labours; and resembles her own generous Lion, which continually stands on the Guard in opposition to the common Enemy, that all other People may rest quiet, and repose secure. And thus much, Most Serene Prince, and Most Excellent Sirs, shall suffice to have been spoken by a Soldier, not acquainted with Eloquence, to whom Courage is more requisite than Words, and to fight well with the hand, is more laudable than to utter florid Speeches with the Tongue.

According to the preceding counsel and desire of *Marquesse Villa*, the Senate sent by divers Convoys great plenty of Provision and Ammunition to *Candia*, and fired their Fleet with all things necessary; and strengthened their Forts both with Horse and Foot drawn out of their Garrisons on the *Terra Firma*, being assisted with Men and Money from other Princes and States. The Pope gave them liberty to levy Four thousand

1665. Good men out of his Countries, the Emperor also furnished them with considerable Force, to which were made Additions from other parts of Germany.

In this manner the prudent Care of the Venetians proved for their own safety: But at Constantinople things were more quiet, for it being Winter, the Turks made Entertainments for the German Ambassadors, who was first feasted by the Chinnachan, and twice afterwards, with much Magnificence, by the Great Vizier at his own Garden, seated on the *Bosphorus*, all difficulties being before overcome, and agreed, unless the deliverance of the poor Captives from the *Ision* and the *Oar*, who continued in the torment of expectation between hope and fear, either of liberty or perpetual slavery. Which Treaty though it properly belonged to the Vizier, to whom the absolute power is derived, yet in formality it was referred for matter of the last Audience with the Grand Signior, who being desirous to attend his Hunting and Pastime abroad, was in pain, until he had complied with his Office towards this Ambassador, whose departure though not some time after designed, yet being often called upon to receive his Dispatch from the Grand Signior, was admitted on the 3th of October to his Audience with the same formality, and feasting as is common to all other Ambassadors in the Divan, or place of Judicature, and received three and forty Costars bestowed on himself and his retinue, and thence being conducted to the Chamber of Audience, with some of the principal Noblemen of his Company, they presented themselves on their Knees, with their Faces on the Ground, according to the Custom of the Eastern Courts; with which occasion the *Heer Rensingen*, who had for fifteen or seventeen years been Resident for the Emperor, a person grown infirm with Age and the Court, and his Knees not so active and pliable as the younger sort, coming also to take his turn in this prostrate manner of Worship, was so rudely handled by the Kapugbahees, who assisted on each Arm at the Ceremony, that he not being able to bow his head so easily as others, was thrust down by them with so little consideration or respect, that his Brows and Forehead were broken on the Floor; which mischief was ordered him, as put him besides that Speech which he had premeditated in Turkish to address to the Grand Signior; and though he curbed what was possible his passion, whilst he remained in the Royal Presence, yet in vain afterwards he vented his Choler with words against these unmanly Officers without other remedy or satisfaction. The Demands of the Ambassador were in writing read before the Grand Signior, according to the custom of the Court, and principally concerned the freedom of the Slaves, some of which were then in the Gallies, and Bannard, and others of the most principal in the seven Towers. Other Demands there were in relation to the State of *Transylvania*, that for the future it might be free from Incursions, in which particular the Turks had already violated the Peace; and that a more orderly Government of Affairs might be observed on the Frontiers, than lately had passed, as agreed by the late Capitulations. To which the Grand Signior gave no Answer, referring all to the Vizier, only told the Ambassador in those, That he should counsel his Master to beware of invading the Ottoman Dominions, or acting any thing to the prejudice of the Peace.

The Articles of Peace made between the Two

1665. Emperors were for the most part a confirmation of the ancient Agreement, only it was provided as a new Addition, That the Armies should depart from the Confines of *Transylvania*. Secondly, That the Castles and Forts garisoned with German Soldiers in that Country should be resigned into the hands of the Prince. And Thirdly, There were other particulars added in reference to *Neuhauzel*, and the Countries adjacent lately conquered, and the Limits of both Emperors, as before declared.

But whilst these things were in agitation, and Ambassadors interchangeably at either Court, the *Turks* of *Varadin* and *Janona* made frequent incursions into *Transylvania*, destroying the Villages, and carrying away great numbers of Captives; and so lately, as about the beginning of August last, those of *Varadin* conveyed themselves privately under the Castle *Csib*, and robbed the Houses belonging to that Garrison, killed some, and carried others into slavery; at which time also Two thousand *Turks* besieged the Castle *Valko*, which they took, and razed to the ground; which Complaints of their Countries Aggravations the *Transylvanians* intimated to the German Ambassador, as matters already acted contrary to the late Articles of Peace, requesting farther to interpose for mediation and abatement of their Tribute, which *Kuperles* had, contrary to Oath and reason, unjustly augmented. But the Ambassador seemed to coldly to interpose in this behalf, as taught the *Turks* to deny his Requests, acquiescing with this Answer, That it was no breach of Peace that to make incursions on the Frontiers, as also without Cannon to rob, and spoil, and skirmish, not exceeding five thousand men in number. For it appeared that the Ambassador was most desirous to secure the main points of the Peace, which concerned most the Interest of the Empire, and not hazard it for such like Concernments of *Transylvania*; for though it seemed strange to the World to see a Peace hastily clapt up with disadvantageous Terms on the Emperors side, whilst he was victorious and fortunate in several Enterprizes; yet they that penetrated farther into the State and Condition of the Empire, report, That there was a necessity of making a moderate use of these successes by a fair accommodation, rather than to tempt Providence by a too eager and continued prosecution of the War. For it was observed that the Designs of making the Duke of *Anguien*, Son to the Prince of *Conde*, King of *Poland*, proceeded forward; and that there was a Combination of a dangerous League amongst the Princes of the Rhine. The Divisions between the *German* and the *Hungarians* encreased; the latter of which are known to be an obdurate sort of People. The Army also of the *French* was feared in the Powers of the Empire, under the Command of Monsieur *la Feuillade*, who under pretence of applying themselves to the assistance of Christendom, were suspected to come with intentions to advance the Interest of their King, and force the next Diet to elect him King of the *Romans*; in order whereunto, and in consideration of farther assistance, they demanded several Towns in *Hungary* to be delivered into their hands, and made extravagant Propositions for winter Quarters, all which considered, made the German Ambassador more tender how he entered into Disputes with the *Turks*, which might prejudice the essential points of the Peace, or occasion a new War more destructive to Germany through the dan-

The Reasons why the German Ambassador interposed not in behalf of *Transylvania*.

1665. The German Ambassador's Audience with the Vizier.

dangers before intimated, than by the Arms and Hostility of the common Enemy. These Considerations made the Ambassador less zealous in the matter of *Transylvania*, and in all others which were not really conducing to his Masters immediate service; so that having no other difficulty remaining, than the liberty of the Captives, on the day of his last Audience with the Vizier, being the 8th of November, he urged with more earnestness their Release, which was in part granted; those of the Gallies were delivered from their Chains and Oars; but such as were of greater Quality in the seven Towers were detained, until the Emperor had on his part released the *Turks* of Quality in like manner; and though it was agreed in the Article, That Captives should on both sides be released, yet the Vizier interpreted it to be in respect to Number and Quality, of which I remember to have heard often Complaints, and especially of those poor Gentlemen, then under Irons and restraint, who though afterwards received their freedom, yet for the present endured more torment in their minds, than if they had never been put in expectation to enjoy their hopes. At the end of the Audience the Ambassador proposed something in behalf of the Religious of *Jerusalem*. That certain places of Devotion might be restored them, which were injuriously taken from them by the *Turks*; and also that Licenses might be granted for re-edification of some Churches, and Monasteries destroyed in *Galata* by the late Fire: To the first of which, the Vizier answered, That the *Franks* with the *Greeks* of *Jerusalem* should have a fair and equal Tryal at Law about the possession of those places in difference, and Justice and Right should be done unto the injured; but the latter Proposition he positively denied, as being a matter contrary to their Law and Religion, was not defensible by his Power, nor ought he to expect a Complement from him, or Gratitude of that nature, which was inconsistent with the honour and conscience of the Donor; but that in any thing else he was ready to yield to his Desires, whereby he might understand the value he put upon his Person; using this Expression, That he was more satisfied that the Emperor had designed so illustrious and worthy a person to this Embassy, than if he had sent him a Hundred thousand Dollars more of Present, and at the Conclusion of the Audience, vested both the Ambassador and Resident with Sabres, which ended with all imaginable satisfaction, and mutual contentment.

On the 21st of the Month of November arrived at Constantinople Monsieur *De Ventelay*, Ambassador from the French King to the Grand Signior, who was Son to the Sieur *De la Haye*, the former Ambassador, a Person much talked of before he arrived; a generous and an accomplished Gentleman, and one well practised in the Affairs of that Country. To understand which story the better we must look back to the former Year, at the beginning of which during the German War, and that the Vizier remained in his winter-quarters at *Belgrade*, a Courier with Letters from his most Christian Majesty to the First Vizier arrived, who concealed not the occasion of his coming, nor the contents of his Letters with that secrecy, but that those who were employed in the Translation of the Papers into Turkish, made it publickly known to be no other than a recital of the many provocations his most Christian Majesty had received from the Pirates of *Barbary*, containing a List of the Ships,

Men, and Goods they had from time to time seized and made Prize: in vindication of which indignities to his Honour, and in protection of his People, he could not do less than make a War upon those Pirates (for as yet the advice was not come, that the French had defeated *Gigeri*) in which for the foregoing reasons the Grand Signior ought not to judge himself concerned. And for the Success given the Emperor, it was not as afforded as King of France, but as one of the Princes of the Empire, in which capacity, by virtue of his Tenure, he was obliged to contribute such Forces on the like emergencies and distresses of the Empire. And if the foregoing reasons were available with the Sultan to induce him (as in reason he ought) to believe he continued in perfect friendship with him, without breach of Articles, he was then ready to send his Ambassador to reside at the Port, provided it might be Monsieur *De Ventelay*, Son to Monsieur *De la Haye* late Ambassador there, who was the Person that had some time since received indignities from the Vizier *Kuperles*, that to his Majesty might receive satisfaction, by having the very Person of Monsieur *De Ventelay* honoured by extraordinary demonstrations of respect, in reparation of the former affronts. This Messenger having translated his Papers, obtained license to ride to the Vizier, and in the frosts and extremities of the weather in January set forward on his Journey; but in his passage through *Adriamople*, visiting the Chinnachan, and desiring his license in like manner to ride Post to the Vizier on publick affairs, received such a lesson of scorn and disdain, vented with the extremity of choler against the French Nation in publick Divan, with terms unbecomingly to be repeated. And that in farther remembrance, if he were First Vizier, he should refuse to accept any friendship or alliance with them; but since he was inferior to the Great Vizier, he would dispend him to the Camp, and grant him a Command for his Post. But it seems this Courier being arrived at *Belgrade*, was received with better terms, and more courtesy by the Vizier, who had learned by experience of the late Christian Wars, and proof of the Valour of the French Nation, that the Propositions of that King were not lightly to be contemned. And therefore contented that Monsieur *De Ventelay* might freely come (using their common expression) that the Arms of the Port are always open to receive the addresses of Friends, Allies, and Confederates. With this message and Letters the Courier was dispatched by way of *Ragusa* with safe conduct, and what else was requisite for his secure passage. No doubt but his most Christian Majesty was the more incensed, that the Person of Monsieur *De Ventelay* (who was the subject on whom formerly the *Turks* had exercised such injurious violence) should be accepted for Ambassador, and resolved, unless they received him, he would send no other, that to his Honour which suffered before in this Person, might be repaired again by the respect and reverence they were to show to him as Ambassador; as if in repentance of their former unkindness, they should now strive to make amends by extraordinary demonstrations of honour to this Representative. For it was judged in France, and there concluded, that there was no other means to repair the Kings Honour than by the Embassy of Monsieur *De Ventelay*, to which that a greater reputation might be added, he was transported in one of the Kings Ships called the *Caspar*, accompanied with a Fire-ship, and a small Pataca for a Vidualler, and the

Reflections of the *Turks* on the Frailty of Monsieur *De Ventelay*.

his former Equipage was attended by four or five Musketeers and a Jerboah of Quality. Being arrived at the further part of the City called the Seven Towers, the Ships came to an Anchor, from whence the Ambassadors lent to advise the Vizier of his arrival, desiring as one mark of the extraordinary honour promised him, that a return might be made to the Salute of his Ship from the Seraglio, by the Cannon which lay under the Wall, a Ceremony before never demanded, or prescribed with respect to any Christian or Turkish Vessel; and that his landing might be honoured with a more than usual reception by the attendance of Officers, or at least equalled to the Formalities of the late English Ambassadors. But the Vizier it seems judged, that the reception of the English, strained on a particular occasion, was not to be brought into example, and that the ordinary custom, that he esteemed the demand to be extravagant, and that such a President would be dishonourable to his Master. And therefore resolving not to exceed the particulars of former customs, offered at his landing to have him accompanied to his House with ten Chaouies, only the Ambassadors not accepting hereof, in a discontented manner entered with his Ship the day following, and giving the usual Salutes to the Seraglio, landed at *Tapsna*, a place near to his own Dwelling, from whence with no other attendance than his own Company, privately walked up, and with no farther ceremony took possession of the place of Residence of former Ambassadors from France.

Notwithstanding this slight treatment, the Ambassadors was not so much mortified, but he conceived hopes, that the Turks would at length in contemplation of his Masters greatness, gratify him with some signal demonstrations of extraordinary honour, by concessions of unusual Privileges, and greater facility in his Negotiations: and therefore was induced, though as yet he had not had a personal Audience of the Vizier, to desire a revocation of the Agreement made with the Genoese, (the Marquess *Durazzo*, of whom we have spoken before, being just upon his departure) protesting against it with all earnestness, as a matter so prejudicial to the French Traffick and Commerce in those Dominions, that if addition were given to the Genoese, they must expect to lose friendship and commerce with France. But notwithstanding this heat and other protestations against it, the Vizier who inherited his Fathers spirit, little regarded the discontent of the French, but calmly answered, That the Grand Signior was Master of himself and Country, and might make Peace or War at his own pleasure without licence or permission of the French King; and that such as were envious, or discontented at the Peace, had free liberty to depart and take their remedy as they esteemed most beneficial.

In this manner matters passed between the time of this Ambassadors Arrival and his Audience. In which interim the curiosity of Monsieur *Abramov*, Captain of the French Man of War, had like to have proved fatal to him; for would he viewed from the Gallery of his Ship the pleasant situation of the Seraglio, and the prospect of the *Bosphorus*, behold at a distance appeared certain Gallies gently gliding down the stream, dressed up with Flags and Streamers, which all Ships and Saykes saluted with their Guns as they passed. This Captain being informed that the Grand Signior was there in person, and returned from his Hunting, which

he had made in certain Woods not far from the City, saluted him also as he passed with twenty five Guns; but being not able to discover his person, presently fired his Boat and followed him, hoping to receive that satisfaction at his landing; for conceiving, that access to the Ottoman and Eastern Princes is as facile and grateful, as it is to those of Christendom, with all confidence endeavoured to accost the Person of the Grand Signior as near as was possible. The Grand Signior, turning his eyes, and seeing a man habited (as he conceived) in a barbarous and extravagant dress, apprehended the Majesty of his Person violated by so near and bold an approach of the curious Stranger; and thereupon, without farther inquiry, being moved with scorn and indignation, called for the Executioners, who are ever present, especially the *Boftangia-bashee*, being of more moderation, beseeched the Grand Signior to have a little patience, and to enquire of the Ghaur or Infidel (as they call'd him) the cause of this his boldness: with which the Grand Signior pressing a little his passion, and having patience until one was sent to expostulate with the Captain, who all this while, though he perceived some disturbance, was yet ignorant that the matter so dangerously concerned himself; and not being able to understand the Messenger, nor to be understood by him, rendered the business more confused, and less understood: which the Messenger observing, and knowing the danger of this worthy and innocent Gentleman, being perhaps of a compassionate nature, and prudent, framed this excuse to the Grand Signior, That he did not well understand the Infidels language, but what he conjectured was, That he being Captain of that Vessel, which had newly saluted his Majesty as he passed with twenty five Guns, was now come in confidence of his Royal bounty and clemency to receive a Coffin, as a sign of his Majesties favour, and reward of his own respect. The Grand Signior having by this time his choler somewhat abated, was better pacified with these gentle words; the *Boftangia-bashee* also interceding at the same time in his behalf, that he was a stranger, and ignorant of the customs of their Country, and that if he deserved punishment, he might be remitted to the examination of the Vizier, who might chastise him, as he found it reasonable. The Grand Signior contented herewith, the rude *Boftangies* seized the Captain and hurried him to the Vizier, who all this time was ignorant of his error or his danger, more than that he perceived by accent of their words, and by their gestures, that something was amiss, and debated in reference unto him. The Druggers men, or Interpreters of the French Nation being sent for, and the Vizier and the Captain both understanding the matter, the crime appeared only to be an absurdity committed through ignorance; yet so pleate the Grand Signior, and to make an appearance, as if something were done in chastisement of this bold curiosity, the Vizier ordered, that the Captain should be conducted by two Chaouies to the Ambassadors, there to be put in Chains and in Prison, until satisfaction was made for his fault. The Captain being thus brought before the Ambassadors, this honest Gentleman was punished in the same manner as we do those in Christendom, who crowd to see their Prince.

The Ambassadors had his first Audience with the Vizier on the 9th of December, which being insignificant to any other business more than to the delivery of his Masters Letter, and other mat-

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The French Ambassadors second Audience.

ters of Form and Ceremony, we shall need to inflict the less upon it.

His second Audience before that of the Grand Signior, was in the beginning of January, at which time the Ambassadors began to declare what he had in Commiffion from his King, which principally related towards a satisfaction for those Alfrons formerly offered him in the person of his Father, and himself inculcating into the Vizier a true apprehension of the greatness of his Master, his force by Land, his powerful Fleet which should that following year be set forth in the Mediterranean Seas, with other arguments which might challenge due respect and honour to so great a Prince. These Proposals and Discourses, though the Vizier seemed not to entertain with that benign and flexible ear as was expected or thought satisfactory, and thereupon several digressals did afterwards succeed; yet however in the end all matters cleared up again, and his Excellency was permitted to return to his own House with all imaginable satisfaction, as he was pleased to intimate to the Ambassadors for his Majesty of great Britain. Soon after followed his Audience with the Grand Signior according to the usual Ceremonies, so that all things run smoothly with the French for several years after. And large by the way it is observable, that an English Ambassadors once arguing wholly with the Vizier on some points of the Capitulations, in which judging himself wronged, threw the Capitulations to the Vizier, telling him, that he might keep the Writing and Paper, since he resolved not to obey the Letter. The Vizier hereupon calmly took the Capitulations, and laid them behind his Cushion, which the Ambassadors in a more considerate temper could not again recover under an expence of fifteen hundred Pieces of Eight.

The Grand Signior Hunting.

During the time of these Negotiations the Grand Signior wholly employed his time and thoughts in Hunting, ranging all the Woods for several days journeys round *Constantinople*, in which Exercise twenty or thirty thousand men were employed, collected from the Cities and Villages round about, all of which were paid at the public expence and charge of House-keepers both Turks and Christians, which in one hunt might amount to thirty or forty thousand Dollars. With this burden the people being often oppressed, and many perishing in the Woods with cold and hunger, began to murmur at the excess of Tyranny, cursing their Princes madnes and folly, maintained with the life and ruin of his Subjects. But notwithstanding all these whispered confessions and secret menaces the Grand Signior followed his delights with such frequency, and with that heat and eagerness, that the people perceiving no end of their misery, began to speak loudly and plainly, and by some principal Persons gave the Vizier to understand, That the people would not longer endure the extravagant Vagaries of their Prince at so dear a rate, of which he that was his chief Counsellor ought to inform and advise him. The Vizier, who was before sensible of the excess of his Masters humour in this particular, and that immediately, even in a lawful, and innocent exercise, may become a Vice, and when acted with oppression of the Subject as dangerous as other terms which found more of Tyranny and Violence, resolved with courage and humility to represent to his Master the danger of such expensive Hunting, especially when over frequent; and therefore assured those who made their Complaints, That for the future all matters should be redressed, and the Grand Signior

or should not be so prodigal in his Huntings on the Person of his Subjects. And so sensible was the Vizier of the disorders which might arise from hence, if some remedy were not speedily applied, that he immediately departed *Constantinople* to find out the Grand Signior, who was lodged in some retired cool place, environed with Woods and Mountains; leaving *Sulyma* Patha for Chimaeham, or Deputy, in his place, in whose former Government many terrible Fires had happened in *Constantinople*.

About this time Advice came to *Constantinople* of certain addresses the Negoy Tartar had made to the Patha of *Silistria* to obtain a Country to live in between the Rivers of *Beridjeff* and the *Danubius*; for that their own Country being full, they were forced to abandon and empty it of forty or fifty thousand Families, who lived in Wagons, and had about a hundred thousand head of Cattel, all which with their substance, they proffered for Subjects to the Grand Signior, if he pleased to afford them protection, and Land for Pasture and habitation. The Patha approving hereof, gave them assurance of security under the shadow of his Masters favours, sending information thereof to the Port, who willingly embraced these new-come Guests, and entered into consultation what Country and limits should be assigned them. In the mean time the *Kram* Tartar jealous of this Neighbourhood might produce, fell upon them, and cut off a great number of them, forcing the rest to return into their own Country, which though ill taken at first by the Turks, was yet afterwards excused by the Tartar, and dissembled by the Port.

Though all things appeared quiet at *Constantinople* after the Peace concluded with the Emperor, and that the German Ambassadors was returned back to his Master; yet the Turks were professed their designs against *Venice*, and made great preparations in the Provinces of *Albania*, *Bosnia*, and *Licca*, which confine on the Venetian Territories; and though in reality those Forces were not intended against those parts, but in order to a more warm prosecution of the War in *Candia*, whether the Vizier intended to transport himself in Person; yet the Venetian State not fully penetrating the Design, took the Alarm chiefly in *Dalmatia*, and reinforced their Garrisons of *Catara* and other Frontiers. And that matters there might be well provided, and all things adju- dicated with due circumspection; Marquise *Villa* was ordered to visit those Garrisons in his Voyage to *Candia*; so that departing from *Venice* attended with two Gallies, he arrived in a few days at *Zara*, and thence proceeding to *Spalato*, where the Proveditor General, *Caterin Cornaro*, made at that time his residence; they both joined together to survey the most important places of that Province.

They began with the City of *Spalato*, which rather seems a place intended by Nature for a Palace of delights, than a Garrison of Arms; being the Seat which *Dioclesian* (who was born at *Salona*, six miles distance from thence) chose for his Garden of retirement, after he had renounced the Empire, and in so turned into a ruler shape of War, since the invasion of the Turk made it necessary to be fortified for security of itself, being secured by divers Redoubts, the chief of which is situated on a little rising, called *Grupp*, distant about a Musket-shot from the Town, is strengthened with four Royal Battions, and with good Artillery; there is also a new Line of Fortification drawn round the Town, which renders it the strongest, and most considerable of all *Dalmatia*.

But

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The Negro Tartar desires Limits of the Grand Signior.

Marquise Villa surveys the Forts in Dalmatia.

Spalato.

65. But to make this place the more impregnable, the Generals laid the foundation for another Bulwark, and as an evidence of their Union, they cast a Medal with a stamp on one side of *Cosmario*, and on the other of *Marquis Villa*, and sending thanks to God, the Service ended with firing all the Guns of the Town.

Afterwards both the Generals Embarking, called that Night to *Carsulca*, anciently called *Cosulca*, viz. which is one of the greatest and best of the Isles of this Gulf; Thence passing by *Ragusa*, where the Deputies of that Government, in recognition of that Sovereignty which the Venetians have over the *Adriatick Seas*, presented the usual refreshments to the General of the Province; and in a particular manner treated *Marquis Villa* with a Prefect in name of their Republic. That Night they arrived at the Entrance of the Channel of *Catara*, and taking *Persafo* in their way (which is a strong Fortification about six miles distant from *Catara*) they were received there with firing all the Guns of the Town, which were doubly multiplied by an Echo returned from the found of the neighbouring Mountains. Thence they proceeded to visit *Budua*, a place well fortified, as also Fort *St. George* in the Island *Lisina*, which is a usual Rendezvous of *Brigantines*, and armed Barques; at length they went to *Almiffa*, where they made a general Muster of all the Forces of the Province; in all which places having viewed and amended the defence in Fortification, and given order for supplying them with Ammunition and Provisions necessary; they returned back to see the famous Forts of *Cissa*, the Situation of which seems to have been planned when Nature desired to fortify, and be wanted; for its ruins, as it were, out of the Boism of two Mountains, which are at an equal distance from the Town, and then drawing themselves at each end into the fashion of a Bow, seem to form a Triumphant Arch. The passage through these Mountains is so narrow and crooked, that it appears like a Labyrinth; and being supplied with plenty of Fountains and Cisterns both within and without the Forts, the Suburbs demolished, and no incumbrances to cloy and weaken its strength, is certainly more obliged to Nature for its defence than to Art. From hence they proceeded to view *Sebenico*, which is another strong Fort, situated on a rising Hill, and overlooks a spacious Port, the entrance to which is secured by the Fort *St. Nicholas*; and the City it self, besides its own Walls, is guarded by a Citadel, and by the new works of *St. John*, situated on two Hills: From hence the Generals returning to *Zara*, the Capital City of the Province, which being encompassed by the Sea, annexed to the Land only by a Bridge, which is also defended by a Fort, is rendered the strongest and most impregnable of all the Fortresses. And here having made a general Muster of all the Forces, and visited the Country of *Nouigrade*, and *Pojidaria*, the habitations of the *Morlacs* Militia, the Marquis returned again to *Venice*, being called thither by the Senate; for the Year being now well spent, and the Winter approaching, he came near to admit of any considerable action; in which manner the Affairs of Wars might best and most advantageously be directed for the succeeding year. Yet in regard Advices were come from *Candia*, that the *Turks* were much allied with the *Pelutians*, and scarcity of all Provisions, it was judged requisite to prosecute the War the more eagerly against them, before the Great Vizier arrived there with such an Army as commonly at-

tends his Person; it being advised from Count *Lejlate*, the Emperor's Ambassador at *Constantinople*, that the whole force of the *Ormenian Army* was to refund it self freely on that Island. This intelligence halting the departure of *Marquis Villa* from *Venice*, with such Force as was then in readiness, being directed with necessary Infructiveness of what he ought to act in *Candia*. In his Voyage thither he touched at *Corfu*, *Cefalonia*, and *Zant*, and afterwards happily arrived on the sixth of December at the Isle of *Paros* or *Paros* in the *Archipelago*, where he met with the Captains of the General, and other Chief Commanders of the Fleet, together with *Viceroy* and the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance; and here the Marquis reforming several Companies, which were much diminished in their numbers, a general Muster was made of all the Forces, which being ranged in form of Battel, they were accounted to amount unto eighteen hundred Horse, and eight thousand two hundred ninety five Foot. This Army had some want of Fire-Arms, and other Necessaries, of which the Senate being advised, they promised to supply all by a Convoy, then preparing; and congratulating in their Letters to *Marquis Villa* the good News of his happy Arrival at *Paros*, raised and prompted him to Achievements worthy his Courage and Grandeur; for being a Person now elevated on the Bulwarks of *Candia*, he seemed to stand on that Theater, where he had all Europe for his Spectators.

The Troubles which the English Trade found this Year in Turkey.

THE Current of our Negotiations ran smoothly this year without any considerable interruption in all parts of *Turky*, unless at *Alleppe*, where the Emin, or Customier, according to his usual practice, began a new pretence, not only against former Presidents, but also against the very Letter of Capitulations, demanding 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. Custom at *Scanderoun*, and 3 at *Alleppe*; a matter against which our Articles of Peace and Commerce have made many and sundry Provisions: Notwithstanding the Customier (like others of his Predecessors, who have ever at *Alleppe* made Disputes about their Customs, without being restrained by their Imperial Commands, and plainest Decisions of the Law) resolved to make good his pretence by a sequestration on the whole Cargo of two general Ships, then under his Custody in the Customhouse. The Consul hereupon had recourse to the Justice of the Kadi, and there produced the Capitulations, the Hattetherrif, or Royal Signature, under the hand of Sultan *Ibrahim*, wherein the particulars of Custom were regulated, a Command from the present Vizier, and his Father, and other Commands from *Adrianople* and *Constantinople*, all of the same tenour. The Emin on the other side, had no other Argument than his *haraz* or Patern from the Vizier, or Lord Treasurer, which was so prevalent, and of that force with the Kadi, joined with the fear and favour he bore towards the Emin; that it was judged by him to stand in balance with all the other Imperial Signatures; and therefore left the business (which was as much as the Customier desired) undecided, making a Declaration, that the reasons on both sides were so forcible, and the arguments so equal, that he concluded it more proper, that a matter of so great importance should be referred for the determination of more powerful

66. powerful and eminent Officers. The matter standing thus doubtfully, the Emin conceiving it too great a pawn to detain, to great a quantity of Cloth for a difference only in the Customs, delivered to every man his configuration, referring only fifty Bales to make himself good on the judgment and commands he expected shortly in his favour. The difference being now referred up to the Court, the Lord Ambassador received the just complaints of the Consul and Merchants; for redress of which abuses, he sent his secretary, and dispatched to the Vizier at *Budeg*, attending the advice of the German Ambassadors entrance into the Frontiers. The Vizier having heard the difference, was ready to have passed sentence in our favour, had not the Tetterdar, the only Advocate for the Customier, put an untimely obstacle in the course of our Negotiations, pretending that there were ancient Tettars or accords amongst his Books, which mentioned two and a half per Cent. at *Scanderoun*, and three at *Alleppe*; and though it was urged to the contrary, that we never had done with any Apollo, or Farm of the Grand Signior; but our Capitulations are our Law and Rule, and our Commands Registered in the Reis Effendi's, or Secretaries Office, than which we never had, nor could ever acknowledge any other Canon: yet the Vizier over-ruled our reasons, and we were forced to submit, until the Tetterdar took his leisure to examine and consult his Books.

The Vizier and his Army being then upon their return, we found no opportunity to renew our solicitations, until we came to *Nissa*, where the Army had two days of repose, and there again as in other places before, we urged the Tetterdar to importunately, that at length we compelled him to acknowledge to the Vizier, that our affairs were not Registered in his Office. So that now we took liberty to declare our Reasons to the Vizier; which we drew from our Capitulations, the ancient Hattetherrif of *Alleppe*, the Vizier and his Father's own Commands, and Copies of others of the like tenour, not omitting other Arguments and Evidences, which rendered the business not a little clear and apparent to the capacity of the Vizier: who thereupon reprehended the Tetterdar, for seeking by his Command to introduce an innovation contrary to our Capitulations, and promised us Commands in our favour; but we replied, that we had already Command from the Grand Signior, our Royal Signature on our side, and that our Ambassador had not sent us so many days Journey to seek another, which perhaps would as ill be observed as the former; But it was the punishment of the Customier, which the Ambassador expected, who against so many clear Evidences, durst proceed to do us such harm, and render the business so difficult and forcible to the present purpose. To which the Vizier answered, that he was now upon his Journey, where business of this nature was ill dispatched. And therefore ordered us to proceed to *Adrianople*, where he should have more leisure to consider what was fit to be done in order to justice and satisfaction of the Ambassador. Hereupon I left the Army, wherein I was much incommoded, and proceeded with all haste to *Adrianople*, where the Great Vizier in some days after me arrived, and there we renewed our wonted endeavours, and solicitations, that we might come to an end of this business, and that justice might be done us: But the Vizier willing

to gratify the Tetterdar, was not forward to pass his sentence, but put us again off to *Constantinople*, where the Books should be perused, that were laid up amongst the Registers of the *Divan*: For that this matter was a concernment of the Grand Signiors, in determination of which, he ought to be tender and considerate. That for sending for *Ibrahim* Aga, the Customier (which was one of the principal of our demands) to answer for the injuries he had done our Nation, he was already ordered to appear at Court, where he should be ready to stand to judgment for what the Ambassador should object against him: and this had been the answer which was contrived to be given to the Ambassador himself, in case he had (as once he designed) appeared at *Adrianople* in person on this occasion.

The Vizier arriving at *Constantinople* some few Months after; the Lord Ambassador obtained Audience of him on the 15th of October, pressing still for justice against the Customier of *Alleppe*; but nothing thereof could be procured, besides a Command for restitution of the fifty Bales of Cloth, detained in the hands of the Emin, upon the pretence before related, and that the payment of Customs should be regulated after the rate of three per Cent. according to the ancient usage. For putting this Command in execution, an Aga was ordered to be dispatched, who the whole service herein the Vizier allotted a thousand Dollars should be paid him, which though an extravagant reward, yet to put an honour and authority on the business, and not to displease the Vizier, it was granted to him, and so he was dispatched the 26th of *Alleppe*. But the troubles of our Merchants at *Alleppe* ended not here: For the Tetterdar, who was greatly enraged to see his designs against us to have no better issue, thought to trouble us by a new invention of prohibiting the Scale of *Scanderoun* to all English, and other Christian Vessels, and that the Factories should be transferred again over to *Tripoli* in *Soria*; a place formerly frequented by our Merchants, but by reason of the danger and inconvenience of that Port, the Trade was transported to the Scale of *Scanderoun*. This alteration the Tetterdar pretended to have been granted to the Merchants at their earnest Petition, and promise to the Grand Signior, of payment of 5000. Dollars yearly, for discharge of the maintenance of those Guards, which were requisite in that place for safety of the Coast, and defence of the Caravans which pass with Merchants goods to *Alleppe*; but time and corruption of the Ministers had deprived the Grand Signior of the benefit of that duty. And this he urged with the greater influence and earnestness, knowing that the Scale of *Scanderoun* being prohibited, the Hattetherrif wherewith confirmed the privilege of the Merchants, and their sole security must consequently fall, and they forced to a new agreement. On this occasion our Lord Ambassador had Audience with the Vizier, and insisted on that point of our Capitulations, which gives us liberty to Trade in any part of the Grand Signiors Dominions; and therefore to consent to be restrained, or confined to any particular place, was to assent to a breach of the Capitulations, which was out of his power, and only to be dispensed with by his Master the King of *England*; and the Grand Signior, by whom the law was established; and to connive or assent to the breach of one particular clause, was to hazard the loss and breach

breach of the whole: for that our Capitulations (to use the *Turks* saying) are like a string of Beads, of which, when one link is broken, the others drop off. To which the Vizier replied, that the Scale of *Scanderon* was open, and clear as before for the *English* Trade; but because the *Tefterdar*, and *Customs*, pretended that the Grand Signior was put to great expences for maintenance of a Watch and Guard at that Port, which was only in respect to the security of the Merchants Goods; Orders should be given for taking away those Officers, as unnecessary and insignificant to the publick Service; no Guards having ever been in that place, the Embassador judged his business to be granted, and so thanked the Vizier and departed. But not many days after the *Tefterdar* procured a Command for shutting the Scale of *Scanderon*, and transporting the Factory to *Tripoli*: which Command was rather intended to afflict our Nation into some compulsion, than really to be put in execution, as appeared by the sequel; for the *Tefterdar* better considered than to bring so great an *Odium* upon himself from the whole Country and City of *Aleppo*, and to enforce the Embassador to have recourse to the Grand Signiors own person, for redress of an abuse of so high a nature, in derogation of his Imperial Capitulations. Howsoever it is observable in the transaction of all this business, that it is difficult to bring a corrupt *Turkish* Minister to Justice or punishment, merely for breach of our Capitulations, or in respect to any difference or abuse offered to Christians, unless the complaint be accompanied with Presents or Money, which are most prevalent Arguments in the *Turkish* Court; and in this case I really believe, that had three or four thousand Dollars been offered as a reward for bringing the *Customs* to capital punishment, the complaint had found acceptance, and honourable success: for default of which, the Cause was starved, and naked, and carried no fire or heat in those aggravations with which it was represented. It is likewise observable, that business in the *Turkish* Court doth not always find that dispatch, or expedition, as is generally believed in: *brifdom*, unless it come accompanied with the interest of the Ministers themselves, and then it is transacted in a moment, which otherwise languishes with delays, and will never want excuses to defer it.

Anno 1666. Hegeira 1077.

WE shall begin this Year with the strange rumour and disturbance of the *Jews*, concerning *Sabatai Sevi*, their pretended Messiah, which for being principally acted in *Turkey*, may properly belong to the History of this time and place; which therefore for delight of the Readers, I shall here infer: for though it may have been elsewhere published, yet being an issue of my Pen, I may lawfully now own it, and annex it to this History, in respect of that near coherence it may have therewith; and that many other particulars have been added thereto, which succeeded until the Death of this *Sabatai*.

According to the Predictions of several Christian Writers, especially of such who comment upon the *apocalypse* or *Revelations*, this year of 1666, was to prove a year of Wonders, of strange Revolutions in the World, and particularly, of blessing to the *Jews*, either in respect of their

Conversion to the Christian Faith, or of their Restoration to their Temporal Kingdom. This opinion was so dilated and fixt in the Countries of the Reformed Religion, and in the heads of Fanatical Enthusiasts, who dreamed of *Edith* Monarchies, the down-fall of the Pope and Antichrist, and the greatness of the *Jews*, inasmuch, that this subtil people judged this Year the time to stir, and to fit their Motion according to the season of the Modern Prophecies. Whereupon strange reports flew from place to place, of the March of multitudes of People from unknown parts into the remote deserts of *Arabia*, supposed to be the Ten Tribes and a half; lost for so many Ages. That a Ship was arrived in the Northern parts of *Scotland*, with her Sails and Cordage of Silk, navigated by Mariners who spoke nothing but *Hebrew*, and with this Motto on their Sails, *The Twelve Tribes of Israel*. These reports agreeing thus near to former Predictions, put the wild fort of the World into an expectation of strange accidents this Year should produce in reference to the *Jewish* Monarchy.

In this manner Millions of people were possessed when *Sabatai Sevi* first appeared at *Smyrna*, and published himself to the *Jews*: for their Messiah, relating the greatness of their approaching Kingdom, the strong hand whereby God was about to deliver them from Bondage, and gather them from all the parts of the World. It was strange to see how this fancy took, and how fast the report of *Sabatai*, and his Doctrine flew through all parts where *Jews* inhabited, and so deeply possessed them with a belief of their new Kingdom and Riches; and many of them with promotion to Offices of Government, renown and greatness; that in all places from *Constantinople* to *Buda* (which it was my fortune that Year to travel) I perceived a strange transport in the *Jews*, none of them attending to any business, unless to wind up former Negotiations, and to prepare themselves and Families for a Journey to *Jerusalem*; all their Discourses, their Dreams, and disposal of their affairs, tended to no other design but a re-establishment in the Land of Promise, to Greatness and Glory, Wisdom and Doctrine of the Messiah, whose Original, Birth and Education is first to be recounted.

Sabatai Sevi was Son of *Mordecai Sevi*, an Inhabitant and Natural of *Smyrna*, who gained his Livelihood by being Broker to an *English* Merchant in that place, a person who before his Death was very decrepit in his Body, and full of the Gout and other infirmities: But his Son *Sabatai Sevi* adding himself to study and learning, became a notable Proficient in the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* Languages; and especially in Divinity and Metaphysics, he was so cunning a Sophist, that he vented a new Doctrine in their Law, and drew to the profession of it so many Disciples, as raised one day a tumult in the Synagogue; for which afterwards he was by sentence of the Rabbins (who are the Expounders of the Law) banished out of the City.

During the time of his Exile he travelled to *Thessalonica*, now called *Salonica*, where he married a very handsome Woman; but either not having that part of Oeconomy as to govern a Wife, or being impatient as to Women, as was pretended, or that he found not favour in his eyes, he was divorced from him. Aggravated, he took a second Wife more beautiful than the former; but the same causes of discontent raising a difference between them, he obtained another Divorce from this Wife also. And being now free from the incumbrances of a Family, his wandering head moved

1666 moved him to travel through the *Morae*, thence to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, *Gaza* and *Jerusalem*, and by the way picked up a *Ligurian* Lady, whom he made his third Wife, the Daughter of some *Polonian* or *German*, her Original and Country not being very well known. And being now at *Jerusalem*, he began to reform their Law, and to abolish the Faith of *Ismael*, (which they keep in the month of *Fune*) and meeting there with a certain *Jew* called *Nathan*, a proper Instrument to promote his design, he communicated to him his condition, his course of life, and intentions to declare himself the Messiah of the World, so long expected and desired by the *Jews*. This design took wonderfully with *Nathan*; and because it was thought necessary, according to Scripture and ancient Prophecies, that *Elia* was to precede the Messiah, as St. *John* baptist was the Fore-runner of Christ, *Nathan* thought no man so proper to act the part of the Prophet as himself; and so no sooner had *Sabatai* declared himself the Messiah, but *Nathan* discovers himself to be his Prophet, forbidding all the Faiths of the *Jews* in *Jerusalem*, and declaring that the Bridegroom being come, nothing but joy and triumph ought to dwell in their habitations; writing to all the Assemblies of the *Jews* to persuade them to the same belief. And now the Schism being begun, and many *Jews* really believing what they so much desired, *Nathan* took the courage and boldness to prophesie, That one year from the 27th of *Kislan*, which is the Month of *July*, the Messiah was to appear before the Grand Signior, and to take from him his Crown, and lead him in chains like a Captive: *Sabatai* also at *Gaza* preached Repentance to the *Jews*, and Obedience to himself and Doctrine, for that the Coming of the Messiah was at hand. Which novelties so affected the *Jews*, Inhabitants of those parts, that they gave up themselves wholly to their Prayers, Alms, and Devotions; and to confirm this belief the more, it happened that at the same time that news hereof with all particulars were dispatched from *Gaza*, to acquaint the Brethren in foreign parts; the rumour of the Messiah had flown so swift, and gained such reception, that Intelligence came from all Countries, where the *Jews* sojourn, by Letters to *Gaza* and *Jerusalem*, congratulating the happiness of their deliverance, and expiration of their time of servitude by the appearance of the Messiah. To which they adjoined other Prophecies relating to that Dominion the Messiah was to have over all the World; that for nine Months after he was to disappear; during which time the *Jews* were to suffer, and several of them to undergo Martyrdom; but then returning again mounted on a Celestial Lion, with his Bridle made of Serpents with seven heads, accompanied with his Brethren the *Jews*, who inhabited on the other side of the River *Sabaton*, he should be acknowledged for the sole Monarch of the Universe, and then the holy Temple should descend from Heaven already built, framed, and beautified, wherein they should offer Sacrifices for ever. And here I leave the Reader to consider, how strangely this deceived People was amused, when these confident and vain reports and dreams of Power and Kingdoms had wholly transported them from the ordinary course of their trade and interest.

This noise and rumour of the Messiah having begun to fill all places, *Sabatai Sevi* resolved to travel towards *Smyrna*, the Country of his Nativity and thence to *Constantinople*, the capital City, where the principal work of preaching was to be performed: *Nathan* thought it not fit to be long

after him, and therefore travels by way of *Damascus*, where resolving to continue some time for better propagation of this new *Ismael*, in the mean while writes this Letter to *Sabatai Sevi*, as follows.

22. Refusan of this Year.

TO the King our King, Lord of our Lords, who gathers the dispersed of Israel, who redeems our Captivity, the Man elevated to the height of all salubility, the Messiah of the God of Jacob, the true Messiah, the Celestial Lion, *Sabatai Sevi*, whose Honour be exalted, and his Dominion raised in a short time, and for ever. Amen. After having kissed your hands, and swept the dust from your feet, as my duty is to the King of Kings, whose Majesty be exalted, and his Empire enlarged; These are to make known to the Supreme Excellency of that place, which is adorned with the beauty of your sanctity, that the Word of the King and of his Law hath enlightened our faces, that day hath been a solemn day unto Israel, and a day of light unto our Rulers; for immediately we applied our selves to perform our Command, as our duty is. And though we have heard of many strange things, yet we are courageous, and our heart is as the heart of a Lion, nor ought we to inquire a reason of your designs, for your works are marvellous and past finding out, and we are overwhelmed in our fidelity without all exception, resigning up our very souls for the Edicts of your Name. And now we are come as far as *Damascus*, intending shortly to proceed in our Journey to *Scanderon*, according as you have commanded us, that so we may ascend and see the face of God in light, as the light of the face of the King of life: and we servants of your servants shall cleanse the dust from your feet, beseeching the Majesty of your Excellency to have a care of us, and help us with the force of your right hand of strength, and shorten our way which is before us. And we have our eyes towards *Jab. Jab*, who will make haste to help us and save us, that the children of iniquity shall not hurt us, and towards whom our hearts pant, and are consumed within us, who shall give us talons of Iron to be worthy to stand under the shadow of your *Asi*. These are the words of the servant of your servants, who prostrates himself to be trod on by the soles of your feet.

Nathan Benjamin.

And that he might publish this Doctrine of the Messiah and himself more plainly, he wrote from *Damascus* this following Letter to the Jews at *Aleppo*, and parts thereabouts.

TO the Residue or remnant of the Israelites, Peace without end. These my words are to give you notice, how that I am arrived in peace at *Damascus*, and behold I go to meet the face of our Lord, whose Majesty be exalted;

1666. alied; for he is the Sovereign of the King of Kings, whose Empire be enlarged. According as he hath commanded us and the Twelve Tribes to elect unto him twelve men, I have me done: and we now go to Scanderone by his Command to shew our faces together with part of the principal of those particular friends to whom he hath given licence to assemble in that said place.

* Sabatai wrote a Letter to Elias and every Tribe. And now I come to make known unto you, That tho you have heard strange things of our Lord, yet let not your hearts faint or fear, but rather fortify your selves in your faith, because all his actions are miraculous and secret, which humane understanding cannot comprehend; and who can penetrate into the depths of them? In a short time all things shall be manifested clearly unto you in their purity, and you shall know and consider, and be instructed by the Inventor himself, and blessed is he who can expect and arrive to the Salvation of the true Messiah; who will speedily publish his Authority and Empire over us now and for ever.

Nathan.

And now all the Cities of Turkey, where the Jews inhabited, were full of the expectation of the Messiah, no Trade or course of gain was followed; every one imagined, that daily Provisions, Riches, Honours, and Government were to descend upon him by some unknown and miraculous manner. An Example of which is most observable in the Jews at *Thessalonica*, who now full of assurance, that the resurrection of their Kingdom, and the accomplishment of the times for the Coming of the Messiah was at hand, judged themselves obliged to double their Devotions, and purifie their Consciences from all sins and enormities; which might be observed by the scrutiny of him who was now come to penetrate into the very thoughts and imaginations of Mankind. For which work, certain Kochams, were appointed to direct the people in the regulation of their Prayers, Devotions, and Fastings; but so forward was every one now in his acts of Penance, that they stayed not for the sentence of the Kocham, or Precriptions or Rules, but applied themselves immediately to Fastings, and some in that manner beyond the abilities of Nature, that having for the space of seven days taken no sustenance, were famished: others buried themselves in their Gardens, covering their naked bodies with earth, their heads only excepted, remained in those beds of dirt, until their bodies were filled with the cold and moisture: others would endure to have melted wax drop upon their shoulders: others to roll themselves in snow, and throw their bodies in the coldest season of the winter into the Sea, or frozen waters. But the most common manner of Mortification was first to prick their backs and sides with thorns, and then to give themselves thirty nine lashes. All business was laid aside, none worked or moved their feet, unless to clear his Ware-house of Mercandise at any price: who had superfluity in Household-stuff sold it for what he could, but yet not to Jews, who were interdicted from all bargains or sales under pain of Excommunication, pecuniary mulcts, or corporal punishment; for their comportment as to business and employment was esteemed the

1669. best or touch-stone of their faith. It being the general Tenet, That in the days that the Messiah appeared, the Jews should become Masters of the Estates and Inheritance of Infidels; until when, they ought to content themselves with matters only necessary to maintain and support life. But because that every one was not Master of that Provision and Fortune as to live without daily labour; therefore to quiet the clamours of the poor, and prevent the enormous lives of some, who upon these occasions would become vagabonds, and desert their Cities, due order was taken to make collections, which were so liberally bestowed, that in *Thessalonica* only four hundred poor were supported by the meek charity of the richer. And as they endeavoured to purge their consciences of sin, and to apply themselves to good works, that the Messiah might find the City prepared for his reception; so lest he should accuse them of any omission in their Law, and particularly in their neglect of that ancient Precept of Increase and multiply, they married children together of ten years of age, and some under, without respect to riches or poverty, condition or quality; but being promiscuously joyned to the number of six or seven hundred couple, upon better and cooler thoughts, after the deceit of the false Messiah was discovered, or the expectation of his Coming grew cold, were divorced, or by consent separated from each other.

In the heat of all this talk and rumour came *Sabatai Sevi* to *Smyrna*, the City of his Nativity, infinitely desired there by the common Jews, but by the Kochams or Doctors of their Law, who gave little or no credence to what he pretended, was ill received, not knowing what mischief or ruin this Doctrine and Prophecy of a new Kingdom might produce. Yet *Sabatai* bringing with him Testimonials of his Sanctity, holy Life, Wisdom, and gift of Prophecy so deeply fixed himself in the heart of the generality, both as being holy and wife, that thereupon he took courage and boldness to enter into dispute with the Grand Kocham (who is the head or chief Expounder of their Law, and Superintendent of their civil Government) between whom their arguments grew so high, and language so hot, that the Jews who favoured the Doctrine of *Sabatai*, and feared the Authority of the Kocham, doubtful what might be the issue of the contest, appeared in great numbers before the Kaddee of *Smyrna*, in justification of their new Prophet, before so much as any accusation came against him; the Kaddee according to the custom of the Turks swallowed money on both sides; and afterwards remitted them to the determination of their own Justice. In this manner *Sabatai* gained ground daily; and the Grand Kocham with his Party, losing both the affection and obedience of his People, was displaced from his Office, and another constituted more affectionate and agreeable to the new Prophet, whose Power daily increased by those confident reports of his Enemies being struck with phrensie and madness, until being restored to their former temper and wits by him, became his Friends, Admirers, and Disciples. No invitation was now made in *Smyrna* by the Jews, nor Marriage, or Circumcision held, where *Sabatai* was not present, accompanied to the solemnities with multitudes of his Followers, and the streets covered with Carpets or fine Cloth for him to tread on; but the humility of this Pharisee appeared such, that he would stoop and turn them aside, and so pass. And having thus fixed himself in the opinion and admiration

tion of the people, he began to take on himself the Title of Messiah, and the Son of God, and to make this following Declaration to all the Nations of the Jews, which being wrote Originally in Hebrew, was translated for me faithfully into Italian in this manner.

L'Unico Figliolo e Primogenito di Dio Sabatai Sevi, il Messiah e Salvatore d'Israel, attutti li Figlioli d'Israel eletti di Dio, Pace, Essendo che sette fatti degni di veder quel gran giorno della deliberatione e salvatione di Israel, e consumatione delle Parole di Dio promesse per li suoi Prerieri, e Padri nostri, per il suo dilecto Figlio di Israel. Ogni vostra ammirudine si converta in allegrezza, e li vostri digiuni si facciano feste, e li vostri digiuni si facciano feste, e non piangerete. O miei Figlioli di Israel, havendovi dato iddio la consolatione inmarabile festeggiando quello ch'ha adempito il promessia delli secoli, facendo ogni giorno quelle cose che solete fare nelle Calende, e quel giorno dedicato all'affittime e mestitia, convertite lo in giorno giocando pro la mia comparia. E non spaventerati niente, per che haverete Dominio sopra le Geniti, non solamente di quelle che si vedono in Terra ma quella che sono in fondi del Mare. Il tutto pro vostra consolatione e allegrezza.

Which translated into English runs thus.

THE only and first-born Son of God *Sabatai Sevi*, the Messiah and Saviour of *Israel*, to all the Sons of *Israel*, Peace. Since that you are made worthy to see that great day of Deliverance and Salvation unto *Israel*, and accomplishment of the Word of God promised by his Prophets and our Forefathers, and by his beloved Son of *Israel*, let your bitter rows be turned into Joy, and your fast into Festivals, for you shall weep no more, O my Sons of *Israel*; for God having given you this unspeakable comfort, rejoice with Drums, Organs, and Music, giving thanks to him for performing his promises from all Ages doing that every day which is usual for you to do upon the Calends, and that day dedicated to affliction and sorrow, convert you unto a day of mirth for my appearance. And fear you nothing, for you shall have Dominion over the Nations, and not only over those who are on Earth, but over those creatures also which are in the depth of the Sea. All which is for your consolation and rejoicing.

Sabatai Sevi.

Notwithstanding the Disciples of *Sabatai Sevi*, were not so numerous, but many opposed his Doctrine, publicly avouching, that he was an Impostor, and deceiver of the people, amongst which was one *Sammel Pennia*, a man of good Estate and reputation in *Smyrna*; who arguing

in the Synagogue, that the present signs of the Coming of the Messiah were not apparent, either according to Scripture, or the Doctrine of Rabbins, raised such a Sedition and Tumult amongst the Jews, as not only prevailed against his arguments, but had also against his life, had he not timely conveyed himself out of the Synagogue, and so escaped the hands of the Mob-rude, who now could more easily endure Blasphemy against the Law of *Moses*, and Profanation of the Sanctuary, than contradiction or disbelief of the Doctrine of *Sabatai*. But howsoever it fell out, *Pennia* in a short time became a Convert, and Preacher up of *Sabatai* for the Son of God, and Deliverer of the Jews; and not only he, but his whole Family, his Daughters Prophetic, and fell into strange ecstasies; and not only this house, but above four hundred men and women Prophetic of the growing Kingdom of *Sabatai*, and young Infants who could scarce yet stammer out a syllable to their Mothers, repeat and pronounce clearly the Name of *Sabatai* the Messiah and Son of God. For thus far had God permitted the Devil to delude this people, that their very children were for a time possessed, and voices heard to sound from their Homacks and entrails: those of riper years fell first into a Trance, foamed at the mouth, and recounted the future prosperity and deliverance of the *J-rachites*, their Visions of the Lion of *Judah*, and the Triumphs of *Sabatai*. All which were certainly true, being effects of Diabolical delusions, as the Jews themselves since have confessed to me.

With these concomitant accidents and successes *Sabatai Sevi* growing more presumptuous, that he might correspond with the Prophecies of Greatness and Dominion of the Messiah, proceeded to Election of those Princes which were to govern the Israelites in their March towards the Holy Land, and to dispense Judgment and Justice after their Resurrection.

In this manner things ran to a strange height of madness amongst the Jews at *Smyrna*, when appeared such Pageantry of Greatness, that no Comedy could equal the mock-shows they represented. And though none durst openly confess any scruple or doubt of this common received belief, yet for confirmation of the Jews in their Faith, and astonishment of the Gentiles, it was judged no less than necessary, that *Sabatai* should throw some Miracles, whereby to evince all the World that he was the Messiah. And as the present occasion seemed to require an evidence and conviction infallible of this truth, so it was daily excited by the Vulgar with an impatience suitable to humors disposed to Novelty, who out of every action and motion of the Prophet, began to fancy something extraordinary and supernatural. *Sabatai* was now horribly puzzled for a Miracle, though the imagination of the people was so vitiated, that any legerdemain or light of hand would have passed more easily with them for a Wonder, than *Moses* striking the Rock for water, or dividing the Red-Sea. And an occasion happening, that *Sabatai* was in behalf of his Subjects to appear before the Kaddee or Judge of the City, to demand ease and relief of some oppressions which aggravated them; it was thought necessary a Miracle should be worked now or never, when *Sabatai* appearing with a formal and Pharisaical gravity which he had starched on, some on a sudden avouched to see a Pillar of Fire between him and the Kaddee, which report presently was heard through the whole room, filled with Jews that accompanied *Sabatai*. Some of whom, who strongly fancied it, vowed

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and where they saw it; others in the outward Yard, or that could not come near to hear of the crowd, as freely took the Alarm, and the rumor ran, and belief received by the Women and children at home in a moment. So *Sabatani* soon returned to his house triumphantly, fixed in the hearts of his People, who now needed no farther Miracles to confirm them in their Faith. And thus was *Sabatani* exalted, when no man was thought worthy of communication, who did not believe him for the Messiah: others were called Kophrim, Infidels, or Heretics, subjected to the Censure of Excommunication, upon whom it was lawful to do much wrong. Every man produced his Treasure, his Gold, and Jewels, offering them at the feet of *Sabatani*; so that he could have commanded all the Wealth of *Smyrna*; but he was too subtle to accept their money, lest he should render his design suspected by any acts of covetousness.

Sabatani soon having thus fully fixed himself in *Smyrna*, and filled other places with the rumours of him, declared that he was called by God to visit *Constantinople*, where the greatest part of his work was to be accomplished; in order whereunto he privately thipped himself with some few Attendants on a Turkish Saik in the month of January 1665, left the crowd of his Disciples, and such who would prefer to follow him, should endeavour him in the eyes of the Turks, who already began to be scandalized at the Reports and Prophecies concerning his Person. But though *Sabatani* took few into the Vessel with him, yet multitudes of Jews travelled over land to meet him again at *Constantinople*, on whom all their Eyes and expectations were intent. The Wind proving Northerly, as commonly it is in the *Hellepont* and *Propontis*, *Sabatani* was thirty nine days in his Voyage, and yet the Vessel not arrived: so little power had this Messiah over the Sea and Winds. In which time the News forerunning to *Constantinople* that the Jews Messiah was near, all that people prepared to receive him with the same joy and impatience as was expressed in other parts where he arrived. The Great Vizer then also at *Constantinople*, (being not yet departed on his expedition for *Candia*) having heard some rumours of this Man and the disorder and madness he had raised amongst the Jews, sent two Boats, whilst the Saik was detained by contrary Winds, with Commands to bring him up Prisoner to the Port, where accordingly *Sabatani* being come, was committed to the most loathsome and darkest Dungeon in the Town, there to remain in farther expectation of the Vizers Sentence. The Jews were not at all discouraged at this ill Treatment of their Prophet, but rather continued in their belief of him, as being an accomplishment of the Prophecy of those things which ought to precede his Glory and Dominion, which Consideration induced the Chiefest Persons amongst the Jews to make their Vits and addresses to him with the same Ceremony and Respect in the Dungeon, as they would have done had he then fate exalted on the sublime Throne of *Jerusalem*. Several of them, with one *Adonias* by name, a Man of great esteem amongst the Jews, attended a whole day before him, with their Eyes cast down, their Bodies bending forward, and hands crossed before them; (which are postures of humility and service in the Eastern Parts) the unbecoming of the place, and present suggestion, not having in the least abated their high thoughts and reverence towards his person.

For the Jews in *Constantinople* were become as

mad and distracted, as they were in other places, all Trade and Traffick forbidden, and those who owed Money, in no manner careful how to satisfy it; amongst which wild Crew, some were indebted to our Merchants at *Galata*, who not knowing the way to receive their Money, partly for their interest, and partly for curiosity, thought fit to visit this *Sabatani*, complaining, That such a particular Jew, upon his coming, took upon them the boldness to defraud them of their right, and desired he would be pleased to give to those his Subjects, his pleasure to have satisfaction given.

Whereupon *Sabatani*, with much affectation, took Pen and Paper, and wrote to this effect.

To you of the Nation of the Jews, who expect the appearance of the Messiah, and the Salvation of Israel, Peace without end. Whereas we are informed, That you — are indebted to several of the English Nation, It seemeth right to us to exhort you to make satisfaction to these your just Debtors: which if you refuse to do, and not obey us herein; know that then you are not to enter with us into our Joys and Dominions.

In this manner *Sabatani* remained a Prisoner at *Constantinople* for the space of two Months; at the end of which the Vizer, considering the rumour and disturbance the Presence of *Sabatani* had made already at *Constantinople*, thought it not secure to suffer him to remain in the Imperial City, whilst both the Grand Signior and himself were absent; and therefore changed his Prison to the *Dardanella*, otherwise called the Castle of *Aydos*, being on the *Europe* side of the *Hellepont*, opposite to *Safas*, places famous in Greek Poetry. This removal of *Sabatani* from a worse Prison, to one of a better Air, confirmed the Jews with greater confidence of his being the Messiah, supposing that had it been in the power of the Vizer, or other Officers of the Turks, to have destroyed his Person they would never have permitted him to live unto that time, in regard their Maxims enforce them to quit all jealousies and suspicions of ruin to their State by the death of the Party feared; which much rather they ought to execute on *Sabatani*, who had not only declared himself the King of *Jerusalem*, but also by Prophecies published fatal things to the Grand Signior and his Kingdoms.

With this Consideration, and others preceding, the Jews flocked in great numbers to the Castle, where he was imprisoned, not only from the Neighbouring parts, but also from *Island*, *Germany*, *Liguria*, *Venice*, *Amsterdam*, and other places, where the Jews reside; on all whom, as a reward of the expence and labours of their Pilgrimage, *Sabatani* bestowed plenty of his Benedictions, promising increase of their Store, and enlargement of possessions in the Holy Land. So great was the confluence of the Jews to this place, that the Turks thought it requisite to make their advantage thereof, and so not only raised the price of their Provisions, Lodgings, and other necessities, but also denied to admit any to the presence of *Sabatani*, unless for Money, setting the price sometimes at Five, sometimes at ten Dollars, or more or less, according as they guessed at the abilities and zeal of the Person; by which gain and advantage to the Turks, no Complaints or Advices were carried to *Adrianople*, either of the Concourse or Arguments amongst

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amongst the Jews in that place, but rather all Civilities and Liberties indulged unto them, which served as a farther argument to enflame this poor People in the belief of their Messiah.

During this time of Confinement *Sabatani* had leisure to compose and instruct a New Method of Worship for the Jews, and principally the manner of the Celebration of the Day of his Nativity, which he prescribed in this manner.

Brethren, and my People, Men of my Religion, inhabiting the City of *Smyrna* the Renowned, where live Men, and Women, and Families; much Peace be unto You from the Lord of Peace, and from Me his beloved Son King Solomon. I command you, That the Ninth of the Month of Ab (which according to our account answered that Year to the Month of June) next to come, you make a Day of Invitation, and of great Joy, celebrating it with choice Meats, and pleasing Drinks, with many Candles and Lamps, with Music and Songs; because it is the day of the Birth of *Sabatani* Sevi the High King, above all the Kings of the Earth. And as to matters of labour, and other things of like nature, do as becomes you upon a day of Festival, adorned with your finest Garments. As to your Prayers, let the same Order be used as upon Festivals. To converse with Discourse on that day is unlawful, though your Discourse be of matters indifferent; all labour is forbidden, but to sound Instruments is lawful.

This shall be the method of your Prayers on this day of Festival. After you have said, Blessed be thou, O Holy God; then proceed, and say: Thou hast chosen us before all People, and hast loved us, and hast been delighted with us, and hast humbled us more than all other Nations, and hast sanctified us with thy Precepts, and hast brought us near to thy Service, and the Service of our King. Thy Holy, Great, and Terrible Name thou hast published amongst us; And hast given us, O Lord God, according to thy love, times of Joy, of Festivals, and times of Mirth, and this Day of Consolation, for a solemn Convocation of Holiness, for the Birth of our King the Messiah *Sabatani* Sevi, thy Servant, and first-born Son in love, through whom we commemorate our coming out of Egypt. And then you shall read for your Lesson the first, second, and third Chapters of Deuteronomy to the Seventeenth Verse; appointing for the reading thereof Five men, in a perfect and uncorrupted Bible; adding thereto the Blessings of the Morning, as are prescribed for Days of Festivals. And for the Lesson out of the Prophets, usually read in the Synagogue every Sabbath, you shall repeat the Thirty first Chapter of Jeremiah to your Prayer called the *Musaf* (used in the Synagogues every Sabbath and solemn Festival.) Instead of the Sacrifice of Addition at the returning of the Bible to its place, you shall read with an audible Voice, and clear Sound, and with holy Harmony, the

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Ninety fifth Psalm. And at the first Praises in the Morning, after you have sung Psalm Ninety one, and just before you sing Psalm Ninety eight, you shall repeat Psalm One hundred thirty two; but in the last Verse where it is said, As for his enemies I shall clothe them with shame, but upon himself shall his Crown flourish; in the place of [upon himself] you shall read, Upon the Altar High; after which shall follow the One hundred twenty sixth Psalm, and then the One hundred and thirtieth, to the One hundred and Nineteenth.

At the Consecration of the Wine upon the Vigil, or Even, you shall make mention of the Feast of Consolation, which is the Day of the Birth of our King the Messiah *Sabatani* Sevi, thy Servant, and first-born Son; giving the Blessing as followeth. Blessed be thou, our God, King of the World, who hast made us to live, and hast maintained us, and hast kept us alive unto this time. Upon the Eve of this Day you shall also read the Eighty one Psalm, as also the One hundred thirty two, and One hundred twenty sixth Psalms, which are appointed for the Morning Praises. And this Day shall be unto you for a remembrance of a solemn Day unto eternal Ages, and a perpetual Testimony between me, and the Sons of Israel.

Audite audiendo, & manducate bonum.

Besides which Order and Method of Liturgy for Solemnization of his Birth, he prescribed other Rules for Divine Service, and particularly published the same Indulgence and privilege to every one who should pray at the Tomb of his Mother, as if he had taken on him a Pilgrimage to pray and sacrifice at *Jerusalem*. The Devotion of the Jews towards this pretended Messiah, increased still more and more; so that not only the chief of the City went to attend and proffer their service towards him in the time of his Imprisonment, but likewise decked their Synagogue with S. S. in Letters of Gold, making for him on the Wall a Crown, in the Circle of which was wrote the Ninety one Psalm at length, in a fair and legible Character; attributing the same Titles to *Sabatani*, and expounding the Scriptures in the same manner in favour of his appearance, as we do of our Saviour.

Howsoever some of the Jews remained in their Wits all this time, amongst which was a certain Cocham at *Smyrna*, one zealous of his Law, and of the good and safety of his Nation; and observing in what a wild manner the whole People of the Jews was transported with the groundless belief of a Messiah, leaving not only their Trades, and course of Living, but publishing Prophecies of a speedy Kingdom, of release from the tyranny of the Turks, and leading the Grand Signior himself captive in Chains, matters so dangerous, and obnoxious to the State wherein they lived, as might justly convict them of Treason and Rebellion, and leave them to the mercy of that Justice, which on the least jealousy and suspicion of matters of this nature, uses to exasperate Families, and subvert the Marston houses of their own People, much rather of the Jews, on whom the Turks would gladly take this occasion to depolish them of their Estates, and

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1666. condemn the whole Nation to perpetual Slavery. And indeed it would have been a greater woe than even *Sabatani* feared, that the *Turks* took not advantage from all these extravagancies to drain the *Jews* of a considerable Sum of Money, and that their whole Race in *Turky* at a Ran- some, had not these passages yielded them matter of pastime, and been the subject of the *Turks* laughter and scorn, supposing it a disparagement to the greatness of the *Ottoman* Empire, to be concerned for the rumours and combustions of this despised People. With these Considerations this *Cocham*, that he might clear himself of the blood and guilt of his Countrymen, and unconcerned in the common destruction, went before the *Kaddee*, and there protested against the present Doctrine, declaring, That he had no hand in setting up of *Sabatani*, but was an enemy both to him and his whole Sect. This freedom of the *Cocham* fit enraged and scandalized the *Jews*, that they judged no Condemnation or Punishment too severe against such an Offender, and Blasphemer of their Law, and Honours of the *Messiah*, and therefore with Money and presents to the *Kaddee*, accusing him as disobedient in a Capital nature to their Government, obtained sentence against him to shave his beard, and commit him to the Gallies.

There wanted nothing now to the appearance of the *Messiah*, and the Solemnity of his Coming, but the presence of *Elias*, which the *Jews* began to expect hourly, and with that attention and earnestness, that a Dream or Phantasm to every weak Head was judged to be *Elias*, it being taught and avowed, that he was seen in divers Forms and Shapes, not to be certainly discovered or known before the Coming of the *Messiah*. For this Superstition is so far fixed amongst them, that generally in their Families they send a Table for *Elias* the Guest, to which they make invitation of poor People, leaving the chief place for the Lord *Elias*, whom they believe to be invisibly present at the Entertainment, and there to eat and drink without diminution either of the Dishes or the Cup. One Person amongst the *Jews* commanded his Wife, after a Supper of this kind, to leave the Cup filled with Wine, and the Meat standing all Night for *Elias* to feast and rejoice alone, and in the Morning arising early, affirmed, That *Elias* took this Banquet so kindly, that in token of gratitude and acceptance, he had replenished the Cup with Oil instead of Wine. It is a custom amongst the *Jews* on the Evening of the Sabbath to repeat certain praises of God, (*Haudala*) which signifies a distinction or separation of the Sabbath from the prophane days (as they call them) which praises or blessing they observe to perform in this manner. One takes a Cup filled with Wine, and drops it through the whole House in the name of *Elias*, saying, *Elias the Prophet, Elias the Son of David*. And this, they affirm, is to acceptable to *Elias*, that he never fails to preserve that Family he devoted to him, and augment it with the Blessings of increase. Many other things the *Jews* avouch of *Elias*, so ridiculous, as are not necessary to be declared, amongst which this one is not from our purpose, That at the Circumcision there is always a Chair set for *Elias*. And *Sabatani* Sevi being once invited at *Smyrna* to the Circumcision of the first born Son of one *Abraham Gantz*, a Kinsman of *Sabatani*, and all things ready for the Ceremony; *Sabatani* Sevi exhorted the Parents of the Child to expect a while until his farther order. After a good half hour *Saba-*

1666. *tani* ordered them to proceed, and cut the Prepuce of the Child, which was instantly performed with all joy and satisfaction to the Parents: and being afterwards demanded, wherefore he retarded the performance of that Function; his answer was, That *Elias* had not as yet taken his Seat, whom as soon as he saw placed, he ordered them to proceed: and that now shortly *Elias* would discover himself openly, and proclaim the news of their general Redemption. This being the common opinion of the *Jews*, and that *Sabatani* Sevi was the *Messiah*, being become an Article of Faith, it was not hard to persuade them that *Elias* was come already, that they met him in their ditches, in the dark, in their Bed-chambers, or any where else invisible, in the same manner as our common People believe of Hobboblins and Fairies. For for it was, when one *Salem* *Cremena*, an Inhabitant of *Smyrna*, making a great Feast, to which the principal *Jews* of that City were invited, after they had eaten and drank freely, one started from his seat, and avouched that he saw *Elias* upon the *VWall*, and with that bows to him, and complements him with all reverence and humility: some others having in like manner their fancies already prepossessed, and their eyes with the fume of *VVine* ill prepared to distinguish shadows, immediately agreed upon the object, and then there was not one in the Company who would say, he did not see him; at which surpris every one was struck with reverence and awe, and the most eloquent amongst them having their tongues loosed with Joy and *VVine*, directed Orations, Encomiums, and acts of thankfulness to him, courting and complementing *Elias*, as distracted Lovers do the supposed presence of their Mistresses.

Another *Jew* at *Constantinople* reported, That he met *Elias* in the streets, habited like a *Turk*, with whom he had a long communication, and that he enjoined the observation of many neglected Ceremonies, and particularly the Zeze, *Lev* 15:38. *Speak unto the Children of Israel and bid them, that they make fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of the border a Ribband of Blue*. Also the *Poetz*, *Levit*. 19:27. *Ye shall not round the corners of your Head, nor mar the corner of your Beard*. This apparition of *Elias* being published, and as soon believed, every one began to obey the Vision, by fringing their garments; and for their heads, though always shaved according to the *Turkish* and Eastern fashion, and that the suffering hair to grow, to men not accustomed, was heavy and inconvenient for their health and heads; yet to begin again to renew, as far as was possible, the ancient Ceremonies, every one nourished a Lock of hair on each side, which was visible beneath their Caps, which soon after began to become a sign of distinction between the Believers and the Koprims, a name of dishonour, signifying as much as Unbelievers or Heretics; given to those who confessed not *Sabatani* to be the *Messiah*. *VV*hich particulars, if not observed, it was declared as a menace of *Elias*. That the People of the *Jews* who came from the River *Sabatin*, as is specified in the 2d *Eldras* Cap. 12, shall take vengeance of those who are guilty of these omisions.

But to return again to *Sabatani* Sevi himself, we find him still remaining a Prisoner in the Castle of *Abydos* upon the *Hellipont*, admired and adored by his Brethren with more honour than before, and visited by Pilgrims from all parts, where the Fame of the Coming of the *Messiah* had arrived: Amongst which one from *Pols* named *Nebemiah*

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hemiah Cohen was of special note and renown, learned in the *Hebrew*, *Syriack*, and *Chaldee*, and versed in the Doctrine and Customs of the *Rabbins*, as well as *Sabatani* himself. One (of whom it was said) had not this *Sevi* anticipated the design, esteemed himself as able a Fellow for to act a *Messiah* as the other. Howsoever it being now too late to publish any such pretence, *Sabatani* having already prepossessed the office, and with that the hearts and belief of the *Jews*, *Nebemiah* was contented with some small appendage or relation to a *Messiah*; and therefore to lay his design the better, desired a private Conference with *Sabatani*. These two great *Rabbins* being together, a hot Dispute arose between them. For *Cohen* alleged, That according to Scripture and Exposition of the Learned thereupon, there were to be two *Messiahs*, one called *Ben Ephraim*, and the other *Ben David*: The first was to be a Preacher of the Law, poor and despoiled, and a Servant to the second, and his Fore-runner; the other was to be great and rich, to restore the *Jews* to *Jerusalem*, to sit upon the Throne of *David*, and to perform and act all those Triumphs and Conquests, which were expected from *Sabatani*. *Nebemiah* was contented to be *Ben Ephraim*, the afflicted and poor *Messiah*, and *Sabatani* was well enough contented he should be so; but that *Nebemiah* accused him for being too forward in publishing himself the latter *Messiah*, before *Ben Ephraim* had first been known to the World. *Sabatani* took this reprehension for ill, either out of pride and thoughts of his own Infallibility, or that he suspected *Nebemiah* being once admitted for *Ben Ephraim*, would quickly, being a subtle and learned Person, perfwade the World that he was *Ben David*, would by no means understand or admit of this Doctrine, or of *Ben Ephraim* for a necessary Officer: And thereupon the Dispute grew hot, and the more contrary so irreconcilable, as was taken notice of by the *Jews*, and controverted amongst them as every one fancied; but *Sabatani* being of greater Authority, his sentence prevailed, and *Nebemiah* was rejected as Schismatical, and an Enemy to the *Messiah*, which afterwards proved the ruine and downfall of this Imposture. For *Nebemiah* being thus baffled, and being a Person of Authority, and a haughty Spirit, meditated nothing but revenge; to execute which to the full he took a Journey to *Adrianople*, and there informed the chief Ministers of State and Officers of the Court, who (by reason of the gain the *Turks* made of their Prisoner at the Castle on the *Hellipont*) heard nothing of all this concourse of People, and Prophecies of the Revolt of the *Jews* from their obedience to the Grand Signior. And taking likewise to his Counsel some certain discontented and unbelieving *Cochams*, who being zealous for their Nation, and jealous of the consequences this long continued and increasing madness, took liberty to inform the *Chimacem* (who was Deputy of the Great Vizer then at *Constantia*) that the *Jews*, Prisoner at the Castle, called *Sabatani* Sevi was a lewd person, and one who endeavoured to debase the minds of the *Jews*; and divert them from their honest course of livelihood, & obedience to the Grand Signior, and that therefore it was necessary to clear the World of so factious and dangerous a spirit: The *Chimacem* being thus informed, could do no less than acquaint the Gr. Signior with all the particulars of this mans condition, course of life, and Doctrine; which were no sooner understood, but a *Chaufeur* or Messenger was immediately dispatched to bring up *Sabatani* Sevi to *Adrianople*. The *Chaufeur*

1666. executed his Commission after the *Turkish* fashion in haste, bringing *Sabatani* in a few days to *Adrianople*, without farther excuse or ceremony, not affording him an hours space to take a farewell of his Followers and Adorers, who now were come to the vertical point of all their hopes and expectations.

The Grand Signior having by this time received divers informations of the madness of the *Jews*, and the pretences of *Sabatani*, grew big with desire and expectation to see him; so that he no sooner arrived at *Adrianople*, but the same hour he was brought before the Grand Signior. *Sabatani* appeared much dejected, and failing of that courage which he shewed in the Synagogue. And being demanded several questions in *Turkish* by the Grand Signior, he would not trust to his to the virtue of his *Messiah*ship, as to deliver himself in the *Turkish* Language, but desired a Doctor of *Physick* (who had from a *Jew* turned *Turk*) to be his Interpreter, which was granted to him, but not without reflection of the flanders by, that had been the *Messiah* and Son of God, as he formerly pretended, his Tongue would have been loosed into Eliquence and perfection of Languages. But the Grand Signior would not be put off without a Miracle, and it must be one of his own chusing; which was, that *Sabatani* should be stripped naked, and set as a mark to his dextrous Archers; if the arrows pulled not his body, but that his flesh and skin was proof, like Armour, then he would believe him to be the *Messiah*, and the Person whom God had designed to those Dominions and Greatness he pretended. But now *Sabatani* not having Faith enough to stand to so sharp a trial, renounced all his Title to Kingdoms and Governments, alleging that he was an ordinary *Cocham* and *Jew*, as others were, and had no notion of privilege and virtue above the rest. The Grand Signior notwithstanding, not wholly satisfied with this plain confession, declared, that having given publick scandal to the Professors of his Sovereign Religion, and done dishonour to his Sovereign Authority, by pretending to withdraw from him so considerable a portion as the Land of *Palestine*, his Treason and Crime could not be expiated without becoming a *Mahometan*. *Answer*: Which if he refused to do, the *Strake* was ready at the Gate of the veraglo to impale him. *Sabatani* being now reduced to his last game and extremity, not being in the least doubtful what to do, for to dye for what he was assured was false was against Nature, and the death of a mad man: Replied with much cheerfulness, that he was contented to turn *Turk*, and that it was not of force, but of choice, having been a long time desirous of so glorious a profession, he esteemed himself much honoured, that he had an opportunity to own it first in the presence of the Grand Signior. And here was the *Non plus ultra* of all the bluster and noise of this *VVitch*. And now the Reader may pause a while, and contemplate the strange point of conformation, shame, and silence, to which the *Jews* were reduced, when they understood how speedily their hopes were vanifhed, and how poorly and ignominiously all their fancies and promises of new Kingdoms, their Prerogatives and Offices for Devotion were laid like a tale, or a midnight dream. And all this was concluded, and the *Jews* sunk on a sudden and fallen flat in their hopes, without so much as a line of comfort or excuse from *Sabatani*, more than in general to all the Brethren, that now they should apply themselves to their callings and services

1666 of God, as formerly; for that matters relating to him were finished, and the sentence pass.

The News of Sabatai turning Turk, and the Messiah to a Mahometan, quickly filled all parts of Turkey; the Jews were strangely surprised at it, and ashamed of their chiefs of belief, of the arguments with which they had persuaded others, and of the Prophecies they had made in their own Families. Abroad they became the common derision of the Towns where they inhabited, the Boys houted after them, coining a new word at Smyrna (*Vasfai*) which every one seeing a Jew, with a finger pointed out, would pronounce with scorn and contempt; so that this deceived People for a long time after remained with confusion, silence, and dejection of spirit. And yet most of them affirm, That Sabatai is not turned Turk, but his shadow only remains on Earth, and walks with a white head, and in the habit of a Mahometan; but that his Body and soul are taken into Heaven, there to reside until the time appointed for accomplishment of these Wonders: And this Opinion began to commonly to take place, as if this People relieved never to be undeceived, using the Forms and Rules for Levitation prescribed them by their Arabian Messiah. Inasmuch that the Cohams of Constantinople fearing the danger of this Error might creep up and equal the former, condemned the belief of Sabatai being Messiah as damnable, and enjoined them to return to the ancient Method and Service of God, upon pain of Excommunication. The Stile and Tenour of their Letter was as followeth.

TO you who have the power of Priesthood, and are the knowing, learned, and judicious Governors and Princes residing in the City of Smyrna, may the Almighty protect you, Amen, for so it is his will.

These our Letters which we send in the midst of your Habitations, are upon occasion of certain Rumours and Tangles come to our ears from that City of your Heliopolis. For there is a sort of men amongst you who justify themselves in their Error, and say, Let such an one our King live, and blefs him in their publick Synagogues every Sabbath day and also adjoyne Psalms and Hymns invented by that man for certain days, with Rules and Methods for Prayer, which ought not to be done, and yet they still remain obstinate therein. And now behold it is known unto you, how many swelling waters have passed over our Souls for his sake; for had it not been for the mercies of God which are without end, and the merit of our Forefathers which hath assisted us, the foot of Israel had been raised out by their enemies. And yet still you continue obstinate in things which do not help, but rather do mischief, which God avert. Turn you therefore, for this is not the true way, but restore the Crown to the ancient custom and use of your Forefathers, and the Law, and from thence do not more.

We command you, That with your Authority, under pain of Excommunication and other Penalties, all those Ordinances and Prayers, as well those delivered by the mouth of that man, as those which be

injured by the mouth of others, be all abolished and made void, and to be found no more, and that they never enter more into your hearts; but judge according to the ancient Commandment of your Forefathers, repeating the same Lessons and Prayers every Sabbath as hath been accustomed; as also the Collects for Kings, Potentates, and Anointed, &c. and blefs the King Sultan Mahomet; for in his dayes hath great Sabatai been wrought for Israel, and become not Rebels to his Kingdom, which God forbid. For after all this which is past, the least motion will be a cause of jealousy, and you will bring ruine upon your own persons, and upon all which is near and dear to you; wherefore abstain from this man, and let not so much as his name proceed out of your mouths. For know, if you will not obey us herein, which will be known who, and what those men are who refuse to conform unto us, we are resolved to prosecute them, as our duty is. He that doth hear and obey us, may the blessing of God rest upon him. These are the words of those, who seek your peace and good, having in Constantinople, on Sunday the 5th of the month Sevat, underwrote their names.

Joam Tob, Son of Hanania Ben Jacar.

Isaac Alnacagua.

Joseph Kazabi.

Menasse Barudo.

Kaleb Son of Samuel.

Eli ezer Casti.

Eli ezer Gherfon.

Joseph Accohen.

Eli ezer Aluff.

During the time of all these transactions and passages at Constantinople, Smyrna, Abydos upon the Hellespont, and Adrianople, the Jews leaving their mercantile course and advices what prices Commodities bore, and matters of Traffick, stufled their Letters for Italy and other parts with nothing but wonders and miracles wrought by their Messiah. As that, when the Grand Signior sent to take him, he caused all the messengers immediately to die; upon which, other Janizaries being again sent, they all fell dead with a word only from his mouth; and being desired to revive them again, he immediately recalled them to life, but of them only such, who were true Turks, and not those who had denied that Faith in which they were born, and had professed. After this they added, that he went voluntarily to Prison, and though the Gates were barred, and shut with strong Locks of Iron, yet that Sabatai was seen to walk through the streets with a numerous attendance; and when they laid shackles on his Neck and Feet, they not only fell from him, but were converted into Gold, with which he gratified his true and faithful Believers and disciples. Some Miracles also were reported of Naiban, that only at the reading of the name of any particular Man or Woman, he could immediately recount the story of his or her Life, their sins or defaults, and accordingly impose just correction and penance for them. These reports coming thus confidently into Italy, and all parts, the Jews of Casai di Monferrato resolved to

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send Three persons in behalf of their Society, in the nature of extraordinary Legates, to Smyrna, to make enquiry after the truth of all these rumours, who accordingly arriving in Smyrna, full of expectation and hopes, intending to present themselves with great humility and submission before their Messiah, and his Prophet Nathan, were turned Turk by the sad news, that Sabatai was turned Turk; by which information, the Character of their Embassy in a manner ceasing, every one of them laying aside the formality of his Function, endeavoured to lodge himself best to his own convenience. But that they might return to their Brethren at home with the certain particulars of the success of these affairs, they made a visit to the Brother of Sabatai, who still continued to persuade them, that Sabatai was notwithstanding the true Messiah; that it was not he who had taken upon him the habit and form of a Turk, but his Angel or Spirit, his Body being ascended into Heaven, until God shall again fee the season and time to restore it; adding farther, that an effect hereof they should see by the Prophet Nathan verified, now every day expected, who having wrought Miracles in many places, would also for their consolation, reveal hidden secrets unto them, with which they should not only remain satisfied but astonished: with this only hope of Naiban, these Legates were a little comforted, resolving to attend his arrival, in regard they had a Letter to consign into his hands, and according to their instructions, were to demand of him the grounds he had for his Prophecies, and what assurance he had that he was divinely inspired, and how those things were revealed unto him, which he had committed to Paper, and dispersed to all parts of the World.

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At length Nathan arrived near Smyrna, on Friday the 3d of March, towards the Evening, and on Sunday these Legats made their visit to him, but Nathan upon the news of what success his Messiah met with, began to grow follen and reserved, so that the Legats could scarce procure admittance to him; all that they could do, was to inform him, that they had a Letter to him from the Brotherhood of Italy, and Commission to confer with him concerning the ground and foundation of his Prophecies: But Nathan refused to take the Letter, ordering Kaim Abolissa, a Coham of the City of Smyrna, to receive it; so that the Legats returned little contented, but yet with hopes at Naiban's arrival at Smyrna, to receive better satisfaction.

But whilst Nathan intended to enter into Smyrna, the Cohams of Constantinople, being before advised of his resolution to take a Journey into their parts, not knowing by which way he might come, sent their Letters and orders to Smyrna, Prussia, and every way round, to hinder his passage, and interrupt his Journey, fearing that things beginning now to compole, the Turks appealed for the former disorders, and the minds of the Jews in some manner seduced, might be moved, and combustions burst out afresh by the appearance of this new Impostor, and therefore dispatched this Letter as followeth.

TO you who are the Shepherds of Israel, and Rulers, who reside for the Great God of the whole World in the City of Smyrna, which is a Mother in Israel, to her Princes, her Priests, her Judges, and especially to the perfect wise men, and of greatest

experience; may the Lord God cause you to live before him, and delight in the multitude of Peace, Amen. So be the will of the Lord.

These our Letters are dispatched unto you, to let you understand, that in the place of your Holiness, we have heard, that the learned man which was in Gaza, called Nathan Benjamin, hath published vain Divines, and made the World tremble at his words and inventions. At this time we have received advice, that this man some days since departed from Gaza, and took his Journey by the way of Scanderone, intending there to embark for Smyrna, and thence to go to Constantinople, or Adrianople. And though it seems a strange thing unto us, that any man should have a desire to throw himself into a place of flames and fire, and into the sparks of Hell: Notwithstanding, we ought to fear and suspect it, for the sect of man always guide him to the world. Wherefore, we underwritten, do advertise you, that this Man coming within the Compass of your Jurisdiction, you give a stop to his Journey, and not suffer him to proceed farther, but presently to return back. For we would have you know, that at his Coming he will begin again to move those tumults, which have been caused through Dreams of a new Kingdom. And that miracles are not wrought every day. God forbid, that by his Coming, the People of God should be destroyed in all places where they are, of which he will be the first, while blood be upon his own head; for in this Conjunction every little error or fault is made Capital; you may remember the danger of the first Combustion, and it is very probable, that he will be an occasion of greater, which the Tongue is not able to express with words. And therefore, by virtue of ours, and your own Authority, you are to hinder him from proceeding farther in his journey, upon pain of all those Excommunications, which our Law can impose, and to force him to return back again, both he and his Company. But if he shall in any manner oppose you, and rebel against your word, your Endeavours and Law are sufficient to hinder him, for it will be well for him, and for all Israel.

For the Love of God, let these words enter into your ears, since they are not vain things, for the Lives of all the Jews, and his also consist therein. And the Lord God behold from Heaven, and have pity upon his People Israel. Amen. So be his holy will written by those who seek your Peace.

Joam Tob Son of Channania Jacar.

Mosé Benveniste,

Isaac Alnacagua,

Joseph Kizbi,

Samuel Acazina,

Kaleb Son of Coham,

Samuel deceased,

Mosé Barudo,

Eli ezer Aluff.

Jehoufai Raphael Benveniste.

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1666. and advancing beyond those bounds which Marqués Villa had prescribed him, was incurred by a more numerous Force from the Garrison, which being at first put into some disorder, having been entirely defeated, had not the Marqués opportunely arrived to his Succour: howsoever the Venetians lost in this Skirmish three hundred Soldiers, forty Horse, and twelve Officers; amongst which the Marqués Ceva was slain upon the place, and Captain Scer a Scotch man taken Prisoner, whom the Turkish Factory redeemed at Smyrna; of the Turks seven hundred were computed to have been killed, with the Agha of the Janizaries, a stout and a well experienced Soldier. And as this beginning was not very auspicious to the Christians, so neither did the Heavens seem much to favour them; for an unusual rain with few fair days continued almost for the space of three months, which filled all Rivers, Marshes, and Ditches with so strange an inundation, that the Army beginning to want Forage for the Horses, and all other Provisions for their Men, and the Garrison of Candia, being reinforced from *Atina*, *Chirano*, *Amirio*, and other places, discouraged the Commanders in that manner, that they thought it more convenient to retire and incamp in the pleasant and fruitful Vallies of *Spina Longa*, until better weather, and other Recruits of their Army should open a way either to make another Attempt on *Canea*, or new *Candia*. But Fortune did not favour these designs; for the Captain-General *Andrea Cernaro* arriving with his Fleet, part at *Candia*, and part at *Standia*, (which is an Island or Rock about two Leagues distant from this City) a new resolution was taken to remain on the defensive part, and to attend wholly to the guard of the City: for as in the natural body, when it is assailed by acute and hot humors, the spirits retire to the heart to comfort and secure that from the violence of the difference; so the Venetians perceiving that their Enemies daily grew more numerous, resolved to contract their Force into one Body for defence of that City, which was the heart or the most principal instrument of life in that Island: Wherefore Recruits both of Men, Ammunition, and Provisions were daily sent thither, and the Captain of the Gulf arriving at *Suda* with eleven Gallies and one Galeass, carrying fifteen hundred Soldiers, with three hundred and thirty Pioneers, joined his Forces to the Body of the Fleet; and all imbarking in divers Squadrons, made haste to land their men in the City of *Candia* with all possible expedition.

The Marqués Villa landed here the first of *March*, being conducted from the Mole by the Provost to the Palace, which was provided for him; where having been complemented, and having received and returned the usual Visits, he in the first place took care to quarter the Horse, and the new Forces lately arrived with due convenience; next he visited the Garrison and every Fort in particular, where he amended what was amiss, and added what was defective. The Captain-General by this time arriving with the remainder of the Militia, a general Muster was made in the Trenches of *Fort Panigra*; of which the Turk having advice, felt unexpectedly upon them with a strong Body of Christians being surprised hereat; and *Versina* a valiant Colonel being slain, they began shamefully to run, nor could either the Bravery of the Marqués or his Authority stop their flight; howsoever the Muskets shot and great great Guns from the Walls were so plentifully bestowed on the Turks, that few of those who were over-ward

in the pursuit, returned to their Companions. On the 12th of April a Fleet of Gallies arrived with new Recruits, with which the Christians being reinforced, Marqués Villa resolved to take the Field; so that marching out of the City by night with seven thousand Foot and six hundred and fifty Horse, he incamped between that and the Valley of the River *Gaffio*, drawing his Trenches just opposite to the Enemies were sent ahead, one towards the *Cretiere*, and the other towards the Coast of *Canea*, to intercept and hinder such Succours as might be sent to the Enemies Camp. Nor were the Turks less vigilant or valiant on this side; for a Party of about two thousand men falling from their Trenches, and marching secretly under the covert of a Mountain, unexpectedly assailed the Out-guards of about fifty Foot belonging to the Regiment of *Eriskien*, commanded by Captain *Rades*; which after a stout resistance retreated into another Body of fifty Musketeers, and twenty five Archibuffers of the Regiment *Arborio*, who also being assisted by other detachments, recovered their first Post; but being afterwards overpowered by great numbers of Turks, were forced to quit the place, which Marqués Villa observing, ordered fifty Musketeers under Lieutenant Colonel *Montezucchi*, and twenty Foot under *Blanc* Sergeant Major of the Regiment *Arborio* to their assistance, by whom the Post was again recovered with great slaughter of the Enemy: but this advantage was of little other benefit than to inflame the spirits of the Turks, who rallying again their Force with fresh courage and extraordinary valour came to handy-blows with the Venetians, forcing them to another Retreat, with the death of Lieutenant *Crosta* a Savoyard, and some common Soldiers; but the Turks injured not long this advantage; for the Musketeers from the fire with some small Guns, and the Great Artillery from the Walls did much execution on them; and at the same time being charged by a Party of Horse under Command of Colonel *Rades*, the Venetians with glory and encouragement recovered their Post, driving the Turks in disorder and confusion to their Trenches. This success of the Christians served to heat the spirits of the Turks, and animate them to another Engagement: for having by private ways of hidden Vallies conducted their Men, about four hours before night made another Assault upon the Venetians, I will not say surprised them; because remaining always in apprehension of the Enemy, they kept themselves to watchfully on their Guard that in a moment they were ready to receive them; and that so warily, not firing until they came within the length of two Pikes, that in a moment the Field was covered with the bodies of Horse and Men; the Turks started hereat, not knowing whether it were better to stand to it, or fly, until encouraged by their Leaders, they kept their ground for a time: but being galled by the continual Volleys of shot, and charged by a Body of Horse led by Count *Sforza* *Byffaro* and Captain *Ceski*, they were so shaken that they turned their backs, and began to run until falling in with the great Body of their Party, they made head again; and mixing both Horse and Foot with the Venetians, they forced them to retreat to the side of their Trenches, and so closely played them, that the first Troops of the Turks on the right and left wing had cut them off, had not the Count *Corradini*, by order of Count *Sforza* with a Regiment of Cuirassiers, and likewise Colonel *Scop* with his Lieutenant Colonel *Tedesco*, with a

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The Venetians in camp.

The Turks at fault them.

The Turks make no other assault.

1666. good number of Archibuffers, assisted by a Squadron of the Regiment of Count *Byffaro*, fallen from the Line, and being succoured on all sides, forced the Turks at length to found a Retreat. The night coming on, disfavoured any pursuit of the Enemy, lest unknown ways and darkness should betray their men into ambushes or other snares. The Turks lost a thousand men, with divers Commanders of Quality and Note: Of the Venetians were killed Lieutenant *Cesula*, *Gio. Tiffari*, Captain to *La Motte*, eleven Horse, and some few Foot: *Monte*, *Corradini*, *Soupe*, Count *Corbelli*, and four others were wounded.

About this time advice being come to the Captain-General, that the Turks were dispeopled fifty Gallies laden with Men and Ammunition, he resolved to encounter them at Sea with four Galeasses, and twenty Gallies, reinforcing his Fleet with twelve hundred men, which he took from the Camp; which being thereby considerably diminished, as also by the late Engagements: yet Marqués Villa kept his ground, but contracted the compass of his Trenches, and raised a Fort in sight of the Enemy, who had not the courage to give him the least interruption; but rather after this example fortified their own Trenches, shutting all Avenues or passages to Renegades, whom they suspected might fly, and give advice to the Christians: howsoever some of them escaped to the Venetian Camp, declaring that the Cannon from the Town did much incommode the Turks in their Trenches; upon which Intelligence Marqués Villa ordered forty eight shot to be made at that place, where they were most offended, which put the Turks into great consternation: after which no considerable Engagements happened, besides some few Skirmishes and Rencontres of no memorable note, in which one *Antiquario* a Quarter-master, Count *Di Ferranti*, and others signalized themselves by particular Acts of Valour, as also Captain *Vimes* who killed *Mahmet Bey*, a Turk of great esteem, with his own hand.

But now the Turks receiving daily Recruits, as of eight hundred Janizaries, and six hundred Spahes, landed at *Giro-petra*, and seven hundred more disembarked at *Chiffamo*; and advices daily coming of great numbers of Gallies and Brigantines providing in the Gulf of *Leptis*, and of eighteen Ships of Barbary, all ready to transport Soldiers to *Candia*, moved the Captain-General to order the removal of the Camp for better security of the most important places: to which Marqués Villa performed accordingly in the night preceding the first of June, with much order and care; for first he caused the Artillery to be withdrawn with the Mortar-pieces, Ammunition and Provisions of War, and placed in the Fort of *Moscone*; then he caused half the Army to work in filling the Trenches, whilst the other half remained in form of Battel, and two hours before day blew up the Fort; which having done, they marched in three Bodies to the City, to the great joy and satisfaction of the Turks, who on that occasion made a day of Festival.

These particulars of Action having passed under the Conduct of Marqués Villa without any signal Victory or advantage over the Turk, admitted subject to such who in the parts of Charitandom were envious of his glory, and

The Venetian Camp rallied.

1666. envious of his eminent charge, to give liberty to their tongues to disparage the management of his Affairs, as not agreeable to that high expectation of success which the World conceived thereof, when he first entered on this employment: But here it is observable at what rate men who live soft and warm in their beds at home, unconcerned in the dangers, labours, and hazards of those who live and act abroad, can make their reflexions, and pass their censures on active and engaged men, not considering the state of affairs, the uncertainty of Succours in so long and distant a tract of Sea, as passes between *Venice* and *Candia*, subjected to Winds, and thousand Calamities; nor yet the numerous Troops of the Enemy, nor the Puissance of that Empire, which for its Power, Riches, and the Valour of its Soldiery, may be esteemed the most Potent and considerable of all the Monarchies and known Kingdoms of the Universe. But what conjectures sower envious men might make of the Conduct of Marqués Villa, yet the Senate of *Venice* applauded his labours, and owned his services, as being such, which having merited the admiration and esteem of all the World, did in a particular manner challenge their thankfulness and acknowledgements. About this time the Gallies of *Malta* arrived at *Candia*, where some dispute arising touching the place of precedence in the Fleet, which the Venetians denied to them: they departed thence with some dissatisfaction, and returned to the Westward to transport the young Empress out of Spain into Italy.

And now intelligence coming to *Candia* by divers Letters, that the Great Vizier was departed from *Adrianople* with a numerous Army, and was already arrived at *Tobee*, where a general Rendezvous was appointed of the whole Army, with relation to be transported from *Adrianople* to that Island; the Venetian Generals and Commanders in chief concluded it necessary, if possible, to hinder their passage, and rather to fight them at Sea, which was their more propitious Element, than to attend their Landing, where they would be forced to dispute with unequal numbers, and on disadvantageous terms. Accordingly the Captain-General reinforced his Fleet with two thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse under the Command of Count *Luciano Adornino*, appointing the Rendezvous to be at *Argenteria*, to which place also Marqués Villa repaired, touching by the way at *Atilo* for refreshment of his Horse, it being an Island abounding with Herbage; the Captain General being for some days detained at *Standia* by contrary Winds, a Consultation was held for the more advantageous management of the War; after which the whole Fleet making Sail, was on Sunday the ninth scattered by a furious storm, and not being able to recover *Santonio*, they by good fortune fetched *Stampalia*, an Island abounding with generous Wines, excellent Fruit, Partridges, and other Provisions; at length after various fortunes arriving at *And-a*, which is a great and populous Island, another Council of War was held, where it was again concluded, that all care was to be taken to intercept the Succours which the Enemy daily sent to *Candia*; to which end the Cavalier *Grimani*, Captain of the Gallies, was ordered to cruise about the Coast; and hearing that twelve Turkish Ships were laden with Provisions in the Gulf

The Great Vizier arrives at Tobee.

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Two
Turks
Vegeta-
tion.

of *Yelo*, he repaired thither, and had the good fortune to take them with all their lading; but the other Squadrons missed of the like success; for notwithstanding the care and vigilance which was used, all matters seemed to succeed prosperous for the *Turks*, and adverse to the *Christians*; the design of the first having an issue agreeable to their intentions, whilst those of the latter were always disappointed either by Nature or by Fortune, or rather by that secret hand of Providence, which had allotted that Island for a Prize to the *Ottoman Arms*.

By this time the *Turkish Army* being at their Rendezvous at *Thibes*, the Great Vizier prepared to embark; and considering the difficulty of the passage, thought it prudent first to make new Propositions to *Signior Ballarino* before he entered on this hazardous attempt, supposing perhaps, that the rumour of this March might have afflicted the *Venetians* to a Surrender of that Kingdom, that they might spare the blood and charge of that War which afterwards ensued: wherefore *Ballarino* being called from his House at *Constantinople*, began his Journey towards *Thibes* on the twenty-fifth of *August*, accompanied by a Capugubashee, and three Janizaries: and in twenty three days arriving at *Thibislanica*, now called *Salonica*, he fell sick of a violent Fever, caused by that agitation of body in his Travels to which he was unaccustomed, and for want of that sleep which he used to take after his slender dinner, passing the rest of the day and night in continual watchings: at first he felt only some little alterations, which he hoping might pass over, resolved to proceed on his Journey notwithstanding the persuasions to the contrary of *Signior Patavino* his Secretary, with whom I was well acquainted, and ever esteemed for an honest and a worthy Person: but he continued resolute to proceed, fearing lest his delays by the way should lose him the opportunity of that moment of Treaty, which was impossible afterward to be retrieved; for in his Journey he would often reason in this manner: If I should stop here, what centure would the World pass on me? I may possibly excuse my fault; but in the mean time the Vizier may ingage too far in his design, and frustrate all those methods and foundations which I have laid towards a Peace: and then if I live, I shall be over-burdened with the reproaches of the World, for having abandoned the grand incumbence in its ultimate necessity, which is charged upon me, which will be a more fenible affliction than the agony of death. My sickness will be esteemed by many to be rather dissimulated than real. The dead man lives in the memory of his faithfulness and constancy, and the living man dies in the indelible characters of his cowardice and misfortune. There were his own words.

And thus travelling forward his Fever daily increased to that excess, that on the sixth day he was forced to stop at a City called *Ylino*, where having instructed *Signior Patavino* in what manner he ought to manage Affairs, and recommending his services and children to the favour and protection of the Senate, he passed to the other World, being honoured by a solemn Funeral at the publick Expence, and interred in the Church of *St. Adria*, his Son *Donnicino Ballarino* succeeding into the Office and Inheritance of his Father. The Senate understanding by advices from *Signior Pad-*

vino, that the Vizier desired another Envoy, qualified with the Character of a publick Minister to reside with him in *Candia*, dispatched the Secretary *Girolamo Giavarina*, a Person of good abilities, to that place. And at the same time the Captain-General *Andrea Cornaro* sending the Senate for license to return to his own Country; his request was granted, and *Francesco Morosini* was appointed to succeed him in that important Charge, and was accompanied at a time of so great emergency with powerful Convoys, and with Recruits of Men, Provisions, and Ammunition fitting to carry on so pressing a War.

The Month of *October* the Great Vizier in person imbarking himself and Army at *Malta*, with many *Pashas*, and men expert and active in the War, passed over to the Isle of *Candia*, resolving by strength and dint of Sword to force that strong City to obedience, the main Bulwark of *Christendom*, situated at the Entrance of the *Archipelago*; of the success of which famous Siege we shall have occasion to discourse more at large and more particularly hereafter; in order unto which the Great Vizier on the last day of this Year, went in Person to take a view of this City, and having surveyed all sides of it, apprehended that the Siege would be long and tedious; and therefore returned again to *Canea* to take those measures which were requisite for an Enterprize of that weight and consideration.

In the mean time the Princes of *Christendom* being for the most part either in that discord amongst themselves, of which the *Turks* have always made their advantage; or else living in parts remote, did not consider *Candia* as a Bulwark to their Dominions; and therefore rendered little other assistance to the *Venetians* than good words, and vain wishes for their success and Victory. The Popes Forces only under Command of *Musco Mattei* which were in *Dalmatia*, were transported to *Candia*, and five hundred Foot belonging to the Grand Duke of *Tefany*, came into their places for defence of that Country. The most Christian King in return to the Embassy of *Venice* performed by the Cavalier *Avile Sagredo*, remitted to that Republick an hundred thousand Crowns, and Cardinal *Barberini* at his expence supplied four thousand Measures of Corn. But the present Conjuncture did not seem to smile on the *Venetians*, for all the Gallies belonging to *Spain* and *Italy*, as well as those of *Malta*, were employed in the Transportation of the new Empress *Margherita of Austria*. The Pope was infirm, and distracted with his own Domestic Affairs. The Emperor was a young Bridegroom, and besides the Diversion which a Wife gave him from Cares, he apprehended that he might speedily receive some disturbance from the Princes of the *Rhine*, and from *Sweden* in the Dukedom of *Bremen*. The King of *Spain* was a Child of five years old, labouring at the same time under a War with *Portugal*, and threatened by the more powerful Arms of *France*, on the pretence of *Flanders*. Besides all which, the *Turks* were as well in quietness amongst themselves, as they were at peace with all other Princes; so that we may expect that the force and power of the *Ottoman Empire* should now be turned, like a Torrent, to overwhelm this spot of Land, which seemed to be so situated, as well to resist the Waves of the Seas, as the Inundation of this mighty and Martial People.

1666.

The Vizier
passing
over into
Candia.

1667.

Anno 1667. Hegeira 1078.

AT the Beginning of this year the Winter and Cold which chilled and numbeth the Earth, encreased the heat, and gave vigour and action to the *Tartars*, who made such an unexpected incursion into *Poland*, that they carried with them near a hundred thousand captived Souls, as they were numbered before *Jahs*, in their return home. The *Polanders*, awakened hereto, but ill advised, resolved on a Treaty where there was more just cause for an open War, and in order thereunto dispatched an Ambassadour to the Sultan, to expostulate the reason of this breach of Peace, and require justice and satisfaction on those his Subjects, who had, contrary to the Articles of Peace, committed such actions, and outrages of open hostility; or at least, that the Turk would not take upon him to abet the just revenge for their late injuries. The Ambassadour with this Message put himself in a readiness, and with a retinue of about two hundred and fifty Persons, began his Journey towards the end of *April*, and on the second of *May* crossed the River *Nigro*, which divides *Poland* from *Moldavia*, where he was received by two of the Boiars, or Moldavian Noblemen, and thence conducted to *Jahs*, where the Prince of that Country resided. The Ambassadour expected the Visit of the Prince, according to Custom and Articles of Peace; but the Prince being either forbidden by the Port, or rather out of an ignorant stiffness and pride, omitted to pass the Civilities of that Office, but yet supplied the Ambassadour with Plenty of Wine and Provisions; which the *Polanders* enjoying freely, diffended perhaps more easily with other respects and omishious which concerned Formalities and Ceremonies.

The ninth of *June* the Ambassadour arrived at *Adrianople*, and thence was called to *Domitochum*, a City about a days Journey distant, where the Grand Signior, for the sake of his hunting and divertissement, remained under Tents, as the most convenient Lodging in that Season of the year. The Ambassadour had his first Year of his Retinue were vested with Coffans, nothing passing but the usual Ceremonies and Complements. The 28th he had Audience of the Grand Signior; but just made tender of his Presents as followeth.

- 1 A Crystal Cup in a Cafe of Gold, adorned with Rubies and Diamonds.
- 2 Baskets rarely woven with a very fine Ruff.
- 1 A Clock.
- 1 A Cabinet of Ebony supported with four Eagles made of Silver, in which also was a Clock with a perspective Looking-Glass.
- 2 Silver Cups of considerable bigness.
- 2 Silver Flagons.
- 1 A Gun which discharged twenty times.
- 2 Spotted Dogs.
- 4 Mattises.
- 100 Ells of Holland.

The Polish
Ambassadors
Audience.

These Presents preceding, made way for the Ambassadors Audience, at which he declared, That the Commission from his Master the King of *Poland*, was to make Complaints unto his Ma-

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jefty of the grand Incursions the *Tartars* had made into *Poland* without any reason or cause of Wars; and that therefore his Master did expect from him, as from a just and virtuous Prince, a permission for revenge, and satisfaction of his injuries, to enter *Tartary*, without affusing it as any ground of Breach or Infringement of that Peace which he held with him; or else that he would by his authority enjoin the *Tartars* to restore their Captives, and their spoils, and render them a reasonable satisfaction. The Grand Signior returned no reply hereunto, but referred that to be done by his *Chinacian*, silence being esteemed some part of his Majesty and State, which he seldom breaks but with few and haughty words.

This Ambassadour was a man of a bold and daring Spirit, a fit Orator for such an Embassy, had not his immoderate Covetousness, the Vice and Fault commonly incident to Old Age, much eclipsed many of those Vertues of which he was Master. He was also a Man of a violent temper, feavered to a madness in the height of his Choler, which strangely betrayed him to many unbecomings in his Language and Comportment. For at his Audience with the *Chinacian*, when he came to receive the Grand Signior's Answer, his words were vented with that heat, and so like to menaces, that the *Turks* taking exception thereat, returned his coarse Speeches with the like Dialect, at which the Ambassadour swelled with that indignation and anger, as became not the Moderation and Gravity of his Office; adding in Conclusion, That he was an Aged Man, full of Years and Corporal Infirmities; that nothing could arrive more happy to him than a Death in which he should triumph to suffer for the benefit and glory of his Country. This excess and intemperance of Language moved the *Turks* to set a Guard upon him, and confine him to his own House in the nature of a Prisoner; which violation of his Sacred Office, so worked upon his Spirits, that he often vented some part of his fury in words and blows on the Officers of his Guard; for which rude behaviour having received some reprots from the *Chinacian*, his passion not knowing which way to ease it felt, feavered him into a desperate sickness, of which in a few days, phrensical and distracted, he departed this life.

The Secretary of the Embassy, being the next in Office, took upon him the Function and Charge of the Ambassadour, and having now nothing to act, but to receive the Answer to the Message of his Master, for which a Day being appointed, he was presented with a Horse and Furniture by the *Chinacian*, of whom having Audience, he received no other satisfaction to the Complaints against the *Tartars* than these following, which were related to me by the Secretary of the Embassy, who did me the honour to make me a Visit, when I was on my recovery from a dangerous Sickness, at *Constantinople*.

First, That no compensation or pretence be ever hereafter demanded for the late incursions made by the *Tartars* into *Poland*.

Secondly, That the *Polanders* make not War upon the *Cossacks*, who had lately renounced their subjection, and were fled for protection to the *Ottoman Power*.

Thirdly, That the *Poles* immediately make War upon the *Muscovites*.

Fourthly, That the *Turk Merchants* have free Trade into *Poland*, and that the *Turkish Merchants* receive satisfaction for what injuries and losses they lately suffered.

The Death
of the Polish
Ambassadour.

With

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With these Propositions and Conditions of Peace, the Secretary was dispatched, which did not so well please the Poles as to return thanks for them, or a Messenger with Advice of their Acceptance or Ratification; and though they could not but be sensible of the foins and yoke the Turks would impose upon them, yet having still remaining amongst them certain Reliques of their former diffentions and diversity about election of a Successor to their King, and there being a certain Spirit of Luxury, Pride, and Sedition which was craned in amongst the Nobility, they considered not the advantage of the present time, but willingly preferred a precarious ease, and enjoyment of their Feasts and Banquets before the hazards and uncertainties of benefit, which they might receive by the doubtful lot and fortune of War; and though never any Season appeared more opportune and advantageous to the Pole than this, when the flower of the Turkish Youth and Force was employed in *Candia*, and all places, in part, diminished of its usual strength and complement of Souldiers to defend their Frontiers; yet they seemed resolved to pass by the former Incursions, and Spoils, and Robberies made on their People, so the Turk would but stop here, and permit them, without farther provocation, to enjoy their quiet, and detached way of living: Only some of the Borderers on the Turks, who had deeply suffered by the late Incursions, moved with the loss of their Estates, and the Captivity of their nearest Relations, joynted with a considerable number of the Mulcovics, entered *Tartary* in the months of *October* and *November*, and burned about three hundred Villages, carrying away Captives, and other prey, from under the very Walls of *Coffa*.

The Revolt of the Patha of *Balfora*.

At this time also the Patha of *Balfora* began new rumours and an unseasonable Rebellion, who being reported to have an Army of Horse and Foot consisting of forty thousand men, gave no small disturbance and apprehension to the Turks; who with their difficulties of War in *Candia*, and the jealousies of a storm from *Poland*, remained with some doubts and hesitancy about the way of their proceedings. At length Orders were dispatched to the Pathaws of *Ersarum*, *Alipho*, *Dumafon*, and *Darbogier*, to unite against the Rebel, to divest him of his Government, and to find his forfeited head to his Master. These Pathaws accordingly joining their Forces, defeated the Rebel; and as all Conspiracies of open Rebellion distant from the Court, have had but ill success in these Countries against the true Prince, so this Patha was routed, and being forsaken by his Servants, fled with a few Horse to the Protection of the King of *Perfia*. The principal Cause which moved the Patha of *Balfora* (as I was informed from the mouth of the Patha of *Dumafon*) to this Rebellion, was the Confidence he had in his own strength, and the fidelity of his people, to whom of ancient right, that Government was of hereditary Succession, defended to him by his Ancestors for many Generations: by which means he challenged such absolute interest in his Principality, that for many Years he refused to acknowledge the Grand Signior by any other tokens of homage, than in the bare name of his Protector, and in making Publick Prayers for his Prosperity and Victories. But at length the Grand Signior coming to impose farther on him, stirred his hot desires into Rebellion, and to an open defiance.

About the beginning of this Year the Captain-General *Cornaro*, with the Proveditor of the Armata *Francesco Barbaro*, returned to *Venice*, bringing with them one *Ramadan* a Saingack of *Egypt*, and other Slaves taken by the Captains *Crispian* and *Molani*. The manner was this: *Ramadan*, with three and twenty Ships, laden with Men and Ammunition, endeavoured to enter into *Cana*, but being charged by the Venetians, and overcome, set fire to their Ship, and leaping into the Schiff to save their Lives, were taken by the Boat of *Molani*; and though fourteen Gallies came out of *Cana* to their assistance, yet they could not hinder others which were put ashore and stranded by four Maltese Corsairs, who entered into the Fight, being called at a distance by the sound of the Cannon. About that time also a Turkish Gally was surrendered by the Industry and Ingenuity of the Slaves, who having secretly bored some holes in the bottom of the Gally, and plugged them up afterwards, so as that they might let in the Water, or stop it when they pleased; it happened that the Gally being near the Rock, which is called *Pedouando*, they secretly drew out the plug, whereby to great a Flood of Water on a sudden came in, that the Gally being ready to sink, the Turks affrighted forsook the Gally to save themselves on the Rock, leaving the Slaves in the Gally to flit as well as they could. The Slaves being thus freed of their Masters the Turks, plugged up the holes again, and clearing the Gally of Water, rowed away, and delivered themselves into the hands of the Venetians; upon which advice, the Captain General dispatched the Captain of the Gulf *Lorenzo Cornaro* with two Gallies to that Rock, where they became masters of all the Turks except two, who threw themselves into the Sea, preferring Death before Slavery.

In the mean time the Duke of *Savoy* recalled *Marques Villa*, who was his Subject, from *Candia*; the reasons for which was attributed to an appearance of Breach with *Geneve*, the Switzers and the Valtelines, who were his Subjects, or rather to the ill Offices of those who envied his preference, being desirous to have him recalled from a place of so much honour and reputation. In obedience to this revocation *Marques Villa* taking his leave of General *Cornaro*, returned from *Candia* as far as *Zani*; where meeting the new Captain General *Francesco Morosini*, and being by him assured, That the Pope, and Senate of *Venice* representing the difficulty of Affairs in *Candia*, and the present urgency and necessity for his presence there, had obtained Licence from the Duke of *Savoy* for his continuance in that employment; upon which assurance, *Marques Villa* took a resolution to return again to *Candia*, being accompanied with a strong Squadron of Vessels carrying considerable quantities both of Ammunition and Provisions.

The

1667.

The History of the famous Siege of Candia.

On the 27th of April the Forces from *Egypt* under the Command of *Mesir Bey* appeared in the field, and on the 5th of May N.S. the General of the Janifaries incamped on the right side of New *Candia*, that he might better view and survey the ground near the *Lazaretta*.

1667.

At the beginning of the New Moon of this Year's May, being the 13th day of the month, publick Prayers being first made through the most principal places of the Empire for the success of the Ottoman Arms, and so solemnly continued every Monday and Thursday for the space of a year; the Great Vizier first appeared before the renowned Fortres of *Candia*, and began the memorable Siege of that City, which for the space of twenty five years preceding had been the subject to which the special care and expence of *Venice*, and the Art of the most subtle Engineers of the World, as far as humanely was possible, did concur to render it the most impregnable Fortres of the Universe.

The Town was fortified with seven great Balleins, viz. the *Sabinera*, *Vetturi*, *Jejus*, *Martinego*, *Bellem*, *Panigra*, and *St. Andrea*; there were all incorporated with a large and deep Ditch, of which were the Revelin of *St. Spirito*, the Revelin of *Panigra* flanked to the right with the Half-moon of *Moderio*; next hereunto was the Revelin of *Bellem* bordering on the Work of *St. Maries*, which to the left had the Revelin of *St. Nicholas*, and this adjoined to the Fortification of *de Palma*, next whereunto was the Revelin of *Prinli*, with the Redoubt of *Crepacure*; and over all was the Royal Fort of *St. Demetrio*, which commanded the Work of *Molino* and *Sabinera* unto the very Sea.

Marques Villa at his last return was chiefly intent to strengthen the Fortifications, and repair the Out-works, especially that of *St. Andrea* which was almost ruined, and the old subterranean Traverres were so full of water, and the old Galleries so high, that the Enemy could easily pass under them, all which he repaired and amended in a short time. In consequence of gaining this strong Fortres, the Turks demolished New *Candia*, situate about two miles from the Old, which the Vizier now pointed out to them as a better Seat, and encouraged them to win and inhabit it; so that 13th of May the Turks incamped over against *St. Maries* along the Valley of *Giosiro* with the sound of their Drums and Trumpees, and firing great Guns and Volley Musquets. Their Forces at first consisted of about forty thousand fighting Men, and eight thousand Pioniers, but soon afterwards increased to seventy thousand, and so for the most part were maintained during the Siege.

The first Traverres began from the side of *St. Maries*, and were carried to the Sea, the Great Vizier took his Quarters over against *Panigra*, the Janifar-Aga against *Martinego*, and other Patha's between that and *Bellem*. On the other side the Patha of *Romelia* incamped against the *Lazaretta*, and *Cavirgi-Ogli* Patha of *Cana* against *Sabinera*, Achmet Pa-

The disposition of the Turks Camp.

sha Vizier of the Camp, and *Zagariobas* Major General of the Janifaries, who had the reputation of old souldiers and good Engineers, were ordered to enlarge and lengthen the Traverres on the side of the Half-Moon of *Moderio*. Quarters being thus assigned, they raised three *Batteries*, the first against the Battalion of *Martinego*, and the right side of the Work *St. Maries*; a second against *Panigra*, and soon after a third against the Half-moon and Bulwark of *Bellem*, from whence they continually charged with their great Cannons, shooting Balleins of sixty, ninety, and an hundred and twenty pound weight.

Nor were the Besieged within less industrious or wise in the disposition of their Affairs; for *Marques Villa* took his Quarters at the entrance of the Bulwark *Jejus*, Proveditor *Barbaro* at *Panigra*, the Proveditor General of the Kingdom at *Martinego*, the Duke of *Candia*, *Francisco Battaglia*, in the Fort of *Sabinera*, and other Officers between the Curtains of *St. Andrea*, *Bellem*, and *Sabinera*.

Things thus disposed on both sides, many and various were the valiant Assaults and Salles, the Traverres extraordinary, the Rencontres bloody, the resistance vigorous, nor known or recorded in any Siege before; which though they can never be fully expressed, or particularly denoted, yet I should do injury to the ashes of those Heroick Christians who so freely entered the List, and on this Theatre of the World sacrificed their lives in defence of Christendom, should I not signalize some of them of divers Nations for their Prowess and Valour. And here pardon me, good Reader, if I come short or fail in this relation, where many of unparalleled Valour and Vertue dyed obscurely and unknown, and the numbers of others so great, that to specify them all, were to swell this Work to a larger Volume than the Book of Martyrs. Here was that Martial field into which remote Nations and unconcerned defended, carried thither by zeal to the Christian cause, or by certain Principles of Valour and Magnanimity; so that though the War bore no other denomination than of the Venetian and the Turk, yet so great was the confluence of both parts of the World to this little Isle, as if it had been chosen by unanimous consent for a Stage to try the Title to the Universal Empire. The Town being thus beleagured on all sides, but where *St. Neptune* the Spoule of *Venice* kept it open, the Christians endeavoured first to disturb the Traverres of the Turks by a Mine of Powder which they blown up; but through the neglect or little experience of the Engineer, it being the first which they had fired, reverted, and did more hurt to themselves than to the Enemy; the error of which being observed, another *Fornele* was fired, which taking its due place and measures, so affrighted the Turks, as yet not acquainted with this manner and invention of War, that they began at the first onset to be discouraged, considering that if the ground was unsecure and unstable at that distance what abysses and chasmes must there be prepared to make them graves under the Walls or entrance to the City. To second and justify this Gunpowder Plot the Christians made two Salles, one by the Savoyards under Command of *Comodoro Profeto Tarje*, who issued forth from the Revelin of *Bellem*, and made great slaughter of

The Eastern series req'd by the Turks.

the first

1667. the Turks with Granadoes on the side of *Panigra*; another was performed by Colonel *Archerio* and Colonel *Morini*, accompanied with Count *Buraldo* Captain of the Guards to *Marques Villá* who assaulted two Redoubts of the Turks, and forced them to flight, and afterwards with some loss retreated victoriously to their Works. In like manner Colonel *Frigeri* Commander of *St. Demetrio*, made a Sally on *Cavri-Oglé* near the *Lazaretto*, and with some loss returned triumphant.

About this time arrived at *Standi* the Captain-General *Francois Morolini*, who after some Confultation disarming his Fleet of a thousand men, entered with that Succour into the Town, and yet fitted out a convenient Squadron of Gallies and Gallies to row in the *Archipelago* to hinder the Enemies Succours and Recruits, which were designed for *Candia*. In this interim the Turks repaired the old Battery against the *Lazaretto*, and laboured continually in their Galleries and subterranean Works; so that by that time that the Christians had sprang five *Fornelli* upon them towards the point of the Half-moon of *Mosvicio*, the Turks had advanced so well towards the Borders of *Panigra*, that they sprang two Mines; but these being but the first proofs or essays of this kind of invention, reverted on themselves with the loss of two hundred of their men, and again fired a third with little success: which the Christians answered to better purpose, blowing up sixty or seventy Turks. Wherefore the Turks made a farther trial of two Mines by the Half-moon, rather to their own loss, than to the damage of their Enemy.

In all the month of *July* passed not a day without some considerable action, sometimes to good, sometimes with bad success to both Parties; every day Mines were sprang on both sides, destroying the Lines, and overthrowing the Galleries; but the main force and heat of the War as it were concerning it fell towards the Quarters of *Panigra*, in defence thereof the Engineer *Castellan* as freely as courageously proffered the use of his Art, and the hazard of his Person. In which whilst he employed himself, and endeavoured to cleanse the Galleries of their rubbish, which the Enemies Mines had thrown down, the Turks threw such quantities of Bombs and Stink-pots into those Caverns, as made the stench thereof so suffocating and noisome, that two Officers were choaked or smothered that went to view the place, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Cavalli* and the Engineer *Castellan* himself were brought away half dead, suffocated with Sulphur and pestiferous smoke; to purify which Grotto, nothing could render the Air more wholesome, in expulsion of the preceding vapour, than the smoke of Juniper and burnt Aquæ vitæ, which being made use of with good success, the Christians fired two Mines, which opened to dreadful an awe, as served for the grave of great numbers of Infidels.

During this time daily encounters arrived the Auxiliary Gallies from the Pope and *Malta*, commanded by Prior *Bichi* and *Bali del Bene*, as also the Gallies of *Naples* and *Sicily* commanded by *Gianettino Doria* and the Duke of *Ferandina*, of whom the Captain-General would have borrowed some Forces to have served at Land; but their Commissions it

seems or their courages were too frail to afford any such Supplies, being designed to cruise in the *Archipelago*; only the galleas Cavalier *Harcourt* with ten other *ametrades* that were embarked on the Gallies of *Malta* agreed to enter the Garrison, having come with no other design from *France*, than to offer themselves in defence of the Christian cause, and in a time of Peace, when their Prince had no need of their assistance and service, to give the World true evidences and proofs of the value and greatness of their souls. In all this time the *Perfon*, worthily defended of the House of *Lorraine*, was a Companion to *Marques Villá*, and one day venturing on a design to disturb the Enemies approaches, was shot in the face with a Musket-bullet; of which wound recovering some time after, he with his Companions returned to *France* having like Cavaliers passed added the parts of true Chivalry. But neither did the Prior *Bichi* Commander of the Pope's Gallies, nor *Doria* Admiral of those of *Naples*, act agreeable to the bravery of those French Gentlemen; for they not only denied, as we have said, to land a small number of their men, but as if they came only to make them a visit, sent this short Letter of Advice dated the 24th of *August*, in these words. *The Auxiliary Gallies are obliged to depart this night and to return to Suda, where they are to remain until the expiration of that time which is appointed for them in this Sea.* Prior *Bichi* likewise sent word to *Marques Villá*, That he judged it fit to depart, by reason that no action presented for them to undertake: to which the *Marques* replied, That he who seeks may find, and that such opportunities never offer to those who endeavour to avoid them. *Doria* also, to colour his excuses, said, That his Orders were not to land men, unless the Town were in the extremity of danger of being taken; to which *Villá* replied, That he could not well be assured in what condition the Town was, since he never vouchsafed to set his foot ashore, or conceived a curiosity of seeing the greatest and the most famous Siege that ever was in the World. In short, these Holy and Catholic Squadrons departed without contributing any assistance to the Christians, incurring thereby the severe censure of the Commanders in chief, with the anger and disdain of the Souldiers.

The Venetians have always thought it Policy to maintain an Agent in the Ottoman Quarters, perhaps with design to afford them Intelligence, or to be ready to apply Terms of Peace in times of most urgent necessities. According to which Rule Signior *Giovanna* was sent to *Candia* upon the Venetian Armata, now governed at Sea by one *Poliquinio*, with Instructions to treat with the Vizier, and perhaps to grant him any thing besides *Candia*, though without this nothing could come either welcome or satisfactory to the Turks. However to introduce him into the Camp, a white Flag was displayed on the side of the *Lazaretto*; which when the Turks perceived, they flocked in great numbers to know the mystery of this Signal of Pacification. And though nothing appeared, besides a Letter directed to the Great Vizier, yet they hoped it might portend something of Treaty, which in the end would produce a Peace, and a conclusion of their labours, before the Winter surprised them in their

Chevalier
of Harcourt.

1667. their colder Lodgings. The Vizier having read the Letter, had his thoughts raised as high as was possible in hopes of a Surrender; and therefore most freely ordered, That Signior *Giovanna* should the Sunday following come to the Valley of *Giosio* with what Attendance and Followers he judged fit, proffering at the same time a cessation of Arms and all acts of Hostility: but the Christians who were not reduced to that extremity as to crave Peace, or a respite from action, kindly refused his gentle proffer, which he intreated the Vizier, that in a fury he gave fire to a Mine on the left side of *Panigra*, which was seconded with that furious assault, that *Panigra* had been put into great danger, had not the courage of the Defendants been supererminent, and repulsed the Enemy with so great a slaughter, that the earth round about was covered with dead bodies: which action was seconded by a brisk Sally performed by some Knights of *Malta*, as *la Maison Noire*, *de Langeron*, *de Closset*, *de Monfieur*, *de Charbonnet*, and *de Blamouffon*, though against the advice and counsel of *Marques Villá*; of which the two first were slain, and the rest returned with honour and success.

At the end of this month of *July* the Garrison received a Supply of six hundred Feet under Command of *Ottavio Alia*, a noble Venetian, who likewise made his duty more acceptable by twenty thousand Ducats which he brought with him. At the time of his arrival the Christians fired a Mine with good success, but the Enemy had prepared another in revenge, which took such effect on the right Angle of *Panigra*, as broke the Counterpart in pieces, and filled the Ditch with Earth, on advantage of which the Turks came to an Assault, but through the courage of *Luca Granadio* Sergeant Major, and other gallant Officers, a stop was given to the Enemies fury, and they beaten off with considerable loss.

And now for the present all Sallies ceased, whilst both sides carried on their designs underground, thwarting and crossing the Mines, each of others; in which subterranean Travels and Passages, the Mines often met, and had frequent and bloody Encounters, those that were strongest robbed the Powder and Utensils of the weaker, so that the Scene of War seemed to be transferred *ad inferas*, and to be carried on with more fury and violence in the Grave, or the other world, than it was in the open Air of the Cydonian Fields. The Turks becoming now as expert, as the Christians in their secret and hidden Travels, had prepared so far, that on the 8th of *August* they fired a most dreadful Mine on the side of the half Moon, which made so great a Breach in that work, that eight men could march a breast, which so animated the Enemy with the advantage, that immediately in great numbers they mounted the breach to give an Assault; but Supplies being timely afforded in assistance of the Guard, the Enemy was precipitated headlong, and overwhelmed with such showers of Musket shot, that the Retreat into their works was not only disorderly, but the number of those who survived so few and diminished, as gave proof, how hazardous it was to attempt other more difficult and better fortified Battions.

The Turks
fire a
dreadful
Mine.

An Agent
arrives at
Candia
to treat
with the
Vizier.

Nor was the success of the Turks less on 1667. the side of *Panigra*, who having made a Breach, they endeavoured to make good their ground under shelter of Sacks of earth, which the Christians drew away from them with long iron hooks, which was such a piece of sport to the besieged, to see their Enemies dismantled of their shelter, and lye open to their shot, that a young Page of *Marques Villá*, called *du Clos*, venturing in this action beyond his years, was then with a Musket-bullet in the head, and so fastened to the other World covered with glory and renown.

There was scarce now a day which passed, that was not signalized with the springing of several Mines both on one side and the other; most of those made by the Christians were seconded with Sallies, and those of the Turks with Assaults and Stormings of one Fort or other. On the 10th of *September* Signior *de Riva*, a noble Venetian, arrived with a Recruit of five hundred Souldiers, and a great number of Pioneers, and the same day was celebrated, after the usual manner, by springing of Mines; one of which threw a Turk on the Fort of *Panigra*, and ruined the Galleries of the Enemy; the next day likewise several *Fornelli* were fired by the Engineer *Lubartini* from the parts of the half Moon, and of *Panigra*, which filled up the Lake, and spoiled the Redoubts of the Turks.

On the 15th the Christians vigorously sallied out with seventy Foot, under the Command of Colonel *Vesche*, and two other Captains from the Revelin of *Panigra*, who after a valiant skirmish, orderly retreated under the rampart of the Revelin; to which place the Turks eagerly pursuing them, were entertained with a Mine, and rolled into the Air, which being done, the Venetians returned again, and were in the same manner encountered by the Turks, whereby a very hot fight began; during which time the Captain General, who stood on the Bastion of *Belem* to observe the motions of the Enemy, sallied them with a plentiful shower of Musket shot. In short, after the Venetians had for the space of an hour resisted the Force of the Enemy with much laughter, they retired with good order into the Ditch of the City.

On the 18th Captain *Fellati*, with a hundred Souldiers, made another Sally, but being wounded, he retreated with some loss; which was returned again on the Enemy by a Mine which the Engineer *Squadranini* sprang with happy success on the Quarter of *Panigra*; and on the same day the Captain of the Gallies, called *Giuseppe Marfani*, arriving with five hundred men, and two hundred thousand Ducats together with good quantities of Ammunition and Vittuals, gave encouragement and relief to all the City; with whom also came the Cavalier *Ganges* and his Brother, in quality of Adventurers for Honour and Religion. There was not one day in all this Month, but divers *Fornelli* and Mines were fired on one side and the other; and though, the Christians exercised as much military Art, Industry, and Valour, as men were capable to perform, yet the Turks still gained ground, and daily advanced their works upon the Christians; wherefore the Captain General ordered that a Mine and three *Fornelli* should be fired; by which a small Port of the Turks

1667. near the Counter (carp), was overthrowed, with divers other works lately raised.

The Turks had such good success with their last Mines, that a Week after they fired another, which was calculated so well, that it ruined the Gallery of Communication between *Pangra* and its Out-works, and threw the Counter (carp) into the Ditch of the Town. For the needful repair of which Breach, and clearing of the Ditch, the Governors gave immediate Order, and appointed a strong Guard for defence and protection of those that laboured, and to make better dispatch, a most ingenious Engine was contrived to remove and rid the Ditch of Earth, which whilst it worked with admirable success, the Turks, by help of a Mine, blew it into the Air, and flattered it into a thousand pieces. However, the Christians defied not from their intended work, but still laboured with Baskets, Sacks, and Wheelbarrows to carry away the Earth; which that they might do quietly and undisturbed, the Savoyards and Slavonians made a furious and desperate Sally, which continued for the space of two hours; and though in that time the Enemy had opportunity to collect their greater Force into a Body, yet the Christians were not put to flight, but retreated orderly, and in a fighting posture, though with the loss of several Officers, of which were Captain *Ré*, and others. To revenge their mines of the Turks, the Christians fired two Mines as dreadful as the others; the first near *St. Spirito*, which being under the Enemies Travellers, performed its desired Effect; the second was on the side of the half Moon, which swallowed up two of their Redoubts; and on the third of October they fired four other mines on the sides of *Pangra* and *Belen*, one of which consisted of six and fifty Barrels of Powder, and another of fourteen, ordering at the same time a furious Sally from divers places; as namely, Captain *Chambré* sallied from the Revellin of *St. Spirito*, Sergeant Major *Avast* from under the Bulwark of *Pangra*. Colonel *George Maria* was ordered to assault the Redoubts which were opened in the Breach; Colonel *Pichia* to attack the Redoubts between *Pangra* and the half Moon, Colonel *Grimaldi* and *Marini* to assault the redoubts between the half Moon and *Belen*. Count *Brigido* defended the work of *St. Maria*, Colonel *Inheriti* defended the Revellin of *St. Nicholas*, and Sergeant *Monta* with thirty able Soldiers advanced to the farthest Lines of the Enemy, killing and putting to flight all before them. Colonel *Fraser*, Captain of the Fort *St. Diemtry*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Finner* possessed several Redoubts; and in the conclusion all retreated in excellent order with success and triumph, to yield the Turks evident arguments of their fortitude and courage; and that the Town was still so well provided, as not only to be in a Condition of defending it self, but of offending the Enemy.

Yet the Turks were still labouring to countermin the *Forelli* of the Enemy, and to revenge the former Plots; to which end they had penetrated to the most inward works of *Pangra*; but the Pioneers, employed by the Engineer *Quadrastani*, discovering their Gallies, entered boldly in, and drove away the Turks, from whom they took thirty two Barrels of Powder, and by that means for the pre-

few preserved that work, and the Lives of many Souldiers.

The 17th of October the Christians sprang two Mines, one of thirty, and another of five and thirty Barrels of Powder, which did the desired execution upon the Turks, which being brave spirits (seconded by a bold Sally, amongst which none was more eminent than a Greek Priest, who moved with zeal to his Country, entered far into the Enemies Trenches, where having killed a Person of Quality hand to hand; he was returning with the Trophy of his head; but being in the way intercepted by three at once, he was unquellably mangled, and slain; and died with the highest honour imaginable under the Walls of his Native City.

Soon after the Cavalier *Vernade*, another Engineer, fired a Mine of forty Barrels of powder, which made the very City and Works tremble, like an Earthquake; for whereas this Mine should have taken its effect on the Enemies Redoubts, Providence ordered that it should take its passage through an old Gallery with so much violence and Smoak that it suffocated the Miners, Carpenters, and Malons, to the number of sixty men.

Towards the end of this Summer the Turks as *Constantinople* and *Adrianople* grew big with the expectation of the happy News and Arrival of that messenger that should declare the taking of *Canidia*, and the end of the Venetian War; to entertain which joy with the more readiness, they had prepared Lights and Lamps, and artificial Fire-works to solemnize their *Delivance*, and made public prayers and processions of the youth of the City twice a week; but finding their hopes frustrated, and their joys from Month to Month deferred, their expectations became tired and wearied, and growing almost ashamed of their disappointment, began to throw the blame of the miscarriage of their Affairs on the ill Conduct of *the Vizier*, and the sluggishness of their Soul. A Messenger to bring them the rest, dispatched away a Messenger with Letters to the Vizier, reproaching his cowardice and sloth; that being provided with a most puissant Army, and with all other appointments of War, should suffer the Ottoman Forces to be baffled and entertained in taking a single Fort for longer time, than formerly it had been in subduing whole Provinces and Kingdoms; and moreover charged the Messenger to bring him a faithful and true Relation of the state of all Affairs, and what was the real cause and difficulty that so long obstructed the progress of his Arms; but yet sent the Vizier for his encouragement a Sword, and a Vest of Sables, as tokens of his favour. The Great Vizier moved with this message, resolved to give some certain proofs of his industry and valour, and either to take the place, or else at least to convince his Master, by the knowledge and testimony of his Inquisitor, that the Work was of more hazard and longer time than was apprehended in the Seraglio. Whereupon preparations were made, and the time of assault was appointed chiefly on the side of *Pangra*, for that pressing valiantly forward, they played fix of their Colours on the ruins of that work; for that now, full of hope and courage, they adventured to defend into the Ditch, but being prevented by three

Two Mines of the Christians.

One Mine of the Christians.

which is the day of Triumph for the City.

The G. Sig. of the Vizier to bring him certain information of the state of Canidia.

1667. Mines, which contained seventy Barrels of powder; they were sited in the air with so much noise and violence, that many Bodies were tossed on the Rampire of the Town, many of their great Redoubts overthrowed, and Graves made for multitudes of the Affailants: This Assault as it began with great fury, so it continued for many hours; in which action Signior *Pisani*, Provviditor General of the Kingdom, was killed by a Grenado. However, the Enemy was repelled by the valour of the Christians, inasmuch that the Turks growing faint were pressed forward by the Vizier, who, to encourage his Souldiers, promised an extraordinary reward of honour and money to him who should but first touch the Walls with his hands. The hopes of riches and honour so pricked forward all conditions of the Souldiery, that the Commonalty desperately threw themselves at all, and endangered to lose the taking of *Pangra*, that they had certainly possessed themselves of it, had not the Venetians had recourse to their last refuge of Mines, and blown the whole Work into the Air, by which perished their Pathways, and great numbers of common Souldiers. And this for the present astonished the Turks, and gave a stop to the further proceedings of this Assault. This proof gave an evident Contribution to the Grand Signior's Inquisitor of the strength of the place, and difficulty of the Work; and having been an Eye-witness of all, returned with dismal Stories of a cruel War, reporting perhaps, and it was related in the parts of Christendom, That this was a place where blood was spilt day and night, where Gallant Men had forgot to sleep, living in perpetual labours, cured to intolerable sufferings and hourly dangers, there being none secure either in the Church, in the house, or in the street; for Grenadoes rained, Cannons thundered, Arrows flew, with stones like a Tempest; for that there was none in that place, but who quartered on the Brink of the Grave.

It now grew towards Winter, and yet the Vizier thought of no other Quarters than his Trenches, judging that if he should quit his station, the labours and progress of the former Summer would be lost, and the Work to be again begun in the Spring. Wherefore resolving to keep his Works, provided all conveniences to carry away the Water, and sheds to cast off the Rain, and warmer Tents for the Souldiery, which yet could not so artificially be contrived; but that the Camp was full of mire and dirt, tedious and troublesome to Man and Beast, and the Quarters of the Souldiery, so damp between their Banks of Earth, as caused Catarrhs, Fluxes, Fevers, and other Camp Diseases with much mortality. It was now the dead of Winter, and yet Martial Exploits were as frequent as they had been in Summer, and though the great rains and floods of water extinguished the fires, and made, as it were, a cessation of Arms, and of all acts of hostility; yet this interval of calmness and tranquillity the Christians made use of to repair the Pallade of *St. Andrea*, and the Lines of Communication with the Ditch. And because the main Bulwark was also shaken, and in some danger, all the Chioria or Slaves of the Gallies were commanded a-shore to labour in the reparation, and to make an inward retrenchment, which in short

The Winter causes all this to cease.

time, with admittable diligence, was perfected, and on all sides completed.

The Turks in the mean time carried their Travellers forward as much as they could, for they were now entered into the very Ditch of the Town; and because there was no possibility to work in the Mines, by reason that the Gallies were filled with water, they attended wholly to employ their great Guns, and fire Grenadoes, so that they raised a new Battery near the Work of *Muscigno*, which began to matter the lower parts of *St. Andrea*, and raised another Battery on the ruins of the Revellin of *Pangra*, which being lower ground could not much prejudice the main Bulwark.

The Sultan satisfied with the Relation given by his Messenger concerning the progress his Vizier had made upon the Town, and of the hopes there was in time to gain it, encouraged him with a Letter of Praise, accompanied with a Sword, and Vest of Sables, the magnificent Signal of the Sultans favour. And now besides the Force of Fire-Arms, the Turks made use of Arrows, shot into the Town, carrying papers written in Italian and French, persuading the Souldiers to fly to their Camp, where they should receive civil treatment, and a secure refuge; which gave that encouragement to those wearied with the labours of the Siege and hard usage, that many of them made Tyes of the Turks entertainment; and escaping out of the Works, fled to the Enemies Camp, where they were clothed, received Conduct Money, and were permitted Licence to embark themselves for what place they pleased.

About this time the Provviditor General *Baro* and the Lieutenant General of the Artillery *Barbaro Duvertiller* having obtained licence from the Senate, returned to Venice; the first was dissatisfied at the precedence of him; and the other, because his opinion of making a general Sally of all the Garrison on the Enemy was not followed, but rejected by the Council of War, as a design pernicious and over-hazardous; for that the fighting with an Enemy more numerous than themselves, fortified in their Redoubts and Works, and hidden under ground in inextricable Labyrinths, was an Enterprize so rash, that no man willing well to the Garrison, and of found judgment ought to advise.

The Turks having in this Campaign fixed themselves well in a formal Siege, and gained ground, and many advantages on the Christians, of which the destruction of the Work of *Pangra* was none of the least: the Vizier supposed it a feasible time to enter into a Treaty by the hand of the Secretary *Giavarina* who was there entrusted for that purpose; but he falling sick of the Camp-dysentery died in a short time, whose death was soon after followed by that of Signior *Padravino*, of Secretary *Giavarina* and *Padravino*. The Vizier duly accounted for, and administered to the Venetians. The Instruments of Treaty being thus taken away, the Captain *Pallia* was dispatched to *Constantinople*, carrying with him four thousand wounded and sick men, and a Letter to the Grand Signior and Divan, signifying his resolutions to win the place, or to yield

The death of Secretary Giavarina and Padravino.

1667. under the Walls of it, and to that end desired them to send him such Recruits of men and supply of Provisions as were requisite. He complained of the cowardice of those to whom they had charged the Convoys; that he wanted both Powder and Bullet, for default of which they could neither ply their great Guns, nor go forward in their Mines; that bread was so dear, that no price could be set for it, that his Soldiers by slaughter and sickness daily diminished, so that his Army was reduced to twenty three thousand Foot, seven hundred Horse, and two thousand Pioneers; and in fine concluded with urgent instances to have Recruits of all dispersed to him, without which it was impossible to gain the Town, or save himself. Hereupon Recruits came from all parts, both of Men, Ammunition, and Provisions, especially from the Frontiers or adjacent places, which by such vast evacuations were almost depopulated, more particularly in *Albania* and *Callinuro* extraordinary Preparations were making both of Men, Horse, and Camels; and a report was spread, that the Grand Signior intended to sail over in Person to *Candia*, but this was soon disproved by his residence at *Larissa*, where he remained to render assistance more easily, and receive advices more speedily than could be performed at *Adrianople*.

Great quantities of Corn were also sent from divers places, particularly from *Smyrna*, where English, French, and Dutch Ships were taken up for that service, to the prejudice of the Trade, and damage of the concerned; some of which Vessels were taken in their passage to *Candia*, whilst others arrived in safety through the negligence, as was supposed, of the Commanders at Sea. And indeed the Turks plyed their business with that industry and diligence, that notwithstanding the Force which the Venetians had at Sea, their Recruits for the most part arrived safe, and Corn began to be so plentiful, that the Vizier gave a prohibition against having more imported; and in short, nothing wanted for prosecution of the War, which was carried on in the Winter, as far as the season or the weather would permit; so that scarce a day passed without something of Action, either of storming or blowing up of Forts, overthrowing Galleries, filling Trenches, the particulars of all which are so numerous, that to recount them would fill a Volume, and are more proper to be related in a Journal than a History, in which minute matters ought to be passed by, and nothing but acts of great moment be recorded.

Howsoever great Actions at this season ceased for a while on one side and the other, only continual discharges of great Guns and Bombards were practised. And the Turks endeavouring with artifice to cover their designs, dispatched a Letter to the Senate of *Venice* by way of *Sada*, and thence in a Galley to *Candia*, touching certain Motives of Peace, supposing that Propositions and Offers of Accommodation would loosen the minds of the Officers, and render them less intent and diligent in their Affairs; on receipt of which Letter, though *Marcus Villa* replied, that he had as much power from the Senate to conclude a Peace, as the Vizier himself had from his Master, yet the Vizier would not treat with him, but sent a Letter which was configned

by an Aga at the Bulwark of *Palma* under the caution of a white Flag, desiring that it should be forwarded to *Venice*. About this time arrived to the great comfort of the Besieged the new Provéditeur *Bernardo Nani* with five hundred Soldiers, and *Matteo Malbone* Sergeant General with some Recruits from the Pope, bringing with him three hundred Medals of Silver to bestow on such as deserved them, with Jubilees and Indulgences without number, and thus ended the Action of this Year.

Anna Christi 1668. Hegeira 1079.

THE Spring approaching, toward the end of *January* the Turks full of hopes to compleat their Conquest, vigorously in all maritime Ports of the Empire made provisions of Corn and other Victuals to be sent to the Camp, when occasion should require, and opened a door for Janizaries according to the Turkish phrase, the Fertility of which is in this manner: The Chief Officer appointed for that purpose asks severally such as come to be lifted, Of what Chamber they desire to be; to which they making reply, That they will be of the fifth, sixth, or seventh, or the like, the Officer gives them a blow under the ear with the palm of his hand, and bids them repair to their Chamber, with which they comply easily away. But herein the due form and order of Janizaries was corrupted; for in former days Janizaries were educated in that condition from children, and from thence named *Tenizleri* or *Tyrons*, or the young Souldiery; but now on this necessity of raising Forces, ancient men, Fathers of Families with long beards were admitted, to the disparagement of that Order, and corruption of the sacredness of that Discipline. Considerable Supplies also were sent of Beldargies or Pioneers; so that this year from several parts, according to the best computation, the Forces of *Candia* were recruited with a Supply of seventy thousand men, for transportation of which and of their Provisions, all Christian Ships were imbarged at *Smyrna* and *Constantinople*, several of which in their voyage to *Candia*, were intercepted by the Maltese Corsaires, and particularly a French Ship called the *Arms of France*, on which were between four and five hundred Turks, was taken, and in boarding of her about an hundred Turks were killed upon the Deck: some other small Vessels (one of which was a Ligerne under English Colours) were taken. The French Barks which had in this manner lost their Corn, unadvisedly returned to *Smyrna*, supposing the case of having done their endeavour, and of being over-powered by a stronger Force was sufficient: But the Turks who judge of nothing well, but by the success, having gotten them into their hands, made them not only return their Freight, but satiate theols of the Cargason.

In the Month of *March* the Vizier having intelligence of six or seven Venetian Gallies, as at *Fidra*, not far from *Stamida*, under the Command of the Provéditeur of the Armata *Lucrezio Cornaro*, gave order to *Reges* *Paltra* of *Rometia*, who was Captain of the Souldiery, and *Durach* Begh, who commanded a Squadron of twelve Gallies, to weigh Anchor in the

1668. the night, and there surprize them: *Durach* Begh, though fore against his will, doubting the truth of the report, yet readily obeyed and fitted his Gallies for the Enterprize. The Captain-General having intelligence of the design, prepared four Gallies in Port, and embarked that night with a French Regiment and some Italians to the number of six hundred, besides two Companies of the Guards, and one of the Provéditeur's Mous, under the Command of Colonel *Admet Fazio* and *Mingolo*, accompanied also with the Provéditeur Extraordinary *Daniel Tullinqua*, Comptroller of the Treasury of the Militia, with several other Captains and Officers; and arriving at *Sandia*, found the Provéditeur General *Cappara* newly entered there from cruising the Seas with sixteen Gallies, to whom having communicated the design, they immediately hoisted from the Port, and arrived at *Fidra* before midnight. The Turks having from the place of their Anchorage discovered two Sail, hoped there might be no more, and therefore came forth to fight them; but juggling farther, met such a number as evidenced the danger, and the little hope there was in other than in their Courage and Arms. The night being dark, the Venetians not to misale each other, carried such great Lights on their Mast-heads, as not only distinguished them from the Enemy, but also directed them to give battle to the Turks, which they prosecuted to home, that they took and sunk five of the Turkish Gallies, of which the Admiral commanded by *Durach* Bey was one; the rest, though much shattered, and for the present unseizable, did yet by the help of their Oars and the darkness of the night, find a way to escape; nor was this Victory gained by the Venetians in a Fight of seven hours without the loss of two hundred Souldiers killed, and about five hundred wounded, besides some Persons of Quality and Command, viz. the Cavalier *Arafi Tullinqua*, the Comptroller *Francesco Cornaro*, *Folcarini*, &c. the wounded were *Georgio Greco*, *Lucrezio Bembo*, and *Marco Balbi*. The Turks lost many of their best Sea-men and Souldiers, besides Slaves and others, counting on every Galley one with another three hundred persons; amongst the Prisoners which amounted to four hundred and ten, the Beys of *Cyprus* and *Nicourine* with *Mustapha* of *Anatolia*, and the Chiaus of the *Paltra* of *Aleppo* were taken, together with eleven hundred Christian Slaves who were all freed, on condition that they should serve the Summer following in the Venetian Armata. Of the Turks were slain *Durach* Bey, the Bey of *Corn*, and *Hafsan* formerly Bey of *Corn*. The Great Vizier from the Camp could all the time behold the flashes of the small and great shot, and by help of the Venetian Lights perceive the success of his own Fleet, not answerable to his expectation. What loss the Turks sustained with Slaves and Souldiers is incertain, only an hundred Christian Slaves were released, and four hundred Turks captivated, and amongst the slain was *Durach* Bey himself, a stout Sea-man, and a known Pirate, who from a small Brigantine had raised himself to be Begh of the *Morea*, and to command four or five Gallies of his own. In like manner, and not long after, a Squadron of Venetian Ships were forced by storm in the night to anchor under Cape *Spada*,

where accidentally six Turkish Gallies were riding. The Sky being very dark and close, the first Ship ran foul of a Galley, and so dashed and crushed her sides, that being ready to sink, the Turks forsook her, and run aboard the Ship to save a life which was to be afterwards miserable and slavish. The others affrighted at the arrival of these unexpected guests, slipped their Cables to seek harbour in a tempestuous Sea; but the weather being too boisterous for Gallies, one of them was cast away, and about an hundred and seventy men lost: the news hereof being brought to *Venice* by Colonel *Veschia* with the Ensigns and Spoils taken from the Enemy, the Senate bestowed the honour of Knighthood on the Captain-General, comforting the families of the slain and wounded with signal marks of Honour and Glory.

The Captain-Pasha put this time to Sea more early than was usual, designing to make as many Voyages to *Candia* as was possible, with Succours both of Men and Ammunition; his design and work was wholly to avoid the Venetians, and to steal ashore his Recruits; to which end he made such expedition in every Voyage, that scarce could the Christians have advice of his arrival in any part of the life of *Candia*, before he was well past in his return: yet his haste was not so great, but one time having fifty three Gallies in his Company, he adventured to look into the Port of *Nis*, where he met four Corsaires or Freebooters under Maltese Colours, commanded by two Brothers *Themericori*, and by the Knights *Perrus* and *Evemoni*: two of the Ships were on the *Careca* watching and tallowing their Vessels, whilst the other two, viz. the *Themericori* Brothers were on the Guard, being at anchor in the narrow entrance to the Harbour. The Turks supposed at first, that so formidable an appearance of their Fleet would affright the Christians to a Surrender, rather than to contend on those unequal terms. But it seems the Corsaires were more resolute than was imagined; for no sooner did the Turks approach, than the Christians discharged their Cannon and Volleyed of small shot plentifully, as caused the Gallies to dispart at a farther distance, where shooting as it were at rovers with their long Caltee Pieces (not adventuring to come to a nearer Fight) for the space of eight hours made (as reported) about eight thousand shot, with little or no execution, so that the Captain-Pasha made his sign of Retreat, and forsook the Engagement, as being too dangerous and difficult an Enterprize. But better success had the Turks the next month at Sea against Captain *Georgio*, an old and subtle Pirate, who for many years had vexed and pillaged not only the Turks, but Christians on all sides of the *Archipelago*: great fortune he had in taking Turkish Sails and Vessels, and some of them considerably rich, and when that prey failed him, or was scarce, he pursued his game on the shore, from whence he often carried men, women, and children into slavery, and oft-times had the fortune of considerable Booty. The Islands which lay open and ungarded were his common Rendezvous, where the men attended his service, and the women his lust. In this manner the Pirate passed for several years, have obtained unto himself a fame and terror with the Turks, and

1668. and riches at home: the place which he commonly chole to wait and allow his vessels, was amongst certain small Isles in the Bay of *Edremit*, anciently *Adrimetum*, opposite unto *Mithene*, from whence he had as from a Thicket, or Wood a view of such Vessels as sailed the great Road towards *Constantinople*: these frequent successes rendered him so confident and secure, that he still continued his station, notwithstanding the Turkish Naval Forces, which in the Summer season made their Rendezvous at *Scio*. But at length the Captain-Pasha with the whole Turkish Armada being at *Scio*, and with him three Ships of Tripoli, advice came that Captain *Georgio* had forsaken his little Isles, but was there careening his small Fleet which consisted of two Ships and a Brigantine: hereupon the Tripolees were commanded out to encounter the Enemy, whom the next day they found so secure and negligent, that he discovered not his Foes before they were ready to attack him. The Captain-Pasha also fearing that the Tripolees were not of sufficient Force to encounter so valiant and experienced a Commander, went to make the *Enterprise* the more easy, and certain, and to gain the reputation of that business to himself, went out in person with all his Gallies. The Tripolees had began to fire on Captain *Georgio* before the Pasha came in to their assistance, but it falling calm, and the Ships not able to joyn in a nearer fight, gave way for the Gallies, which being above fifty in number, overpowered the Christians on all sides; howsoever, the two Ships defended themselves against all this Force, until the Captain himself being killed, his own Ship surrendered, but so battered, that the sea was scarce able to swim above water: This Ship being overborne, the Turks boarded the other, commanded by Captain *de Lescas*, who seeing no remedy to avoid being taken, he leaped into his Boat, and blew up his Ship; howsoever could not escape his destiny, for having his Arm broke, he became a prey and a slave to his Enemy.

The News of this Victory was celebrated with so much the more joy, by how much this person was feared and hated, and was not only a subject of rejoicing to the Turks, but also to the Christians, whose Parents and Relations this Corsair had pillaged and enslaved; so that the Inhabitants of the *Archipelago* for the most part were pleased with the revenge, and promised more security and quietness to their open Coasts. With no less triumph was this News posted to the Grand Signior, who rewarded the Messenger with two thousand Dollars gratuity, and caused demonstrations of joy to be made through the whole Court; so dreadful was grown the Name of so inconquerable a person, in respect of the greatness of the Ottoman Empire.

But the success of this advantage did not he given the courage of the Captain-Pasha to that pitch, as to make him more bold with the Venetian Armada; for in the month of July having great Recruits of Men and Provisions to land, and hearing that the Venetians lay before *Canea*, having fortified a Rock, called *St. Todoro*, at the mouth of that Port, he resolved for *Retrimo*; but pursuits, or intelligence of the Enemies being in the way, or his own fears still prevented him, until at length

he was forced to *Gira-Petra*, a small and obscure place, far distant from the City of *Cambray*, and the way thither by land tricky, and most unpassable for Boats of Burden; howsoever, the Men and Ammunition were then landed with that haste and expedition, that in less than thirty hours time the Captain-Pasha was again upon his return for *Scio*, leaving the Souldiery, and the Ammunition he had embarked to find a passage through the Rocks and Mountains: At which the Vizier was so displeased, that he sent the Captain-Pasha this Message. That the next time he should forbear to bring farther supplies, until he could find a more commodious Port wherein to land them.

In this manner the Marine Affairs passed this year at Sea, the Turkish Fleet having, besides other succours, transported *Abraham* Pasha of *Damascus* with eight hundred Spahes unto *Candia*, whom we mentioned formerly to have been Pasha of *Grand Cairo*, and married to the Grand Signior's Sister; and being one with whom I had a former acquaintance, and who was a great friend to the English Nation, I made him a visit as he passed through *Smyrna*.

Whilst these matters were transacting at Sea, on the 7th of January arrived the new Provost-General *Bernardo Nani*, and Sergeant-General *Mato Matei* with five hundred Foot, sent by the Pope, who gave Licence for destruction of some Monasteries, whose Orders were judged less necessary in the Venetian State, than their Revenue might be applied to the service of this War; after Arrival of which succours, a general Muster was made of the whole Garrison, and the number thereof reckoned to amount unto eight thousand fighting Men; though soon afterwards continual action and exploits of War decimated the number, and many of the brave Commanders being taken off, every tenth man perished, and rendered the place in a condition which required continual supplies.

For many and various were the attempts and actions performed on both sides under the Walls of *Candia*; and first the Turks began to make appear a Battery which had raised on the side of the *Lazaretto*, which so offended the Port, that there was no harbour or access for Vessels. On the contrary to which, by the Fort of *St. Andrea* another Battery was raised, which offended *Tramata* very much, which was another small harbour, capable only to receive Boats or Barks, the passage to which was so annoyed now by the Enemies Cannon, that no Vessel could go in or out, unless in the Night, and that too with some difficulty and danger.

The Turks gaining advantage on the side of *St. Andrea*, applied their whole strength and diligence to that part; and one dark Night passing undiscovered along the Sea, they silently fixed a Cord to the Palisade of *St. Andrea*, and with an Engine strained it so violently, that they tore away several of the main Stakes of the Work without being perceived by the Centinels, who paid for that neglect with the price of their lives; upon which success they continued to advance their lines on that side, which Marquês *Villa* perceiving, resolved to hinder by some valiant failies. And first two hundred brave men selected out of several Regiments,

1668. giments, conducted by Sergeant Major *Motta*, issued out from *Panigra*, and taking their way along the Sea, bravely mixed with the Turks, and put them to flight; and though the Alarm thereof brought a Concourse of Turks fixed on all parts of the Camp, yet the Christians stood so stoutly to it, that they struck a terror to their Enemies, and once forced them to a Retreat within their Trenches; and at length, after they had overthrown certain Redoubts and Traverses, they gave back with good order, returning with Victory and Glory; which bravery the Captain General acknowledged to all, and encouraged in the common Souldiery with a Present of fifty Zechins. This success gave the besieged opportunity to finish their Platforms which they had raised on the side of the Ditch adjoining to the Bulwark of *St. Andrea*, on which they planted two pieces of Cannon which carried fifty pound Bullet a piece, which much disturbed the Enemies Traverses: Howsoever, the Turks with indefatigable pains, and invincible patience battered the little Tower of *Privila*, the Curtin, and Revelin of *St. Andrea*, and employed all their power and attention to fill the Ditch with Faggots, Earth, and other Rubbish.

On the 29th of February, after the Christians had first made a Breach on the Enemies Redoubt, which confronted the Revelin of *St. Andrea*, and sprang five Mines one after the other, a second Sally was made by a considerable Body of the besieged, consisting of two hundred French and Savoyards, three hundred Italians, two hundred Germans, and a hundred and twenty horsemen, who issued forth with that Gallantry, that driving the Turks under Cover, advanced far within their Works, with which Demonstration of honour the Captain-General being satisfied, they made the smoke which was a Signal for their Retreat; so that returning victorious without much loss, that day was remarkable, and remembered amongst the other days which were esteemed successful and fortunate in this Siege.

Howsoever, the Turks with admirable patience and assiduity crept forward by their Traverses, and help of their great shot on the Bastion of *St. Andrea*, which whilst *Augustine Rolayne*, Adjutant of Marquês *Villa*, considered, he was taken off by a Cannon Bullet; and yet the Turks could not advance so fast, but that the Engineer *Mauspagan* gave some retardment to their progress by firing a Mine, which overthrew two of their Redoubts, and afforded them new work to repair them and the adjoining Traverses.

This was the present state of the miserable *Candia*, when the Duke of *Savoy* recalled his Subject Marquês *Villa* from his honourable employment; and a Ship, called *Alexander* the Great, by appointment of the Venetian Senate arrived at *Standia* to transport him and his Family to *Venice*; so that on the 11 of April, accompanied to *Tramata* by all the principal Officers of the Garrison, he embarked in order to his Voyage, whose place was about two Months after supplied by the Marquês *St. Andrea Monbrun*, a Nobleman of France, with whom the Venetian Ambassadour at *Paris*, by order of that Republick, had prevailed to take upon him the defence and protection of that deplorable City, reduced now almost to its ultimate Crisis.

1668.

1668. I cannot adventure to assign the reasons that might induce the Duke of *Savoy* to recall the worthy Governour from this glorious action. Some say, that those who were envious of his glory procured his revocation; Others, that the Marquês himself desired it; and that finding the Forces of the Town to decline, and the Turks to encroach and penetrate daily into the innermost parts of strength, he was desirous, after so long a Siege, to return with untainted glory; or perhaps weary of a Siege so tedious and perilous, he might desire to retire, having performed sufficient already in his own person, and enough to make all Christendom his Debtors and Admirers. So that I cannot but reproach those tongues and pens, which in report and writings attribute the cause of Marquês *Villa's* retirement to certain just occasions of discontent given him by the Captain General *François Morosini*, who, envious of his Fame and actions, and unwilling to have a confederate with him in his honours, did usually thwart his Councils and Proposals; and more particularly contemned a Redoubt which Marquês *Villa* had built, and of which he had a singular esteem. Yet Marquês *Morosini* might evidence the insufficiency thereof, if he reported that he wrote a Letter to the Vizier, to assault that Redoubt; for if he did, he promised to afford him opportunity to take it, by withdrawing all Forces from thence; which Letter it is said, was betrayed to Marquês *Villa*, and brought to his hands, which he with great prudence and moderation diffembled until the hour of his departure, and then produced it the astonishment of *Morosini*. To this particular I give the less belief, because I find it wrote in a Journal of this Siege by a person who was a great Favourer of the French, and willing to thare the intire glory to that Nation; and the miscarriages to the Italian. Whatsoever might be the motive to Marquês *Villa* to persuade his return, is uncertain; howsoever, it is reported, that being arrived at *Zant* in his way to *Venice*; and there meeting a strong Convoy bound for *Candia*, with recruits of Men, and plenty of provisions, he conceived new thoughts of the greatness of the Republick; and beholding also with what vigour and vigilance they attended to the conservation of that place, he began to testify some remorse and dissatisfaction for having abandoned a Charge which rendered his Fame great through the World; and the continuation of which labours being crowned with that success which his courage and conduct merited, might have brought a Blessing to all Christendom, and perpetuated his honour and glory to all posterity. The Marquês being arrived at *Venice* was received with the usual Ceremonies and Honours from the Publick, and being introduced, after private Audiences, into the Colledge, he spake in this manner.

If his thanks which I render to your Serenity, and to your Excellencies could equal the greatness of those favours which I have received from you, it would have been but an ordinary glory to you not to have infinitely surpassed the bounds of my acknowledgments; as you have infinitely outdone the utmost.

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1668. *most of my Desires, Nor could this August Senate have been exalted to the most elevated point of Sovereign Power, had I been able to render Services worthy of that generosity which composed it. For as the affection of the Creatures towards God, makes excusés for their wants and infirmities, so having a zealous desire to contribute to the glories of this most Serene Republick, not only my endeavour, my labour, and my blood, but also my life, and my whole being; I beseech you to accept thereof as an atonement for the weakness of my abilities. This, my Lords, is that desire which I have ever demonstrated in all the wearisome performances of my Charge under the generous Councils of the Captain General of your Armes, whose Valour I have endeavoured to second and imitate. This is that Desire which would have entertained me in the service of this most Serene Republick to the ultimate period of my life, if the Command of my Prince, concurring with the Assent of your Serenity, had not enjoyed my return. I confess, that I should feel in my self an inward Consolation, could I assist at the triumph of Candia, which I hope in a short time to see victorious over all her Enemies; until when, my Lords, let me know which you have been pleased to do me hitherto, cannot but be relished by me as a Comfort of my life. And what greater Glory can I imagine to my self, than to have served a Republick, which may be called the most perfect work of the hand of God, which being founded like the Firmament upon the Waters, communicates happy Tranquillity through all the World? I am able now to boast, That I have seen a City which of it self alone is able to resist the Puissance of all Asia; and that I have proved and tried the valiant opposition which it made against a formidable Enemy. I can (I say) glory that I have awakened in the hearts of your Souldiers, their ancient Valour, and that I have sprinkled your Lawrels with my own Blood; and is it not just that I should desire it to the last drop for the service of this most Serene Republick, which after so many Acts of rigour it self up as a Sacrifice for all Christendom. It is by your Armes, my Lords, and by your invincible Constancy, that the City of Candia, which in former Days was esteemed the weakest of all the Fortresses of Greece, is become at present the most glorious Theatre of War. I dare not only hope, that the conclusion thereof will be happy, so long as your Serenity watchfully attends to the conservation of that place, but that also this August Senate will extend their Compassions to the most remote parts of all the East. This would be, most Serene Prince, and most Excellent Lords, the consummation of all my desires, and also that I might finish my days in the Service of this most Serene Republick, towards which I shall for ever conserve a*

most passionate zeal and an immortal acknowledgment.

The Senate, that they might testify the esteem they entertained of the person of Marquis *Villa*, presented him with a Balon of Gold valued at six thousand Ducats, together with a Patent recounting at large the many famous Exploits which he had performed in their Service, which they expressed with a file to generous and obliging, as may serve for a Record to transmit the Fame of his Merits to all Posterity.

Marquis *Villa* being departed from Candia, the Captain-General recalled all his Forces from divers parts of the *Archipelago*, which he had sent thither with the Souldiers wounded in the last Battle; and being returned, they brought with them great numbers of Pioniers and Workmen to labour in the Fortifications and Mines at the same time also the Captain-Pasha arrived at Candia, bringing two thousand Janissaries with him.

The Marquis *St. Andrea Monbrun*, a Gentleman of the French Nation, was transported to Candia by the General Provost *Cornaro*, where being entered into the Charge and Office of Marquis *Villa*, wanted nothing of the vigour and circumspection of his Predecessor. And therefore in the first place having visited all the Forts, Out-works, and Retrenchments of the Town, ordered what was necessary for repair of the breaches, and amended what was deficient in the most distressed Fortifications. And though the Turks fired a Mine the 24th of August at the point of the Fort *St. Andrea*, which made a most dangerous breach, yet it was so valiantly defended, and so speedily repaired, that the enemy gained little or no advantage, and all by the extraordinary diligence of this Marquis *St. Andrea*, who passed whole months without uncloathing himself; and as his nights were without sleep, so his days consumed without repose, applying himself personally to all places where was most of danger, especially at the Fort of *St. Andrea*, where he took up his constant Quarters.

The Turkish gally pressing the Town more nearly than before; Skirmishes and Salles were more frequent and more bloody; so that about this time the Provost General *Bernardo Nani* applying himself with all earnestness in the performance of his Charge, was slain by a Musket-shot in his head; his death was much lamented by all, being a Gentleman who was born (as may be said) in the place, having had his Education there, and passed his youth in Wars and dangers; for the safety and honour of his Country. *Girolamo Bataglia* was elected by the Republick to succeed him in the Office, whose death was also seconded by that of *Francesco Bataglia*, Brother of the Duke of Candia, being shot in the breast with a Musket-bullet; and though he was sent thither to administer Justice to the People, yet his zeal and courage carrying him to Martial Acts beyond his Office, made a grave for him amongst the other Heroes and Worthies of that place.

The Turk, approaching daily nearer with their Works, insisted very much the passage of Vessels to the Town, and for so directly into the Port, that no Ship, Galley, or Bark could remain in any security from their Cannon; to remedy which, a small Redoubt was built at *Tramata*, which being well and strongly fortified

Marquis
St. Andrea
visits
the Works.

Some French
Gentlemen
Adventurers for
honour,
arrive at
Candia.

1668. served for a small Port, under the shelter of which the lesser Vessels found some protection, and was of great relief to the distressed City. About this time the Popes Gallies with those of *Malta* arrived, commanded by *Fra. Vincenzo Ruffigliosi*, the Popes Nephew, who having not brought a greater number of people than what served to man their Gallies, they were not able to spare many for defence of the Town.

The long continuance of this Siege, and the fame thereof noised through the whole World, moved the heroick and gallant Spirits of our Age, to defend into this *Campus Martius*, this Field of War, and give proofs of their Prowess and Valour in defence of the Christian Cause; some being moved by a principle of vain-glorie, proceeding from the briskness of a youthful and airy Spirit, and others from the sense of Devotion and fervour towards Religion; amongst which none were more forward than some Gentlemen of the French Nation, as namely Monsieur *La Feuillade*, *Alvis Duke of Roanese*, with the Count *St. Paul*, a young Cavalier; to forward which design, taking first the Licence and Benediction of their King, they appointed their Rendezvous at *Tolon*, whereto they lifted two hundred Gentlemen, Cadets or younger Brothers, who went in quest of Honour, and not of Pay, with four hundred ordinary Souldiers who expected their maintenance from the bounty of their Leaders. The chief of whom was Monsieur *La Feuillade*, and his Lieutenant the Chevalier *De Trefmes*.

Their whole Body was divided into four Brigades.

The first commanded by Count *St. Paul*.

The second by the Duke *De Cardouffe*.

The third by the Count *De Villa Masur*.

And the fourth by the Duke *De Chateau Tery*.

When these Persons of Honour and Courage arrived at Candia, they found the City hardly beset, and reduced to a strait and difficult condition; for the Turks were advanced so near to the Fort of *St. Andrea*, that the Souldiers within and without could not cross their Muskets, and reach Tobacco one to the other; howsoever this breach was so well repaired with a good Pallisade fortified with several Bonnets, and a double Retrenchment on the Balloon, it self, and a third Retrenchment of squared stone without, that the courage of the Besieged being nothing abated by the many and furious assaults of the Enemy, the Town still remained in a defensible posture, and still capable with good Succours and Supplies to yield manner of employment for several years to the Ottoman Forces. These worthy Champions, as I said, being arrived, moved with the sense of Religion, and desire of glory to themselves, challenged the privilege of mounting the Guard of *St. Andrea*; but that being already prepossessed by the Knights of *Malta* and other Officers of the place, was refused to them. Howsoever the Captain-General *Murad* was pleased to grant them with the Guard of a small Chapel over that Balloon on the right hand of the breach, a place of no less danger, and therefore of no less honour than the other; with which the Cavaliers being satisfied, Monsieur *St. Paul* mounted the Guard one day at six a clock in the morning, and continued there until the same hour of the day following,

1668. during which time he lost his Major *Dupre* and Monsieur *De Marceuil*, the latter of which had his brains shocked out with so violent a blow of a great shot, that some pieces of his skull dangerously wounded the *Seurs De Chavilly* and *De Lore*, who were near to him; and more maliciously did the Turks play the stations of these new-come Guests than any others, throwing Bombos, Granadoes, Stink-pots, and other sorts of artificial Fire without cessation into their Quarters, notwithstanding which, this young Prince and Monsieur *La Feuillade* expell'd themselves like common Souldiers, animating their men more with their example than their words.

And now by this time by so many Works and removals of Earth, by so many Travellers and Mines under ground, and throwing up the caverns and bowels of the Earth into the Air, the soil became so brittle, crumbling, and as it were fatty, and like althes, that it leamed not capable longer enduring of the Pick-axe or the Shovel, and was so porous, that the light of some Mines glimmering into the others Travellers, easily discovered each others Mines, whereby it became equally a trade and custom to fling Powder. Howsoever the Venetians so closely worked with those Props and Arts, that they formed a considerable Mine, which on the first of December they sprang with so much success, that they wholly overthrew a Battery of the Turks directed against *St. Andrea*, and buried all their Cannon.

But these French Gallants intended not from the first of their design to make this War their Trade, or the Town of Candia their place of habitation, but as Passengers or Pilgrims, whose souls are active, and hate idleness, to give the World some proof of their Valour, and so away; wherefore *La Feuillade* their General pressed *Murad* to give leave, that he and his Fellow-Souldiers might make a Sally, and enter into the Enemies Trenches, to as to yield a diversion to those on the Walls, and perform that Action and Enterprise for which they had designed and undertaken this Voyage; of which some of them were so impatient, that they would not expect Orders for their Sally, as the Chevalier *De Trefmes*, who alone entered into the Enemies Works, and returned with his Sword all bloody; at which *La Feuillade* his Commander was so incensed, that he reproved him with this short reprehension, *I would as gladly see a Butcher as you*. Others by this example scarce restrained from the like; amongst which Monsieur *De Ville Francke* drew a Turk by force from his Trench, and brought him to the foot of the Balloon; but there he was forced to quit his Prize, for being shot in the Leg with a Pistol-bullet, soon after dyed of the wound: By these examples the Commanders seeing it impossible to repress or abate the mettle of these vigorous Spirits, their bridle was taken off, and licence given to make their excursion; so that all things being ordered and contrived for a Sally, before break of day in the morning they rushed forth, and leaping into the Enemies Quarters, valiantly mingled with them, cutting and hewing dead all before them; their Banner was a Crucifix carried in the Front by Father *Paul* a Carmelite Fryer, who little regarding those who followed him, proceeded with his Ensign as unconcerned, as if he had been in Procession; which I am

The Church
of St. Elizabeth
a Battery of
the Turks.

As it is
made in
the French.

1668. mared the Sculdery, that like men conducted by miracle, they broke through the grofs Body of the Enemies Force: and so violent they were in their combat, and so intent to their business, that they neither observed the multitudes of the Enemy which came upon them, nor the signal of their Commander for a Retreat; until at length discovering their danger, they made speed with some disorder to return, having left an hundred and twenty Gentlemen in this rencounter, whose heads being cut off (as the custom of the Turks) were pitched upon the Pikes end, and ranked before the door of the Viziers Tent, amongst which the head of the Marquis *Doriaum* did beyond all the others draw the eyes of the Turks, who admired the clearness of his complexion, and fairness of the hair; which being breaded in tresses for the more convenience in fighting, made death itself beautiful, and was at the same time both his Enemies glory and their compassion. The French having thus evaporated their fury with this Phlebotomy, there not remaining above two hundred and thirty after this Sally of all their six hundred, brought into *Candia*, Monsieur *La Vallade* with his reliques departed: at which time the whole strength of the Town consisted of about seven thousand stranger Souldiers, four thousand Inhabitants, and two thousand Savoyards, which was too weak a Garrison to resist to potent an Enemy, so formally and strongly incamped, unless supplied with new Recruits. Wherefore the Duke of *Bourgoigne* and *Luxemburg* mindful of their Christian Brethren in this diffused Siege, contributed three Regiments towards their relief, consisting in all of three thousand three hundred men. The first under Count *Waldeck*; the second under *Mollison*, and the third under Count *Radesfeld*. They made their Muster first at *Verona*, and embarking at *Venice* the 28th of March, on the 12th of May 1669, they arrived at *Candia*. These valiant Souldiers desiring to ease the long besieged Companies, demanded the Guards of *Sabiniera* and *St. Andrea*; which being by this time become hot and dangerous flations, were not disputed with that heat of honour as formerly, but were easily yielded to the fresh and new-come Souldery. Many now and various were the assaults which the Enemy made upon the Town, hoping to carry it by dint of Sword; but the Christians unweariedly maintained their valour and courage, and particularly the *Luneburgers*, whose gallantry delivered its due praise and reward. Their General Count *Waldeck* whilst he undauntedly encouraged his men, and openly exposed himself on the Works, received a mortal wound, of which soon afterwards he dyed; but before he expired, he assembled together his Fellow Souldiers, and encouraged them in the Holy cause they were come to maintain, giving them as a Farewell Sermon, instructions, and peritiwative arguments to a godly life, and having contested his own sins in the presence of them all, he resigned his spirit into the hands of his Creator, leaving not only his own Forces, but the whole Town disconsolate for the loss of so able a Commander.

The Duke of Brantwick and Luxemburg first forces to relieve Candia.

Count Waldeck shot himself.

stians full of hopes, daily animated each other, casting their eyes to Sea-ward, promising reward to the first Defectory of the long deferred Fleete. The Turks also being privied of the expected Succours, resolved it possible to perform the business designed before their arrival; and thereupon made one of the greatest assaults that was yet given to the Town, in which though the Christians behaved themselves with all valour imaginable, yet the Turks felt gained farther footing and advantage. And now it fared with the Town after every storm, as it doth with a physical body after every accession of a Fever, which though it intermits for some time, yet it leaves the Patient always more weak and debilitated than before. Wherefore the Christians increasing in care and diligence, the Captain-General disarmed several of his Gallies to supply the Town with what Force he could possibly contribute, and the Engineers employed their brains for destruction of the Enemy, so that they fell again to their Mines, and sprang one which took good effect; soon after they sprang seven others, after which four more near the Revelin of *St. Spirito*, which blew up many Turks, ruined their Lodgings, and buried one of their Batteries: these all were followed by another Mine of an hundred and sixty Sacks of Powder, which took its way between *St. Andrea* and the Revelin of *St. Spirito* with extraordinary execution and violence, throwing up that vast quantity of Earth and Timber, that it not only overwhelmed the Enemy in the neighbouring Trenches, but overthrew a Battery of three Pieces of Cannon, which the Turks had raised on the Revelin of *St. Andrea*: yet all this served to increase the heat and fury of the Enemy rather than abate it; for they imagining this to be the ultimate force and the last blast of the expiring Fortrels, played their assaults with the more fury and madness, pressing forward the crowds of the Souldiers collected lately in Villages, and the Janizaries newly created taken from the Plough to be matter and fuel for the Christians Powder.

Winter now approaching, and the Vizier resolving to quarter a second year under the Walls of *Candia*, began to prepare against the weather, and resolved to lye till until Spring should renew the time for action, but never intermitted his employment of plying constantly his Batteries, and shooting Bombos into the Town. In the mean time the Besieged being animated by their new additional Forces, whose spirits also were high, and desirous of action; the Commanders thought it not policy to suppress the heat and mettle of their courage at the beginning, but gave way to the Souldiers proposition of a Sally, which was effected in the month of December with no bad success. For the Christians surprising the Turks unawares, little dreaming of any such design, fell in amongst them on the side of *Sabiniera*, where they took a Battery, dismounted and spiked the Cannon, with the loss of the Duke of *Candia*, being shot in the breast with a Musket-bullet; of the Turks near three thousand were killed, amongst whom was *Beuple the Sampsonghasbee* or Major General of the Janizaries, and *Katirgi Ogh* *Pasha* of *Canea*, whom we have already mentioned, and so returned with Triumph into the Town. This *Katirgi Ogh* which signifies the Son of a

A Mine of an hundred and sixty Sacks of Powder fired by the Christians.

The Christians fell on the side of Sabiniera.

1668. Mularier, was formerly a common Thief, who robbed on certain Mountains near *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, called *Ockfabar*, which now have their names from him: and being a courageous man and fortunate, drew a considerable number of Miscreants from all parts to follow him in his Enterprises. His profession was not to rob Caravans or Merchants travelling in their house employment, but Knight-Errant-like pretended to revenge the injuries and abuses of his Country by the unjust and corrupt Ministers, whom for robbing and oppressing the people, he esteemed it Justice and Virtue to deprive of their ill gotten Wealth. In which Trade he gained such Riches and Power, that at length he came to *Scutari*, from whence acquainting the Grand Signior of the abuses of his Officers, and his own course of living was upon promises of duty and submission received into Grace and Favour, and not only obtained pardon, but preferment. For the Grand Signior discovering in him a spirit of much resolution and bravery sent him upon *Candia*, and conferred on him the Pashaluck of *Canea*, in which on all occasions he comported himself with much bravery, dying at last before the Walls of *Candia*.

Various were the Sallies and Conflicts the Christians made upon the Turks towards the end of this Year; one of which, after that foregoing, was made by Marquis *Villa*, who with a thousand two hundred men fell in upon the Turks Trenches, where he had no good success, that he brought back with him a hundred Turks heads, which he planted on the Walls.

The Turks also as they had made strong Assaults, and gained on the Fort of *St. Andrea* to the East, so they undauntedly pressed forwards on the Bastion of *Sabiniera* to the West, with a Force of ten thousand men, having the advantage of three Batteries, each consisting of ten pieces of Ordnance. The next Night the Turks gave a general Assault with all their Forces to the Bastions of *Pamiera*, *Sabiniera*, and *St. Andrea*, and the great Fort *St. Demetrius*; but the Besieged were armed with all caution and vigilance against surprise, and with that Conduct and Valour, that they gave the Enemy three Gallant Repulses with much slaughter and confusion; but yet this success was diminished by the loss of the Count de *Mare*, an experienced Veteran Souldier, who, after proofs of an invincible Valour, lost his life in defence of the Christian Cause. But not long after the Marquis *Cornaro*, and the Baron *Spar* arriving with a Recruit of three thousand Men, as if they intended to requite the Turks last Assaults, made so resolute and so successful a Sally, that they left above two thousand Infidels dead upon the place, with a considerable number of their Officers.

Katirgi Ogh his original and life

The Turks storm three Batteries at once.

The State of Affairs in the Turkish Court, and other Parts of the Empire during the War in CANDIA.

BUT whilst we are in relation of the Wars abroad, we must not forget the proceedings of Affairs at home. The Grand Signior now weary of his repose and abroad in his Seraglio at *Adrianople*, and impatient of the delays in his Affairs at *Candia*, judged it as well agreeable to the present convenience of his Empire, as to his own humour, to tear himself in some place of nearer distance from *Candia*, than his present abode; from whence by his presence and authority, his Army might with better expedition be supplied with all necessities of War and provision. After various Arguments about the choice of the place, *Larissa* was fixed upon, a City anciently renowned for Antiquity and Plenty. And that the Court might not abound with unnecessary Attendants; the Queen Mother, and *Hafaki* Sultana, with all the Ladies of their Retinue, were sent to *Constantinople*, a policy perhaps to amuse the minds of the people, and afford them an occasion of discourse, and hopes that the Grand Signior himself might shortly follow. But before the departure of this Female Court, the disposal of the Grand Signior's Brothers was moved and questioned by the Janizaries, who having long since been jealous and doubtful of their lacy, the Sultan did demand, that the protection and custody of them should be committed to the Queen Mother; who willingly received the Charge, and gave security by Hogst to defend and preserve them from all private Treachery, or publick Attempts with the same tenderness and care as the should her own life, or the life of her Son. In this manner these Princes and Princesses departing, made a solemn and magnificent entrance into *Constantinople*. The chief of the Cavalcade was *Kul-ogh*, the Grand Signior's Mofay, or Favourite, attended with a hundred and fifty Pages in Coats of Male, and Saten Vests; in one Coach was the *Valide* Sultana, or the Queen Mother; in the next was the *Hafaki* Sultana, or the Grand Signior's Queen, in the third were the Brothers, in the fourth was the young Prince, or the Grand Signior's Son; after came the Coaches of more ordinary Ladies attended with about a hundred and fifty black Eunuchs, in Vests of white Saten.

The Grand Signior also preparing for his journey to *Larissa*, pitched his Tents without the City; from whence one day viewing round the Camp from a Jardac, or Tent, elevated above the rest, he espied with a Prospective Glass a certain person taking Tobacco in his Tent, whilst a Slave rubbed his Legs: His Attendants not able or willing upon his Demands to inform him who he was, he sent an Officer to make Enquiry, who returned with Answer, that it was *Ibrahim* Aga, the Kahya or Steward to the Chincamam, and in effect Chincamam himself.

1668.

The Female Court sent to Constantinople.

The Female Court sent to Constantinople.

The Grand Signior, displeased with Tobacco.

1668, himself, having a great share in the management of Affairs; but the smoke had like to have smothered him and all his Fortunes; for this Grand Signior, who is as great an Enemy to it as King *James* was, or Sultan *Murat*, would have made him the Sacrifice to that Incense, had not those present interceded for him; who with the Chimaçam's own mediation, and the cost of fifty Pistoles, or five and twenty thousand Dollars, ransomed his Life.

The Sultan being arrived at *Larissa*, News came of the near approach of the Excellentissimo *Alvise Mocenigo*, Ambassador from the Venetian Republick, with propositions of peace.

But the Turks before they would admit the Embassy, or the person which brought it, to a nearer approach than a Days Journey from the Court, would be resolved first whether he brought with him the Keys of *Candia*; To which it was replied by the Interpreter, That he was not able to give them satisfaction in that particular, being but a mean and ordinary servant, to whom the Secrets of State, and resolutions of great men were not committed; his Office being only to render faithfully the words and sense of his Masters, and not to enter into the private thoughts and Cabinet of their Counsels. To which the Chimaçam proudly and barbarously made answer, Go tell thy Master, that unless he brings the Keys of *Candia*, thy head shall pay for it. And that he pursue not in person to approach nearer unto this Court. So the Ambassador remained at a distance for some weeks, and at length was transferred over to the Vizier at *Candia*; who being more ready to hearken to propositions, in hopes by some overture or other to hook in *Candia*, gave an easy Audience to the Ambassador, and controverted several Articles and Propositions with all freedom and patience. So that on the Venetians part, the Surrender of *Suda* was offered, and a Sum of money, in compensation of the War.

The Vizier on the other side would be contented with nothing less than the Surrender of *Candia*; and in lieu thereof to grant a Licence to rebuild *Pulco Castro*, an ancient Fortrefs. But the Portrefs it self of *Candia* being the prize and aim of both, nothing could be concluded without that; so that the Ambassador in fine, declared plainly, That the City of *Candia* was maintained and defended by the Arms of Foreign Princes, without whose consent it could not be resigned; all the rest of the Island should be the reward of their blood and labour, only *Candia* was capable of no Conditions, but what were imposed on it by force of Arms.

The Vizier, whose honour could be saved, and the glory of the Ottoman Empire maintained, at no other rate than the subjection of *Candia*, would hearken to no other terms or proposals; so that the Treaty broke off, and the Ambassador returned to *Canca*, where to remain until further Overtures of an Accommodation should prefer.

It was now towards the depth of Winter when the men of War and a Fire Ship, sent by the most Christian King, sailed in the Helmsport with words and boastings as full of Wind as their Sails, and being arrived at *Constantinople*, vaunting of their Force, as if sufficient to subdue the Turkish Dominions, they entered certain rumors, that they were come to

1668. revenge the late affront offered to their Merchants, to cause that money to be repaid, which in late and frequent *Avanias* had been extorted from their Nation; and to renew their Capitulations with more advantageous terms. As namely, That their Customs from 5 be reduced to 3 per Cent. as the English, Dutch, and Genoese pay. That their King be treated by the Sultan with the equal Presents and Gifts, according to the Custom used with the Emperor; and that at all times interchangeably Ambassadors be sent to reside on both sides Dominions; with other propositions which seemed as extravagant to the Turks, as they appeared to others vain, and to have no foundation but in the report of the Vulgar.

But that which was reported by the most judicious concerning these Ships, was, That his most Christian Majesty being made to understand perfectly the affront put on his Nation by the Turks; and not fully satisfied (as is supposed) with the respect they had shown to his Ambassador at *Constantinople*, made it the chief Design of his Ships to withdraw him from thence, supposing it a less diminution to his honour, to have the person of his Agent subjected to affronts, than of his Ambassador, to which (it was imagined) he might be obnoxious, in consideration of those great supplies, which were in the following year designed for *Candia*. In what manner forever the Turks deemed of this appearance of Men of War to hearken and brave them at their Imperial City, they did yet for the present cunningly diffemble the matter, giving the French fair Words, and what plenty of Provisions their occasions did require. In what manner this Affair was transacted, I shall not adventure to relate, nor is it well or certainly known; Yet not long after came Orders for the Ambassador to repair to the Court at *Larissa*; and that until the Grand Signior's pleasure was farther known, the Ships of War were to be detained. The Commander in chief, called Monsieur d'Amers, was not a little troubled to have his Ships thus embargued, and labouring in his thoughts between the time limited in his Instructions by his Master and the refusal by the Turks, he once bravely resolved to hazard his passage through the Castles; but protracting the execution thereof from day to day, even until the end of April; at length Licence came for their departure, and Orders to repair unto *Vola*, near *Larissa*, there to take an Ambassador, or Agent, or Envoyé from the Sultan to their King. For it seems, the Vizier had intimated to the Grand Signior, That it was not time to disgust the French King, and to bring him under the notion of a declared and public Enemy, or at least to irritate him so far as might provoke him to send greater Forces, than perhaps he designed the next year, for *Candia*; and that he ought to comply with the present conjuncture, and save that up for a time, which he might afterwards open at his pleasure. This could seem very reasonable to the Grand Signior, and agreeable to the present necessity, he ordered (as I was credibly informed) a thousand Dollars only to adorn his Ambassador; so pitifully do the Turks esteem of Christian Princes, and so highly do they value themselves, as if a Message from them would be revered in Christendom as a favour, though brought by a Porter or a Slave. But the French Ambassa-

1668. dor considering this allowance too mean a provision for a person qualified to appear before his Master, did (as it is said) out of his own Purse and generous Soul contribute a far greater Sum, with two Vells of Sables towards his Equipage. In this manner the Sultan dissembling an appearance of good correspondence with his Christian Majesty, dispatched away his Envoyé on the Ships of War, being a Person in quality of a *Mutasarrif*, one of the same degree with a Chaus, to expatulate with the King concerning several Particulars, and especially his Reasons for sending for his Ambassador, without sending another according to ancient custom to supply his Office, wondering much at this sudden alteration of friendship; without any cause given on the Ottoman side; and with these smooth and fair words the Turks imagined they might charm the Spirit of the King for a while, and suspend his Succours from *Candia*, until at last it were beyond his power and wisdom to relieve. In the mean time the Ambassador from the most Christian King was detained, as an Hostage for the other, of whose return we shall speak in its due place.

1668. Towards the end of this year Sir Daniel Harvey Lord Ambassador from His Majesty of Great Britain arrived at *Constantinople*, succeeding in the place of the Earl of *Winchelsea*, who could not obtain Audience with the Grand Signior until the end of the following year, by reason of the Sultans unfeigned abode and far distance; who at length coming to *Constantinople*, summoned the Ambassador thither, and there conferred on him the usual Ceremonies and Honours due to the Ambassador at first Reception.

Candia was now hardly assailed in four places, viz. on the side of *Bellin*, *Panagra*, *St. Andrew*, and *Sabonera*. These places being twice stormed, in which the Turks lost thirty thousand men, so many Mines and Forts were fired, that the ground lay open like a vast abyss, with strange heaps of confused and undigested Earth, and hid the Enemy from approaching to the Wall; but *Sabonera*, and *St. Andrew* being esteemed the most weak, because they were not fortified by any considerable Out-works, or compassed with any depth of Ditch, were pressed and forced upon by the Turk with more violence than any parts of the City. The Enemy having by their great number of Artillery, cleared the confused Earth, they forced some Batteries, fortifying them, and beligerent their people with Sacks of Wool, and a Labyrinth (as we may say) of Redoubts, they advanced foot by foot upon the Revellin of *St. Andrew*, being destitute of all Mines to stop their proceedings, and having at length blown up the Revellin, and with fire and earth having taken the Out-works, they penetrated into the Ditch (which was not deep) with four Travellers, and came towards the Revellin of *St. Spirit*, notwithstanding which they stormed the Walls in nine places. And beginning to make a breach by firing certain Mines, which opened a wide view of forty two paces at the point of that Bul-

1669. work; and continuing their breaches towards the Sea, breaking in that way the Front of the Fort *Prinlo*, they proceeded almost to the Gate of *St. Andrew*, and opened thirty eight paces more in all efficacy, pace. Afterwards they ruined the remainder of the Wall, and that which was called the Scotch Fort to the very Sea, so that the Christians were forced to retire from their Out-works, and contract their Precincts to the Walls of the City.

To add unto the misery of this place, an unfortunate flood from the Turks Camp entered that Magazine which was near *St. Peters* Church, where the ammunitions Fires were made; and meeting several flocks of Granadoes already charged, with thirty Barrels of Powder; all took fire and blew into the air, and burnt all the houses which were near thereto. At this unlucky accident the Besieged fearing a general assault, and seeing the Turkish Horse draw into a Body near *Sabonera*, the whole Garrison ran to the Walls; but no farther Attempt being made towards evening they blew up a Lodge of the Enemy, with all the people that were therein.

Annno Christi 1669. Hegira 1080.

Towards the end of the last Year, and at the beginning of this the Turks began to open their eyes, and find themselves defrauded with the greatest cheat that ever was imposed on a people who had either reason or humanity. For now three or four years had run on, that the Empire of *Candia*, *Malaga*, and other Nations had introduced into all parts of the Turkish Dominions (unless in those Eastward, as *Aleppo*, and farther) a sort of small Money called by some *Levins*, by others *Qerani*, and by the Turks *Temins*, worth about five pence English; which appearing pleasant and bright to the eye, and commodious for change, and common expenses, so bewitched the Commonalty, that Pieces of Eight, Zechins, and other merchantable Money were laid aside, as neither current or valuable. As first about nine years past they were of good and warrantable Silver, but afterwards with time by little and little grew worse, and of baser alloy; at length the people thought more and more upon them, they came coarser every day than other; and being filled currently payable, every person that was failed, and of bad reputation entered into the Trade, who knowing no bounds of honesty or of good conscience, their Money wholly of Copper of coarser Metals, with a fair gloss and resemblance of Silver, buying therewith the Commodities of the Country; and at length amassed up all the Gold, Silver, and whatsoever came to hand was the price of their false and baser Coin, with which they filled and abused all *Asia*; nor was this Money only of one Mint, but of divers Stamp, and Measures reproducible to the Turks, and it is pity they had not wit enough to understand them, as namely, *Polius hane Asia mercem*. De present pretium ejus, and such like, which were so various, that many who had the curiosity to make a collection of them, found no less than an hundred and twenty several Stamps. The Commonalty still enamoured with the brightness of their colour, and commodiousness of their change, little reflected on the consequence to the generality, having seldom more than to supply

The Story of the false Levins or Temins.

French
Money
is full
in Con-
stanti-
nople.

1669. their daily wants. And the Officers of the Customs finding a benefit extraordinary to themselves upon the vast Sums of Money imported, little cared how it fared with the publick. In the mean time the whole current of Merchandise in the Levant was disposed of its ordinary and true channel; for vast quantities or a glut of Turkish Goods filled all Christendom, the prices low and cheap, and no profit to any Merchant dealing upon the spot, or upon the old and legal way of Traffick. At *Ligerie* and other parts of *Italy* complaints were made, That the Silver and Bullion of the Countrey were melted down to make a composition with baser Metals for *Turkie*, and exchanged for decaying and perishable Commodities. In short, no man seemed satisfied with the Trade, and yet the World, like their fins, which they disapprove, pursued it with all heat and violence imaginable. This Trade being thus over-laid, and vast heaps of adulterate Money imported daily worse and worse, caused the Jews and other Merchants at first to except against some forts, and admit of others. This scruple, together with the prohibition of them two years before by the English Factory at *Smyrna*, obliging themselves unto the Levant Company under a considerable penalty not to receive this money for Cloth or other Commodities of the growth of *England*, together with the circumfpection and contrivance of the English Consul, awakened first the blind prejudices of the Turks, who having long been iniquated with this beloved money, began now to reject and abhor it like the false and fardled countenance of a Courtesan: so that from eleven they fell to twelve, and so to thirteen and fourteen to the Lion-Dollars. In which conjuncture a Dutch Convoy arrived at *Smyrna*, importing vast Sums thereof, which for a Bribe to the Officers of the City, or what the Customer would ask, were permitted Licence to be landed, which overflowing in great abundance, and rather of a worse than better alloy, went declining to eighteen, and so to twenty, at which Rate for a short time they passed current. And now at this price the Officers did what was possible to keep them up, conceiving it impossible, in a time of so much revenue, to receive other Coins of the Countries could subsist, or that Trade in buying or selling could proceed, if this money should wholly lose its esteem and value: nor were the people so much the care of the Governours, though for many years they had known no other price or reward of their labours, as were the vast damages of the Sultan, in whose Coffers were considerable Sums, which were never known to have been placed unto the lots of the Exchequer: for it is proverb among the Turks, *Thus the Grand Signior's Lead cannot sink*. But that which raised most of tumult was the rigour of the Tax-gatherers, who refused to take that money from the people for their Duties to the Grand Signior, but demanded of them Lion-Dollars, *Sevel* and *Mexico* Pieces of Eight, of the like, which they nor being able to find, beat and imprisoned them in all places, where this question came into dispute: the people hereupon, though patient and accustomed to violence and burden, could not yet support longer an oppression so unreasonable, but that Insurrection was made in all places where this came into dispute: and as injured pay hence turns to fury, at *Prusa* and

1669. *Agoria* the torrent of the peoples rage was not appeased without the blood and lives of some of their Officers, alledging with good reason, That their Ministers and Governours having introduced or permitted this money amongst them, and allowed it as current in that manner, as that they had for some years known no other, nor received other for all the fruits of their labour or possessions, they ought not now to refuse to receive that which they themselves had made passible: which argument and reason was pressed in sundry places with that violence, that the Officers were forced to submit to the necessity of the times, and the fury of the multitude. And now this money had wholly lost its reputation, and began to be refused generally at any rate whatsoever; so that though the Government thought fit to license them at thirty to the Dollar; yet the people prosecuting the abatement of it with a hate and disaffection equal to their former desires, refused generally and absolutely to accept them in payment. Wherefore the Sultan perceiving that the power of his Officers was not sufficient to render this money longer passible at any rate, at length he commanded, that every one should bring in his money of these sorts into the Mine, where it should be melted down, and the Silver it produced should be delivered to the Proprietor. At which Summons several Great men voluntarily brought in their money, others had it seized and condemned to the Furnace, amongst which was a French Merchant engaged to the import of sixty thousand Dollars. As yet the News of this alteration nor having reached Christendom, divers Ships arrived at *Constantinople* with vast Sums of this money, which were all seized and forced to the Mine. In like manner other Ships arrived at *Smyrna* with the same Commodity, which my self would not suffer to be landed, and some of them having no other foundation of Stock or Freight, returned empty, to the great loss of the Employers. It was strange to see, how on a sudden all Trade ceased, no money being left in the Country; few Bargains were made but by Barter; and though all this ruin might wholy be ascribed to the ill Government, yet the people were contented, and sat down with the loss. And thus concluded this extravagant Trade of false Money, being supposed to have wrought more of destruction and loss at the end, than it brought of benefit at the beginning; memorable for nothing more than for expiring so quietly, though it had the chief part of the Turkish Empire to support and defend it.

During these Troubles the Grand Signior passed his time in hunting near *Levissa*, where he ruined the Country round about, and tired the people with beating and driving the Woods for Game and wild Beasts to divertise him, in which, as formerly, he continued so excessively immoderate, that without consideration of the heats or colds, or moisture of the season, he compelled the people, but especially the Jews of which great numbers inhabited that Country, to continual labours in the Woods and Fields; by which many died through the rigid Frosts of the Winter and Calenures of the Summer. But yet notwithstanding these Divertisements, the Grand Signior could not easily cast off the melancholy

1669. choly apprehensions and fears he had for the state of his Affairs, imagining that the long delays and ill success at *Candia*, and defaults in Government had begotten in his Subjects a hatred towards his Person, and a desire of alteration. Wherefore the Spring approaching, he retired into a solitary but pleasant shade amongst the Mountains, where sprang cool and crystalline waters, about sixteen hours Journey from *Levissa*. In this solitude his melancholy thoughts again disquieted him with a jealousie and suspicion, lest his Brothers now at *Constantinople* should take their advantage, and one of them be by the Peoples content and affiance placed in his Imperial Seat: which imagination made that impression in him, that he immediately dispatched away a trusty and valiant Officer with all secrecy, without making any noise, to bring him their Heads, directing his Commands to his Mother, in whose custody they were; nor doubting of her help and assent, as being most nearly concerned in his interest, expected every hour the return of his Messenger with that grateful Prefecture, which could only cure the torture of his jealousie, and alleviate his cares. But no sooner was this fatal Command arrived at the hands of the Queen, but she trembled so much, that she could scarce hold the Paper. At length considering, that (as hath been said before) she had given in caution to the Janitories for the lives of these Princes, and that to her care they were committed, she immediately disarmed, and published the design of the Grand Signior to the Janitor-Aga, craving his help and protection, protesting that she was resolved to maintain the faith she had given to those Princes, whose life she tendered equal with her own. This advice and resolution of the Queen-Mother being brought to the Janitories, was heartily approved, and protestations given that they would never abandon her, nor the lives she preserved. The rumour hereof in an instant flew through the streets; but with such variety of reports, that nothing of certainty was known, only in general some great ruin was apprehended to threaten the City; whereupon a strange outcry was made to shut up the shops, and every one to consult the safety of the Publick. But some few hours after, it being more distinctly known, that the Grand Signior had sent for the Heads of his Brethren; the People of *Constantinople*, whose lively hopes of seeing the Royal City restored to its ancient Honour, was by the conservation of these Princes, were in a greater combustion than before; for every one then betook himself to his Arms: so that in a short time were assembled forty thousand men at *Osman* well appointed, where confiding in the strength of a general Cause, in which they were engaged, they vented many opprobrious speeches against the Government, calling the Chief Ministers *Oslyles*, which is unfortunate Fellows, a term amongst the Turks, of the greatest iniquity, especially to a Governor, and loudly exclaimed and wished for a reformation. In the mean time the Queen-Mother desired aid from the Janitories, and Guards about the Apartments of the Princes, lest the Bolognases, who are habitant of the Grand Signior, should assault their Quarters. The Consultations also amongst the Janitories were long and secret, and the Queen-Mother dispatched several Messengers to the Grand Signior, advising him

to forsake the Mountains, and repair to one of his Imperial Cities, as became the Majesty of so great a Sultan, being the only means to secure to him the establishment of his Crown. And now the Reader will with impatience attend the conclusion and issue of so great rumours and disturbances; but it is now, as it hath been experienced in other Common-wealths, *arising, at fermi talia, initis, incipio*. 5. fine, matters violent in their original, spend themselves at first, and produce nothing remarkable in their end. And so was the effect of these recesses, and mutiny of the people at *Constantinople*, whole humour of novelty and change venting itself, and in four or five days tired with expectation, at length every one began to return to his dwelling and employment. The face likewise of things at *Constantinople* seemed quiet and appeased, carrying with it, as it were, a still modesty and shame for the late disorders; and nothing was heard or murmured for the space of twenty or thirty days after, until the Grand Signior trembling with the fears of this ordinary within his mountains, and after being better recollected, entered into *Constantinople*, and being advised of the Heads and Leaders of the late Insurrection, proscribed such as were the prime Actors, and having dispatched away two or three Messengers on this Errand, they entered secretly in the Night to their Lodgings, where they quietly, and without noise, took off the heads of four or five of them, and banished as many without the least noise, or notice taken thereof by the Vulgar. And because this disorder happened at *Constantinople*, for which the chief Commander ought to answer, the Ghimacem passed not without a jealousie either of negligence or content; wherefore the Vizier sent for him and the Janitor-Aga to *Candia*, as if he had occasion of their service, though not without their own fears and suspicion of others, to answer and make satisfaction for the late mutiny. And thus for a while this Flame is extinguished, and the fire raked up in the Embers. We must expect a while and observe when and where it will again burst forth.

The Spring now approaching, which supplies new Spirits, and warm and fresh blood into the Veins of Man, as well as sap in Trees, and life in other Vegetables; let us return again to the Wars, and survey the Camp, and posture of Affairs before the walls in *Candia*. The Turkish Army, which like worms benumbed with the Cold of Winter, had lain immured between their Banks of Earth, did not ply their Assaults so frequently as they had done in Summer, only for a Winters exercise, battered the inward Works of *St. Andrew's Fort*, which as we said before, they had hardly beleaguered. And now the time for action being again come, about, they renewed their storm on that side so violently, pressing forward the least esteem- ed of their Souldiery, that with the help of Spade and Mattock, and blowing up of some Mines, they penetrated forty paces within the Walls of the City. But the Christians having long since foreseen the weakness of that side, made it part of their winters labours to draw another Wall from the Fort *Panigra* (whose Revellin or Out-work was before blown up) crossing over almost to the *Tramata*, which they fortified, as well as could be expected; and

Tac. Lib.

The Turks from again the Fort of St. St. St.

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1669, made constant and bold resistance against the Enemy. Notwithstanding which the Turks pressed so constantly and boldly forward, that though the Christians were strong within, and provided with all sorts of provisions both of war and sustenance, yet nothing supported their Courage and Spirits more than the expectation of promised Succours from France and Italy: it being reported, and generally believed, that they would be so numerous as might be able to give Battle in the Field unto the Turk, and force them out of their Trenches; for by no other means was it possible for this City to be relieved: for it might fare with this place, as it did formerly with Rhodes and Offend, which, though wanting neither men nor provisions, were yet taken by palms and inches of ground, till all was much less, as would hold men to defend them. A pregnant example (as *St. Will. says*) Temple well observes) how impossible it is to defend any Town that cannot be relieved by an Army strong enough to raise the Siege. Whilst the Christians were entertained with these hopes, the Turks fortified themselves without as strongly as the besieged had within, heaving like Moles with their numerous Army of Pioneers, whose lives being not valued, they were wholly intent unto Mines, blowing up all before them, in that manner that every day they gained a pace of ground within the City. So that in effect (as will be seen by the Sequel) this most impregnable Fort of the World was forced and taken by the Spade and Shovel, and by a Crew of unarmed Labourers, who understood nothing more than the Plough and Harrow. So that now this Town seemed to be reduced to its utmost Crisis, either of being taken, or for ever freed of this malignant Enemy. And indeed the Turks had for an advanced upon the Bulwark of St. Andrew, that now nothing remained of it, more than ruins, and undigested heaps of Earth and Stone, in defence of which the chief Commanders applying themselves in person with all diligence, the Marquis St. Andrew Montbrun was wounded by a stone in the face, the Cavalier de Bret was buried in the ruins to the very Neck, and with difficulty drawn out of the Earth by Assistants about him; two other Cavaliers were wounded, the Granados, and the Cavalier Feuiller, who carried the Standard of Malta, was shot into the Eye with a Musket. The Provost General Camaro, serving at the repair of the Breach, was so wounded in the Belly by a Granado, that his Bowels burst, of which he died in three hours; and with a piece of the same Granado the Count Viguer, a French Gentleman of great Valour, was likewise slain: And so hourly the Turks played this Breach, that from the 28th. of May to the 2d. of June they sprang five Mines, which brake all the Palliades of the Christians; the which the Turks followed with that fury and mettle, as if they intended to win the place and make an end of their work, before the arrival of the Forces expected from Christendom. And this Post was now grown so dangerous and weak, that the Captain General, the Marquis of Montbrun, and all the chief Officers took up their Quarters at this place, where his Excellency kept an open Table, and the Marquis took up his Lodgings at Night, that so the other Officers might have no excuse on account of attendances or orders to abandon their Quarters.

The Princes of Christendom all this time forced to their besieged Brethren in Candia. Pope Clement the IX. pressed the most Christian King to make ready his succours in due time, who had already himself prepared all things, and elected the Duke of Beaufort his General of all the Forces by Sea, whether of French or other Nations. This Duke, like a courageous and brave Prince, thinking it little glory to command at Sea, where the Enemy was of an inferior and unable Force to encounter him, did therefore desire Licence from his King to make trial of his Fortune in the Field, where he might evidence his Valour in the face of the Infidels, and signalize his Fame either by Death or Victory. The King, unwilling to hazard so worthy a person of his blood out of his due Command in the rank of an ordinary Soldier, at first denied his requests; but the Pope interceding for him, whose General he was, with holy Arguments and devout Contemplations of Martyrdom and glory of dying for the Christian Cause, at length obtained a concession from the King, who of himself was flexible to so pious a request, esteeming it unholy to deprive his Kinsman either of the Palm of a Martyr, or the Laurel of a Conqueror. The Summer being come, and all things provided, the Duke attended his Ship at Tolo a Town to City in Provence, the 6th. of June, New-Style, with about seven thousand Land Soldiers, commanded by the Duke of Newcastle, with the Marthals Lebert and Colbert, and several other Worthies and Heroes of undaunted Courage, and arrived before the Town of Candia the 19th. of the same Month, having sailedly encountered together in the Sea on the 17th. with fourteen Sail of Venetian Ships, laden with Horfe and Ammunition to mount the Troops, and relieve the Town: which happy encounter and speedy passage, seemed a happy Omen of the future success. The appearance of this succour seemed to the Besieged as sent from Heaven, and administered unto them new hopes and courage; and the salutes passed between the Town and the Fleet with the usual Ceremonies and all the imaginable testimonies of joy and triumph. No sooner were they arrived than the Town Generals, with other principal Officers, immediately in their Shallops took the best view and survey they could of the Enemies Camp, and the Condition of the Besieged; in which whilst they entertained themselves, they espied a small Vessel making towards them with St. Mark's Colours, in which was the famous Engineer Signior Celliano, dispatched by the Captain General Morosini with an exact plat of the Town, and disposition of the Turkish Camp, which being particularly viewed and considered, it was evident, That if the Turks should make some very forcible Attempt before the new Forces could be landed (as it was very probable they might) they would put all in hazard of being lost; wherefore the Captain General pressed to have some succours immediately supplied to be assistant in that case of extremity: To which the Duke of Newcastle immediately consented, and landed himself that Night in person with sufficient Force to mount the Guard on the Breach of St. Andrew, whose first Retrenchment was continually battered by the Turks; and though there was a second Retrenchment in hand, yet time being required for completing the second, that part of the Town would be reduced

1669, reduced to its ultimate hazard; for should the Enemy, spring a Mine, (which they feared was already formed under the present Work) it would lay all open and naked, without other Fortification. The Duke being altho, was received by Morosini with all demonstrations of Civility and Respect due to a personage of his Quality and Employment; and with a welcome suitable to the present extremity of his Affairs: all Ceremonies and Compliments were soon passed over, the urgency of matters not permitting them time to be long impertinent; so that falling into the Discourse of the common safety, it was resolved that the succours should be immediately landed, which was performed; with that diligence and expedition, that in two days the whole Army came safe on shore, excepting only some few, cut short by shot from the Enemies Camp.

On the 23d. the Generals and other Officers, held a Council of War, amongst whom was also the Marquis of St. Andrew, and did unanimously conclude, that the Town was no longer tenable, or to be maintained unless by some extraordinary enterprise attempted on the Enemy, and by some furious Sally performed with resolution, and stratagems of War, in order unto which it was resolved, That the 27th. should be the day of both with Horfe and Foot, and that the Fleet not to lose their part in this action, should play with their great Guns on that side of the Turkish Army which lay incamped on the Quarters of St. Andrew. All the Forces were landed on the 26th. and the whole night following was spent in preparations for the next days ally: the Army being drawn up made four Battalions, the first called the Admirals commanded by the Sieurs Martel, Pander, and Grenier; the second was the Vice-Admirals commanded by the Sieurs de la Motte and Plantat; the third was the Re-Admirals under Command of Chevalier de Bouillon, Garbarr, and the Chevalier Daily; the fourth was the Battalion of the Sieur d'Aleras commanded under him by the Sieurs Panetier, de la Roque, Fournier, Bitaule, and the Chevalier de Nemand; and on the left hand of these, a small Battalion, the Guards of the Duke of Beaufort were disposed. The Duke of Beaufort unwilling to be a Spectator in this glorious Action, without bearing a part in his own person, after he had given order to the Fleet to accost the shore on the side of St. Andrew, as near as could be their security, and from thence with their great Guns to annoy the Enemies Camp as much as was possible, came that night on those resolving to fight in the Head of the Forlorn Hope, from which hazardous adventure no intricacies or counsel of his friends could prevail to dissuade him.

The Forlorn consisted of 400 men, on the head of which marched fifty men with hand Granadoes, flanked with three Troops of Horfe, Commanded by Count Dampré: the Regiments of Guards, with four Troops of Horfe for their Wings, flanked also with three Regiments of Foot, followed the Forlorn. The Reserve consisted of the Regiments of Harcourt, Conti, Lignieres, Rojan, Montpelat, and Vendôme, flanked with four Troops of Horfe under Command of the Count Cheval, which placed themselves on a rising ground, to hinder all Communication between the Vizier,

1669, whole Camp was before St. Andrew, and the Janizars Aga, who lay before Sahonera. Between the first and second line, were placed fifty Musketers of the King, to be assistant on occasion; and the other Troops of Horfe were to take the left hand along the Trench leading to the Sahonera: the Regiment of Montpelat was to mount the Guard on the Port of St. Demetria to secure the Retreat, if occasion should require. In like manner five hundred Pioneers were ordered to level the Trenches of the Enemy on the Quarter of St. Andrew, whilst the Body of the Turks Army was employed in repulsing the violence of the Sally.

Things being disposed in this manner, and the main approaching, the Forces marched out by the Gate of St. George with all silence possible, covering their Matches, that the fire might not alarm the Enemy; the Onset was to begin with the dawning of the day, and the Signal was to be given by firing of the chief Mine Royal, which being large, and furnished with a great quantity of Powder, might (as was supposed) make way to the slaughter of the Turks whom the Christians might find terrified and disordered by such an unexpected accident. This Mine was reserved for the last extremity, but being low was full of water; so that the Powder was flowed on floats and rafts to support it, but yet received so great a damp and moisture, that when they came to spring it, the Powder took not fire, which was the full disappointment of this Enterprise. Though some are of opinion, that the Mine was so vast, and contained such a quantity of Powder, that the Engineers were not to spring it, lest it should reverse the Besieged, as well as take effect on the Enemies Camp. But be it how it will, a quarter of an hour before day the Generals expecting no longer, the Forlorn Hope which lay within half a Musket-shot of the Enemy, assaulted two Redoubts, took them, and put them all to the Sword: with the like courage the other Regiments entered the Line, and making themselves Masters of the Trenches after much blood and slaughter, and forming a Fort on which was the Battery directed against St. Demetria, possessed themselves of it, and therewith of a great Magazine of Powder belonging to the Enemy, spiking all the Cannon that were found therein.

The day by this time being clearly broken out, discovered the action; so that the Turks with all expedition put themselves into a Body on the Hill near New Candy, from whence observing and contemplating the small number of the Christians, came thundering down in great numbers to regain their Trenches. The Duke of Newcastle perceiving his Forlorn hardly better, came into their assistance with two Regiments of Foot, and two Troops of Horfe, which behaved themselves with that gallantry, as engaged the Turks again to quit their Trenches. But whilst succours seemed thus to smile on the Christians, the Magazine of Powder which was newly won, containing an hundred thirty four Kintals of Powder (by what accident is not known) took fire, and blew up all into the air, by which many were destroyed and wounded, especially of the Battalion of the Guards, with many Officers. This fatal blow quite turned the Scale of Fortune. For the

1669. Soldiers hearing the dreadful clap, and feeling as it were the Earth to tremble under them, supposed it to be the eruption of some Mine near them, with which they were so amazed, that they began with confusion to disengage the right and left, and put themselves into the full flight. In like manner the Forces near the Sea found the design, which no perceptions of their Officers, or other encouragement could animate them to prosecute; but that the faintness of a second Attempt, (an infirmity accorded of ancient Times to be incident to the nature of the French Nation) prevailed upon their spirits, beyond any possibility of retreat, so that in a disorderly manner they fled into the Body of the first Battalion, where being now united with the Reserve, they for some time sustained the shock of the Enemy's, until other Bodies of the Turks from New Candia and St. Andrea over-powered them with greater multitudes, so that then they wholly abandoned the field, and every one as well as he could, sought his Sanctuary and refuge within the Precincts of the Fortifications. However *Chabot* and *Lebrun*, each of which had a Hoyle killed under him, incouraging their Troops dispersed upon the Enemy, and still with other Officers made head upon the Enemy; but at length with the Duke of Navailles, and several other Gentlemen, who made their way through the Enemy with their Swords, they were forced to retreat honourably into the Town. The Duke of Beaufort was laid to have laboured much in refitting the shameful flight of his men, and venturing his Person into danger, from whence he related never to retreat, and so fell amongst the common heaps; but his body, though much sought after, being not found, it was believed rather, that he perished by that fatal Magazine of Powder, which blowing up, affrighted and disordered the whole Christian Army.

But not only did misfortunes attend the Land Forces, but the Fleet at Sea shared in the disasters. For some few days after the wind blowing hard from the Sea, caused the Ships to ride at a distance from the shore. The whole Fleet consisted of eighty Ships small and great, fifty Gallies, and six Gallies, being the whole Force of that Year from France, Italy, and Malta. All which being at Anchor in due order as near the shore as was safe or convenient, made many shot into the Turks Camp, but with little execution; during which Action, the *Santa Teresa*, a French Ship of seventy Bras Guns blew up, and her whole Company lost, being about three hundred men, of which seven only were saved; the Admiral of France being near to this Ship, received five shot from her which passed through her, and by the Splinters and fall of Timbers, the Vessel called *La Reale* had six Cavaliers killed, and forty Soldiers slaves were killed and wounded. After this it was proposed in Council, That another Sally should be made of ten thousand French, to which the Duke of Navailles assented, on condition that they might be preceded in the Van by four thousand Venetians, who were well acquainted and versed in the nature of the place, and knew the several Redoubts, Galleries, and Trenches of the Enemy. But the Captain General being desirous to relieve his

own experienced Soldiers to the ultimate and last occasion of emergency, refused to assent thereto. The loss the Turks sustained that day was uncertain, of the French were only about hundred thirty five heads brought in by sea, as I was informed from one who was present, when they were counted, amongst which were many principal Officers: For besides the Duke of Beaufort, French of, were slain the Count *Rohan*, the Chevalier *de Villars*, the Chevalier *de Sables*, the Sieur *de Goussier*, the Marquis *de Fabry*, Major of the Regiment of *Lorraine*, the Sieur *de Montclair*, Captain of the Guards, *de Beauvais* and *De Lamoignon*, the *Panther*, *Torquemada*, *La Roche*, *de Chavennier*, *Gauthier*, *de Bouteville*, Captain of the Regiment of *Britagne*, *Torcan*, the *Baulet* Captains of the Regiment of *Harcourt*, *Chabot*, *Marin*, *de Boffeville*, *de la Haye*, *de Bourneuf*, *de Vandre*, *Mardi* Captain of a Ship, the Chevalier *Yodet* with nine Captains and eight Lieutenants, Reformados of the Brigade of *Picardie*, *Navarre*, and *Normandie*. The *Saint Louis* was lost, amongst the Buttocks with five or six Officers of that Body, and *Villiers* Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment *Foucault* were all wounded. The Marquis of *Ligneris* had his Thigh broken and a Finger shot off, and his Lieutenant Colonel had his Arm broken. The Marquis of *Salter* Colonel with five or six of his Officers, the Chevalier *de Noiron* Colonel with several Officers of the Regiments of *Bretagne*, *Montpeut*, *Harcourt*, and *Conti* were all wounded, with four other Captains of Horse, and four Lieutenants; also the Marquis of *Uxelles*, the Chevalier *de la Haugette*, the Count *de Lasse* Captain of the Guards to the Duke of Navailles, the Count *de Montbrun* Commander of the Kings Musketeers, and the Sieur *de Tagny* Quarter-master General were wounded; who being Persons of great Quality as well as Courage that left their Country, and exposed themselves to dangers, with no other motive than their own gallantry or defence of the Christian Cause, could be numbered amongst the Heroes and Champions of our Age. Of Prisoners there were not above seven or eight taken, amongst which were the Sieur *de Bois-Dauphin* a Norman, and Son of a Marshal of France, and the Sieur *de Chateau Neuf*, the first for his Youth, Beauty, and Courage greatly esteemed by the Turks, and both entertained by the Vizier with more generosity than usually possesses the Nature of Turks; who after this success, having gathered and thrown the heads of the slain according to their manner into a heap, did one day in merriment pitch them upon the points of their Lances, and ranking them in file and order, with Hats and Feathers on them, beat the French March amongst them with shouts and Volleys of Muskets.

Matters succeeding in this manner unhappily, and the Enemy already almost in the midst of the Town, being come to the last Retrenchment, beyond which could be raised no more

1669.

French of,

were slain

1669. inward Fortifications; the Officers as in like cases of history began to throw the blame upon each other, and the contest between the French and Italians grew as hot within the Town, as the War was without; so that the Duke of Navailles appeared discontented though in reality he might well be discouraged, and might be apprehensive with due reason that the Town was in a desperate condition; however he pretended, that the time was almost expired, which the King had prefixed for the continuance of his Forces in Candia, and that therefore he could not think of any other design for them, than that which was in order to their imbarking. The Captain General being greatly surprised at this resolution, endeavoured to persuade him to the contrary, and being accompanied with the General of *Candia*, and the Provost General waited on the Duke at his own Quarters, where he represented to him in the most efficacious terms possible the present dangerous condition to which the City was reduced; until which time, under the Providence of God, they acknowledged the preservation thereof to the magnanimous Arms of their religious King; and therefore in such a conjuncture of misfortune and extremity they could not suppose that they might have recourse to assistance, but to the Generosity of his Excellency, and of those Gentlemen, who for no other end but that of Religion and Honour, had undertaken to great a Voyage, and had voluntarily cast themselves into the hourly dangers of this Siege: That the Succour they demanded was really great and most important for the safety of the place, in regard that almost their whole life some labour, though not much blood to the French Forces, if they would have worked on a new Retrenchment with the same celerity and diligence, as they formerly used, whereby the Siege might be prolonged until the Winter, or till the Christian Princes might take new measures, and send greater Recruits. Hereunto Navailles gave answer, That the zeal which the King his Master conceived for the conservation of Candia, was evidenced by better effects, than the empty promises without fruit of other Princes; and that accounting the present number of Forces and Gentlemen of considerable Quality which were engaged in this War, together with the great expense and charge his Majesty had been at in maintenance of a Fleet to transport them, his Majesties assistance to the Republic was unsupportable; and that both he and his Officers who had the honour to command those Forces had undertaken a long Voyage, and entered into dangers with constancy and readiness of mind, and had assaulted the Enemy almost before they saw them, and given relief to the Town before they set their foot in it; but if the issue of affairs did not correspond with a success agreeable to their good intentions, and the primary design of this enterprise, they must have patience, seeing that it cost no other than the slaughter of Frenchmen, and that there had been a large effusion of the Noble and illustrious as well as of the common blood. It was a species of ingratitude not to remain contented with such forcible arguments of friendship; and it was a breach of modesty to pretend, that because his King had lost them eight thousand men, that therefore they should continue in Candia so long as one

remained alive. It was true, that besides the French service he was acted by some inward motives of Religion, but that he could not transgress the Commands and Instructions of his Majesty, which injured him to imbark his Forces in order to their return about the 20th of that present month of August. In reply to which, though the Captain General and the other Venetian Officers, and also *Bali Rospigliosi* the Admiral of the Popes Gallies, urged his stay with all the instances and arguments imaginable, yet nothing could prevail to detain him until the arrival of other Forces, only he was contented to leave six hundred men in the Town during the time that he continued at *Spandio* so that by this time having imbarked his Forces, and lastly the six hundred men left on the Works, the Duke took his farewell and departed: so that the Town being as it were deserted and forsaken of its chief hopes, all things were given for desperate, and men began to be weary of their lives, as well as of the War and of their labours; and whereas with the assistance of the French, (as it was said in the Council) the Town might have held out until the next Spring, it was now by this grand revulsion reduced to its last Crisis, and so weakened, as that no possibility of preservation remained but in honourable terms of Surrender. And though the French in their Voyage home about Malta encountered positive Orders to remain on the place, yet judging the Town might already be surrendered, and so the return disgraceful and in vain, proceeded notwithstanding in their course for France, for which default and want of constancy the Duke of Navailles being arrived at *Tolony*, sustained the punishment of his Princes disavowal, and ordered for some time not to approach the Court.

The Turks, by departure of the French, increasing in hopes and courage, made an assault on the Quarters of *Sabonera* and St. Andrea; and first attacking some Soldiers to the number of about thirty, who were placed on the Guard at the Post of *St. Pelagia*, they cut most of them off, and put the rest to flight; with which the Turks being more animated, advanced to the Palisade of the new Retrenchment; but Volleys of Cannon, and showers of Musket-shot, and stones pouring on them, gave some stop to the fury of their career. *Grimaldi* observing that the Enemy was at a stand, brought up his Volunteers and Cavalry which served on Foot, and together with the Forces from *Brunswick* he played the Turks with stones, Granadoes, and shot, that the Fight was confused, bloody, and horrid; however the Enemy so perfuted, that the Commanders gave Order, That the gros of the Army should fall on; but the Soldiers were so broken and torn, that they refused to advance, though thrust forward with the point of Sword and Spear. The Captain General in the mean time taking his course along the Marine, on which part also the Turks were far advanced, caused a Mine to be sprang under the thickest crowd of the Turks: which consisting of an hundred Barrels of Powder, made such a destruction, as abated much of the storm, and induced the Enemy to retire within their Redoubts. The Marquis St. Andrea, in like manner performing the office of a valiant and experienced Soldier, applied himself to all

The Turks made an assault.

places

1669. Moschs were erected; and though the Turks might now imagine it easy to win the Town by force, they assured them that greater difficulties remained; to wit, that if they remembered what blood, what labours, and what Treasures their small acquiescence and advance had cost them, they might thence calculate what Force still remained to conquer, and that the last gasp of this dying Fortress would spend it self with more ruine and destruction than they had felt in all the other approaches and assaults thereunto. In fine, the Turks seeming resolved to be sole Masters of the whole Kingdom of Candia, the Venetians began to consent to receive some compensation in another manner.

Howsoever, the difficulties were not yet ended but greater appeared, for the Turks demanded satisfaction for the charge of the War; and the Haratch or head-money, which for all those years of the Wars they had not received from the people of the Isles of the *Archipelago*; they demanded also a Tribute for the Ports and Islands of *Crete*, *Tino*, and *Clipsa*, and the other Conquests in *Dalmatia*; all which points caused new Disputes, which were maintained with those heats, and with that obstinacy, as if it had been impossible for both parties ever to meet in a conclusion. Notwithstanding, after long Debates, on the fourth of September they came to agree of giving hostages, and to certain proposals concerning the manner of surrendering the place. The Turks demanded to have the Outworks put into their hands, with one of the Gates of the City, and the Pallade of the new Retrenchment: To which *Anand* and *Scorall* answered, That this was not a proposition to be made to the Captain General, for that they were assured, the Garrison would sooner suffer themselves to be cut in pieces, than to commit themselves to the mercy of the Turkish Souldiery; whose faith is recorded in the History of *Famagusta*, and may serve for a true example and mirror of their treachery and faithfulness to all Ages. In this manner the Treaty had like to have been broken off; but at length they concluded, That it was necessary to render an account to the Vizier of the particulars of this Conference, adjourning the Treaty until the next Morning.

Notwithstanding all which, the Turks did not abate in the least point their progress in the War, labouring in their Works, and fighting with more heat than ever. The Venetians on the other side were not less active, firing continually their Cannon and Granadoes, and making some little Sallics, endeavoured as much as they were able to cover the weakness of their Forts. The Turks had raised a new Battery which broke a great part of the Pallade of the new Retrenchment, upon which it was expected that they should make a strong attempt, for whose better entertainment two Mines were prepared to receive them; but they deferring the assault, the Captain General gave orders to fire both the Mines at once, which consisting of a hundred and fifty Barrels of Powder, made the ground to tremble both in the City and in the Camp, overthrowing several works with miserable slaughter of the Enemy.

The Turks observing this resolution in the

1669. defendants became more tractable and less severe in their demands; so that *Ibrahim* Pasha with the rest contained themselves with no other security for performances of Conditions than Hostages, of which three were consigned mutually on both sides. After which, other Articles were, with less Difficulty, concluded; so that in the morning of the 6th of September the Turks demanded that the Christians should give all their Articles in Writing; whereupon the Council ordered *Grimaldi* to draw them up, which were in substance as followeth.

First, That for obtaining a good and lasting Peace, it is agreed, That the City of *Candia*, with all its Cannon which were placed there before the time of the War, be consigned into the hands of the Vizier.

Secondly, That quiet possession be given to the Republick of *Suda*, *Carabulla*, and *Spina Longa*, with the Territories thereunto belonging, with the Forts of *Clipsa* in *Dalmatia*.

Thirdly, That the Venetians may carry away all the Cannon which have been brought into the Town since the beginning of the War.

Fourthly, That for embarking the Souldiery, Pioneers, and Inhabitants of all Qualities and Conditions, with their Arms, Provisions, and Baggage twelve days time shall be granted and allowed.

Fifthly, That what shall remain unshipped at the end of the twelve days aforesaid, the Vizier shall, with his own Boats, assist to the lading thereof.

Sixthly, That during this time of truce, no person whatsoever shall transgress his Limits, or pass the bounds of his Station or Quarters; and that he who doth shall be treated as an Enemy.

Seventhly, That so soon as these Articles shall be subscribed under the white Flag, all Acts of Hostility shall cease both on one side and the other.

Eighthly, That for security of performances of these Articles, three Hostages be mutually given on one side and the other.

Ninthly, That for better assurance, that the Venetians will use all their endeavours to embark their Men and Goods, the Turks may employ two Officers for Eye-witnesses of the same.

Tenthly, That for better effecting hereof, all Ships, Gallies, and other Vessels may freely approach near unto the shore, and enter into the Port both by Day and Night.

Eleventhly, That the Venetian Fleet may remain at *Standia*, or at any other Island in the *Archipelago*, until such time as they are dispatched, or that things are duly prepared for their departure.

Twelfthly, That all Commissions given by one side and the other be revoked, and that whoever shall after the space of forty days commit any Act of Hostility against the tenor of these Articles of Peace, shall be punished with capital punishment.

Thirteenthly, That so soon as an Ambassador from *Ponice* shall arrive at the Port, all Slaves or Prisoners of War taken under the Venetian Colours shall be freed and released.

Fourteenthly, That what depredations shall be made at Sea or Land after these Articles are

The Conclusion of Peace.

1669. are subscribed, and before the publication thereof, shall be faithfully made good and reformed.

Fifteenthly, That a general pardon be given to the Subjects of both sides, who have acted contrary to their Faith and Allegiance, during this War.

Sixteenthly, That in Virtue of these Capitulations the former Articles be likewise confirmed which were made in the Year 1571, and that no Tribute or Present be demanded from the Port, unless as hath formerly been paid for such Islands as the Venetians hold in the *Archipelago*.

Seventeenthly, That of these Articles two Copies be made, one in Turkish with its Translation into Italian, subscribed by the Vizier, and sealed with the Grand Signior's Signet; and the other in Italian underwritten by the Captain-General, and sealed with the Seal of the Republick.

These Articles being signed, the Hostages were given both on one side and the other. Those given by the Venetians were *Fassolino* Lieutenant-General, *Giovanni Battista Calbo* Commissary, and *Zaccaria Mocenigo* who had been Duke of *Candia*. Those given by the Turks were *Belin Aslan Pasha*, *Madame* Aga of the Janiaries, and *Gurgi Ba* Treasurer or Treasurer.

During this Siege, of the Venetians side there were killed and wounded thirty thousand nine hundred eighty five, of the Turks one hundred eighteen thousand seven hundred fifty four.

The Batteries which the Turks raised against *Sabonera* and *St. Andrew*, consisted of fifty nine Pieces of Cannon, carrying from fifty to one hundred and twenty pound weight of Ball.

The Storms which the Turks made upon the Town were fifty six.

The Combats under ground forty five.

The Sallics made by the Venetians ninety six.

The Mines and Fornelli sprang by the Venetians eleven hundred seventy three, by the Turks four hundred seventy two.

The Venetians spent Barrels of Powder fifty thousand three hundred and seventeen. Bombs of all sorts by the Venetians of fifty to five hundred weight, were forty eight thousand one hundred and nineteen.

Granadoes of Brail and Iron one hundred thousand nine hundred and sixty: Granadoes of Glass eighty four thousand eight hundred seventy four.

Cannon-shot of all sorts two hundred seventy six thousand seven hundred thirty three.

Pounds of Lead eighteen millions forty four thousand nine hundred fifty seven. Of Match pounds thirteen millions twelve thousand five hundred.

What quantities the Turks might consume of Ammunition is not certain; only it is observable, That the Brass taken up in the streets which came from the Enemies Bombes was so much, that whole Ware-houses were filled with the Metal, and so much sold as yielded many thousands of Crowns.

The Articles being subscribed, and Hostages given, the Captain-General attended with all application of mind and industry imaginable to imbarck the Men and Ammunition, com-

mitting in the mean time the care of the City to *Coronari* the Provision of the Fleet.

During these days that all things were providing in order to a Surrender, there was great silence in the Turkish Camp, and no disorder in the City; the Souldiers in the Ramparts, and the Turks in their Trenches saluted each other with civility, and entertained communication and discourses together with friendship and freedom of several passages relating to their War, nothing of quarrel, or scolding, or rude words happening out between them in all the term of the twelve days. The Vizier sent divers times civil Messages and Presents of refreshment to the Captain-General and Marquis *St. Andrea*, which they returned with equal respect and generosity; and so excessive were the Turks in their offices, that the Venetians began to be jealous, lest under this mark and guise of courteous forms fraud or design should be covered according to their own proverb: *Chi ti fa pia carare che iuole, ti ha enganato e enganar ti vuole*.

In short, all things were dispatched with that diligence and care, that on the 27th of September the City was consigned; all the Inhabitants departed thence, not one remaining in the City, except only two Greek Priests, a Woman, and three Jews.

In this manner the Whole Isle of *Candia*, the cause and occasion of all that Blood and Treasure that was spent, and exhausted in twenty five years War, fell at length to the fortune and increase of the Turkish Empire, with its most impregnable Forts of the World, strengthened with as much Art and Industry, as the human Wit of this Age was capable to invent, after a Siege of two years, three months, and twenty seven days.

For the space of twelve days allotted for the Surrender being expired, on the 11th of September being Friday, the great Crois erected on the Wall was after midnight taken down, and advice given to the Venetians, so soon as the morning dawned, that the Turks did that day attend the Surrender, which was accordingly performed by the Principal Citizen about nine of the clock of the same morning, who offering the Keys of the City to the Great Vizier in a Balon of Silver on the breach of *St. Andrew*, was by him presented with a Velt of Sables, and five hundred Zechins in Gold, and to his Servants were given two hundred. To *Moresini* also a Present was offered worthy his Quality; but he refused it, saying, That he would never give a seeming occasion to the malicious World to slander him with the least appearance of having sold his important Charge. Whilst these things were transacting on the breach, some of the most cowardly and disorderly amongst the Janiaries pressed forward to have entred by force, in violation of the Articles so lately agreed and confirmed; but some of the Garrison not yet imbarcked, keeping themselves still on the Guard, repulled the most forward in the Riot by killing three or four of their Companies; which disturbance and insolence of the Souldiery, when made known to the Vizier, he assembled the disorderly together; and first upbraiding their cowardice, who durst not enter in the time of War, would now counterfeit Valour in the time of Peace, sentenced fifteen of them to be impaled on the breach, which piece of Justice

F I and

1669, and Gallantry was immediately executed. This rumour being appeared, the *Togghabache* and *Cheghabache*, or the Generals of the Ordnance and Arms took quiet possession of the Forts and Cannon of the City, and whilst the Turks entered over the breach, the Christian Army withdrew and embarked themselves as fast as convenience and decency would permit, who after the departure of the French, and of such who accompanied them, were not computed to be above two thousand five hundred men, and those luckily, ill accounted, and half naked; and thus this City and whole Island became subject and a prey to the Ottoman Arms. Amongst the Officers which took possession of the Town were the *Tefterdar* and the Aga of the Janifaries. The *Tefterdar* as he passed over the breach of *St. Andrea*, and observing how low and weak the Works were on that side, turned to the Aga of the Janifaries, and with some disdain said to him, We have here spent ten days in the Surrender of this Town which we might have taken in two hours.

The Turkish Army taking possession on Friday the 14th of September, the Vizier made his Entry on Friday the 4th of October; in which time they had erected a triumphant Bridge over the breach of *St. Andrea*, on which the Vizier entered into the Town, and passed directly to the Church of *St. Francis*, which was converted to a Mahometan Mosque, where having said his Namaz or Prayer, he went to the house where the Marquis *St. Andrea* was lodged, which was prepared for him, with a sumptuous Entertainment of five hundred Dishes as the expense of the Grand Signior.

This City in four parts of five was ruined and demolished in the time of the Siege, all the Bells and Ornaments of the Churches and Houses to the very Locks of the doors were carried away; the Arms remaining were old and rusty, and not above three hundred and fifty Pieces of Cannon left on the Walls, and those for the most part very small: the Inhabitants remaining were only five, as we have said before, unless some few decrepit Jews and Greeks, which might make up the number of about thirty; so that never could be a more sad spectacle of desolation, nor a more clear Mirror of the miseries of War.

The Great Vizier being possessed of the Town, dispatched away an Express with the good News thereof to the Sultan, who passed as fast as wind and weather would permit. And here the Reader may easily apprehend what joy possessed the minds of the Turks in all places where the rumour flew of this City's Surrender, which had for so many years baffled and put a stand to the Ottoman Sword. And though the joyful tidings added wings to the Messengers half, yet the uncertainty of the Grand Signiors abode retarded some days the arrival of the News; which will seem very strange to him that considers, that the motion of so great an Emperor in the Glory of his Fortunes should be less obscure than the light of the Sun, perceptible by all conditions, who inhabit that side of the Globe, where his rays are visible.

At length the Messenger found the Sultan within the Woods and Mountains of *Negropont* where he had passed the heats of the Summer, and some part of his discontent in those solitary retirements; it being now towards the end of

September, and the Winter approaching, the 1669. He was incapable to entertain so great a Court, and to return back seemed as dishonourable as it was dangerous, the Souldiers and People being equally discontented, the one by the ill success and government of Affairs, and the other by oppression of Taxes: but this joyful News cleared all those clouds and embraces of doubt and disconsolate thoughts, which the Grand Signior received like a dream, being at first surprised with such an unexpected happiness, that he could scarce believe it; but at length recollecting his scattered spirits, without delay returned the Messenger again with this Embassage or Matter of his Horse to the Vizier with the Present of a Sable Vell, a Dagger, and a Sword, being the usual signals of the Sultans favour; and with a Letter freighted with Encomiums and Praises of his Valour and Fortune. And whereas the Vizier had persuaded him to return to *Constantinople*, he answered that he was resolved to winter at *Salonica*, where with the Spring he expected his presence; and from thence in company with him, should be ready to chuse any Seat, which in his judgment the Vizier apprehended most conducing to the benefit of the Empire.

The Captain-General *Morofini* having in the mean time embarked his Forces, failed to *Suda* to provide and fortify that place, *Spalongo* and *Cavallio*, upon Rocks and Appendages to the greater Isle of *Candia*, with all necessary supplies of Victuals and Ammunition: which only serve for a Prospect into *Candia*, and to keep alive the Title of the Venetian Republick to that Kingdom. *Suda* is the most considerable of the three, but yet not strong, the Sea being fordable between that and *Candia*, and not of long resistance, whenever the Turk shall think it worth his time to subdue. Here *Morofini* attended the Ratification of the Peace of *Vienna*, and the disbanding of the Turkish Army, in which time four French Ships with Succours of Men and Ammunition arrived at *Candia*, but coming late were disappointed of their design, and so returned back into their own Country.

The Turks having now finished their work, dispensed a way their Janifaries and Pioneers by all occasions of shipping: those that remained were employed all in filling the Trenches without the City, and many Sables taken out of the Gallies to repair the breach of *St. Andrea*: in which work, whilst they threw up the disordered rubbish, to poisonous a stench evaporated from the bodies of the slain, which lay buried in those ruins, as begat a Pestilence and other diseases in the City and in the Gallies; but labouring continually on that work, they soon acquired themselves of the contagion, by help of the Winters cold which then approached.

In this manner expired the Action of this Year, fortunate in its success to the Turks; for though they gained but thirty Acres of Land with expense ineffimable of Blood and Treasure, yet the Glory and Fame which attended it, being the consummation of twenty five years Wars, and the Theatre where the whole World were Spectators, was of greater value to the Turks than any other consideration: and may with time prove a place of advantage to the farther increase of their Western Empire, unless

The Peak starts at *Suda*.

The G. Signior returns to *Salonica*, and hunts.

St. Daniel Harvey, his Majesty's Ambassador, has his Audience of the Grand Signior.

1669. unless God Almighty by his Mercy and Providence give a stop to the progress of this Grand Oppressour.

But before this Year ended, behold the misery of Christendom, by reason of discontents and animosities in the Imperial Court, the French *Serini* Prince of *Croatia*, the Marquess *Crangipani* and Count *Nadafiti*, joined with other Nobles of *Hungary*, sent Messengers to the Grand Signior offering themselves Subjects and Tributaries to the Turk, desiring his Protection of their Religion and Liberties, desiring to add the part of *Bethlem Gabor*.

The Great Vizier employed himself this whole Winter past in repairing the Fortifications of *Candia*, regulating them in some measure according to the Turkish Model, and in repairing and beautifying the Town, which was done with such admirable expedition, that in a few months most of the houses demolished in the time of the Siege were again erected, and the Churches converted into Moschs and adorned, three of the principal whereof took the Names of the Grand Signior, Great Vizier and Captain Pasha, and were endowed by them with an honourable Revenue, sufficient to maintain them in Reparations, Lamps, and Talismans. But the Turks were not more pious towards their Moschs than the Christians were careless and cold towards the Churches; for the Venetians inferred not one Article in favour of a Christian Church or a Religious House, which would have been granted as soon as demanded, only a Greek who was Interpreter to the Great Vizier called *Panaiotti*, a Person of Parts and Learning, at the expense of two thousand two hundred Dollars; and an Armenian Merchant called *Apru Chelabei* at the charge of a thousand four hundred purchased two Churches for their respective Nations.

The Grand Signior in the mean time returned to *Salonica* to pass the remainder of the Winter, which place being famous for multitude of all sorts of Game, drew his heart, and made him impatient till he arrived those Plains, more desired by him than the Elysian fields; for having made his Entry into that City, the next day he designed to hunt: but being put in mind that the English Ambassador *Sir Daniel Harvey*, who was said arrived at *Constantinople* the year before, attended his Audience, he was contented to grant it to him the next morning. But yet not to lose his hunting, at midnight he sent Officers to the Ambassador to prepare for the next days Audience very early: and to gain time, ordered his Horses to be all ready, that so having dispatched that Ceremony, he might immediately mount into the Saddle and pursue his Game. Howsoever he was not in so much haste, but he testified due respect to His Majesty of Great Britain, and the esteem he had of the English Nation, ordering the Capitulations to be renewed; and commanding the Chirmacam, that if any one should break or infringe them, that he should cut him off without farther argument. But as to renewing the Capitulations, the Chirmacam falling at the Grand Signiors feet, beseeched him, That that particular might be deferred until the arrival of the Great Vizier, whose power and authority it was to make War and Peace; and therefore for him to intermeddle about Capitulations was to invade the Viziers Authority, which he durst not do without put-

ting his life in danger, or at least rendering his Person obnoxious to his irreconcilable displeasure; with which the Grand Signior being satisfied, ordered that the renewing of the Capitulations should be deferred until the return of the Vizier, and so dismissed the Lord Ambassador from his Presence; but this work of renewing the Capitulations was reserved for the care and conduct of *Sir John Finch*, who succeeded in the Embassy after the death of *Sir Daniel Harvey*.

The Grand Signior arising from his Throne mounted into his Saddle to follow his excessive delight in Hunting, which now he pursued every day without respect of cold or wet, or Horses or Attendants; but like an impetuous *Nimrod* raged amongst the timorous Hares and flying Harts, over-spreading the Woods with vast numbers of poor Jews and Peasants, which he had commanded forth to drive for Game, not respecting the extreme rigour and Frosts of Winter, by which many of those poor Wretches lying abroad in the nights, were benumbed, and died. And so far did his hunting transport him in this Recreation, that he was discouraged at no inconvenience or labours which attended it; for one day appointing his Hunting at a certain place, which to pass on Horse-back was a great circuit, but a nearer cut over a Gulf or Arm of the Sea, he ordered his Horses round, whilst he in Person attended with the Chirmacam and several of his Gracemes, passed over to the other side in a Gally. But being impatient of his Sport, and not able to give time to his Horses to make their way, ascended his Gally, commanding them to row away with all speed; and arriving at the other side some hours before his Horses could come, would yet land: and being weary of expectation, resolved to meet them on foot through all the dirt and mire of a low and rich soil: where whilst he travelled heavily, and almost tired, by good fortune they espied a Miller driving his Horses laden with two Sacks of Meal; whom when they had called, and made him to lighten his burden, and take off the Pack-saddle, the Chirmacam himself stripped off his own Sables Vell, and covered the Horse with it, on which the Grand Signior mounting in great state, rode like a Prince till he met his own Retinue, which passage served to fill the discourse at night of that days Hunting, and deserves to be chronicled with our English Dialogue between the Miller and the King: howsoever we make use of it here to demonstrate the strange and passionate humour which possessed this Sultan in his Hunting.

Little other recreation did this Grand Signior take, unless it were in the Company of his children, called the *Hafiz Sultans*, by whom having had a Son, which beginning now to play and speak, reconciled much of his affection to the Female Sex, but yet with that moderation and well-regulated love, that he confined himself wholly to this one Woman, having sent for her to be his Companion in all journeys and adventures of Errantry, whilst the other Ladies as incumbrances and impediments to the speedy motions of the wandering Court, were dispensed to *Constantinople* under the Government of the Queen Mother, as we have before declared; of which privilege this Sultan beginning to be sensible,

1669. sensible, endeavoured to encrease and conferve the Affections of her Lord by all the arts and tricks of love imaginable; for she was really, or else feigned to be, so enamoured of him, that she pined and macerated away her self for his absence; and when he was indisposed in his health, or intended a long Journey from her, she would fall into Swoonings and Paralytical Fits, or something else, which was an undoubted Symptom of true affection, such as commonly intervenes amongst us in the chaste embraces of single marriage; that the Grand Signior, whose love to Women were not naturally as vagrant as his delights after the chase of wild Beasts, was so much fastidied in her alone, that he could be no more without her than the without him; so that, like *Diana*, or some Mountain Nymph, he became a Huntsman after her Prince, as he a Ranger after his Game.

And now in this place it may be pertinent to add; that on the 30th. of December of this year 1669. Sir *Daniel Harvey* his Majesties Ambassador, being then on his departure from *Salonica*, Mr. *William Hedges* who was with him there, being the Treasurer to the *Levant Company* in Turkey, and *Signior Antonio Porco*, the Druggerman or Interpreter, having occasion of business attended that day on the *Kieft-Efendi*, or chief Secretary; who so soon, as they came into his presence he called out to them, I hope said he, that you are come to turn Muffelmen, or believers; for your great Champion *Serim Ogly*, (for so they call *Serim*) is become Feudatory, having submitted, and put himself under protection of the Grand Signior. It was but the night before, that certain Messengers from Count *Serim*, and his adherents arrived at this Court, proffering to accept the Standart from the Grand Signior, and pay him Tribute, so they might obtain the power and protection of the *Ottoman Arms* against the Emperor. This proposition though in appearance so advantageous, that it might seem to admit of no doubt in the acceptance; yet both the Grand Signior and the *Chimacem* were so ready after the late success at *Candia* to join in their Complement to the Vizier, that they would neither conclude, nor give answer to these Messengers, until first they had consulted his fence, and opinion on the profier, wherefore to loose no time according to the usual expedition of the *Turks*, two gallies were the very same night dispatched with these Messengers to the Vizier at *Candia*, to give him notice of this tender, and to demand his counsel, and assent thereunto: with like speed the gallies were returned with the Viziers approbation, though afterwards on better considerations the *Turks* touched this cause to render, that *Serim* and his complices being detected, the plot miscarried and the Conspirators brought to condigne punishment; as shall hereafter be related; what suspicion the Council at *Vienna* might have of this design is uncertain, yet this is out of all doubt, that they had no assured knowledge thereof, until it was first brought them by Mr. *Hedges*; and yet so much time was taken up herein, as that he travelled from *Salonica* to *Constantinople*, where he arrived the 15th. of January, and there remaining some time for the better Settlement of his affairs before his journey thence for *England*, by Land

he departed on the 14th. of February, and on the 29th. of March following, was by Lieutenant General *Ellerbas* received in to *Raab*, to whom giving this first Intelligence about *Serim*, and his adherents, was courteously treated, but yet desired, until advice was given hereof to General *Montesucoli* then at *Vienna*, and his license, and pass given to Mr. *Hedges* for his further proceedings in his journey. Answer hereof being returned, he had license given him to depart, and a guard to conduct him safe to *Vienna*, which was very necessary on those Frontiers. At *Vienna* Mr. *Hedges* being examined upon Oath by Count *Capellieri* to the truth of the foregoing Relation, Troops were immediately dispatched to the Castle of *Serim*, where they so seasonably arrived, as to take possession of it for the Emperor some few hours before the Turkish Forces, (having received a flop by cutting of the bridge) came to seize it for the Grand Signior: Count *Serim* perceiving by this Act, that his design, was discovered, fled with *Frangipani* his Father-in-law towards *Transilvania*, but being on his way thither overtaken by the Emperours Edict, he was together with *Frangipani* seized at Colonel *Carcie* House, and thence brought to *Vienna*, and lodged at the Convent of Father *Nicholas Domlar* an Irish Friar in the Suburbs of that city; where *Serim* having seen, and discoursed personally with Mr. *Hedges*, he declared to him, That if the *Turks* had been, as good as their words he had not been there a prisoner at that time. In this particular two things seem strange, and unusual. First on the *Turk* side, that a matter of this secrecy should be so openly divulged and disclosed by them at *Salonica*: And secondly, on the Emperours part, that a business of this Importance commonly known at the Grand Signors Court, should want a person to advice, and transfer it to *Vienna*; until it came accidentally to be published by a stranger, who having taken a circuit with it by way of *Constantinople*, and his leisure there to accommodate his own affairs, vented it rather as a Subject of discourse, then a new discovery. 'Tis true, the *Turks* are very commonly open in their counsels, and have a qualitie to keep nothing secret though recommended to them under no many Injunctions of privacy: yet that the Emperor who commonly maintains a Minister residing at the *Ottoman* Court, should have no other intelligence hereof, then such an accidental, and unexpected conveyance, is a matter which affords occasion to upbraid the Negligence of the *Germans*; and at the same time to admire and praise the divine Providence and Justice.

Anno Christi 1670. Hegera 1081.

THE Spring coming forward, the Great Vizier declared, That after St. *George's* day, which is the 25th day of April, (called by the *Turks* *Cassim gheun*) he resolved to depart from *Candia*; and therefore ordered, That all Ships, Saiks, Brigantines, and other Vessels, which were found in any Port of the Grand Signors Dominions, should be sent to *Candia*, to

1670. to transport him and the remainder of his Army to *Rhodella* in *Romelia*, from whence he designed his March to meet the Grand Signior at *Adrianople*. But before his departure he took a view of the Island, taking his progress through the whole circumference of it, and numbering all the Inhabitants which paid Harach, or Polemony, found them not to exceed two and twenty thousand persons. For though in the time of *Delle Mehmet* Pasha, who was the first that brought the *Ottoman* Sword into that Country, there were listed fifty five thousand, who paid duties of Harach; yet now the Plague, the Sword, and other miseries of War had reduced them to that small number, of whom ten thousand (as is reported) perished in the Mines, and before the Walls of their own City; and great numbers of Olive-Trees being cut down and burned by the Souldiery in time of the War, is the reason that that Island yields not half the quantity of Oils as in former times.

The Ambassador of *Venice* Signior *Alvise Molino*, before mentioned, was now at *Candia*, designing to accompany the Vizier in his Voyage to the Grand Signior; for adorning which Embassy the Republick had appointed a Ship to carry the Presents and several Persons of Quality for attendance of the Bailo (for so their Ambassador is called) and in regard in that passage the ship was toucht at *Zee*, they laded on her a hundred thousand *Zechins* for payment of that Souldiery, which with the Captain General were returned from *Candia* to that place, with Presents for the Grand Signior and his Court; but it pleased God, that this Ship failing down the Gulf, met with so furious a storm of Wind, that she suffered shipwreck on the Coast of *Italy*, where not only the ship and goods were lost, but every soul upon that ship perished; amongst which was *Lorenzo Molino* Son of the Ambassador, and *Ottavio Labia*, another noble Venetian.

The Great Vizier entertained himself so long in *Candia* that the month of May was well entered before he departed thence; and by the way toucht at *Sci*, where he was met by all the Officers and Governors of the adjacent Jurisdictions, who came to make tender of their Presents and Services; but the Vizier in a plausible manner, accepted of their courteous Offers, but returned their Gifts, saying, That he was so sensible of the great oppressions and expences the neighbouring Countries had suffered by reason of the War, that he was resolved to superinduce no new Charge by Victory and Peace.

In like manner from all parts was a concurrence of poor oppressed people, who came to petition for justice and relief against the corruption and tyranny of their Governors in the respective Countries. But the Vizier admitted no Audience for Complaints, whether it were to maintain an apprehension of his clemency and gentleness, by acting nothing that was cruel or severe, or to enjoy himself after his cares and turmoils in the War; he almost for fourteen days continuance entertained himself in private by the cool and crystalline Fountains of *Sci*. Some report, that he gave himself at that time so excessively to Wine, being overjoyed at his success, and conclusion of the War, that he was never capable, during his abode

there, of serious thoughts or counsels; so that his Kalyha, or Secretary, could never be admitted access, unless he were called, though on the most urgent occasion of business. Others interpreted his retirements to be in order to serious considerations about the management of Affairs at his return; as how to satisfy the expectations of the Grandees, who patiently attended an amendment of abuses in the Government; how he might pacify the minds of the Souldiery, who were jealous of Conspiracies against the lives of the Royal Brothers, and how to steer in an even course at Court between the security of his Masters, and satisfaction of the Vulgar; for all the World lived in hope that alteration of times would amend abuses, and that the last remedy of all was the return of the Viziers Authority. Howsoever, it is certainly reported, That the Vizier was become exceedingly intemperate in wine, and drowned much of his cares in the fumes and vapours of it, supposing himself, as *Thersites* did in *Copra*, exempt from the eyes of the World, whilst he remained in *Sci*, which the Sea had separated from the greater Continent. And yet the Vizier, is believed, never to have tasted Wine, or known whether it was bitter or sweet, till the pride of his success in *Candia* transported him to make his joy extravagant, to which the Officers about his Person invited him, as that which cheered the spirits, strengthened the Nerves, and induced a strange kind of delight and pleasure in the fancy, beyond any thing of Poppies, or Opiate Compulsions, or *Bram-Pallas's* Pills, or Berbe, or a thousand other inventions, fit only to confuse mens reason, and stupify the brain, and benumb all the senses, in which some, as I have heard, had so practised themselves by degrees, that they could swallow five drams in twenty four hours, though I never knew any, unless one *Turk*, whom I saw eat above three; but then they could eat nothing else, nor were they fit afterwards to receive or digest any other nourishment, Nature being used to that poison, rejected all other fonder nutriment. But Wine (they said) cheered the heart in that manner, and comforted the stomach, that the *Turks* began now generally to drink it, unless he were some Pharisaical Hypocrite of the *Ulama*, or some superstitious aged and ignorant Professor. So that the vice of drunkenness came more common amongst the *Turks*, than a-ders and amongst the *Germans*, or our selves: I am sure more intolerable, and administered to more mischief, by how much the *Turks* being unaccustomed to Wine, knew less how to combat the heats of Intemperance.

And here I shall make a little digression from my purpose in hand to acquaint my Reader of the effects which I have observed to be produced in those who accustom themselves to the use of Opium. In all the Country Villages amongst the *Turks*, the more aged sort of men who have most leisure, and least necessity to work, addit themselves to Opium for alleviation (as they say) of their cares, and to forget their sorrow, for pleasure in the taste there can be none, being very bitter to the palate, which being taken in a morning in a small quantity, about the bigness of a Tare, superinduces at first a strange cheerfulness about the heart, and thence raises a more pleasing vapor to the head, than any can

The Vizier takes a journey of the whole life of *Candia*.

The Great Vizier perished by drinking wine.

The Vizier departs from *Candia*, and arrives at *Sci*.

The Souldiers and others *Turks* drink Wine to excess.

1670. can proceed from the spirits of the belt and the highest Wines: but afterwards as it begins to digest, the vapour becomes more gross, and consequently a kind of stupefaction is induced over the brain and nerves, which with drowsiness and deep pangs away like a drunken fit. The Youth amongst them which drink Wine abhor Opium, until growing into years, and to the care of a family (as a sign of which they suffer their beads to increase) they are taught by their Parents, and more by example of others, that Wine being against their Law, is only distasteful in wild and unbridled Youth, but in their of riper age is a vice to be reproached by all sober and well-governed men. In the place of which they take up the lawful and innocent Pill of Opium, which makes men serious and felled (as they say) because that it operates not like Wine, which makes men mad, and rash, and violent, but disposes them to be Sots, and to fit grave and quiet without doing hurt to any man, which is a qualification accounted very laudable amongst them, and is one of the greatest Virtues which they endeavour to acquire in their Tekes or Monasteries. This being the reason for which it is taken and allowed, it is grown a common custom almost amongst all the Country-people, who in the morning before they go to work take first their Opium, and upon it three or four drolls of Coffee; for it is observable, that none eats Opium but who accompanies with great quantities of Coffee, which is doubtless a kind of Opiate in it self, and partakes very much of a Narcotick Quality: by this means and constant use come arrive to take strange quantities; the most that ever I knew any man take was three drams in twenty four hours, viz. a dram and a half or thereabouts in the morning, and as much an hour afterwards: the which for more exactness I had the curiosity to see weighed. The same person offered for a small reward to take five drams in twenty four hours; but then he said, it required a long time to digest, and did not doubt but to overcome it; but I was too scrupulous to put a man into a sleep, from whence I feared he might never awake. This person was of a thin and livid complexion, his skin shrivelled, no more beauteous than a few hairs, his mouth commonly open, because his chaps was fallen; his countenance putting me often in mind of the Picture I have seen of the *Gygis* head; for had it been incompeated with Snakes instead of his Turban, it might have served for a perfect Original. He had arrived to the years of forty eight, and from the years thirty he had entered iⁿ to Opium from great excess of Wine: in which condition he found that his stomach required little other nourishment, being content with a small quantity of bread and water for his other Diet, Opium supplying him with all the other Delicacies he could desire: he was the father notwithstanding of two or three children, which he confessed to have begot in the strength of his Opium, having no desire to accompany with his wife, until he was first invigorated with his usual Dose, being till then like a Trunk or Log, wanting spirits almost to turn his body. For his Opium was that only which could revive all, which about a quarter of an hour after it was taken began to operate, and then we discovered in his eyes, which before were dull and heavy, scarce

opening, a certain quickness and sparkling, and soon after he was fitter for the work of the day, and could labour as others, and take a journey on foot of seven or eight miles to Market, and return home at night: his body was always bound, or his belly constricted with the hardness of his excrement, and yet he was subject to no other sickness, unless his vitiated desire to this Poyson which can nourish no wholesome or healthful body. The Turks, as I have learned, make little other use of Opium than this; yet sometimes they will put it into their Camels ears, and the nostrils of their Horses, when faint and weary, wherewith they revive again, and soon recover their strength and force to travel.

The Vizier having thus passed some days of Entertainment at *Scio*, entered again his Gally, and passing through the Straights of the *Hellespont* arrived at *Rodesta*, where having landed many of his Janisaries and such of the Army as remained with him, after a few days continuance he marched to *Adrianople*, where he was received by the Grand Signior with all evidences of satisfaction, and entered the City triumphant after the manner of the Turkish *Allai*.

The Ceremonies and Complements being past, which usually intervene between Great Personages after a long absence, the grand Consultation was, in what manner to prevent the seditious irruptions of the Souldiers, and how to reconcile the Jealousies between the Grand Signior and his Brothers. For the former, two things were concluded necessary. First, to divide the Militia of the Janisaries, which was immediately executed, and eight thousand of them, under pretence of Incursions, were sent through *Moldavia* to remain on the Frontiers of *Poland*. Secondly, it being observed, that most of the Souldiers drank Wine, from whence ancient times arose many Mutinies and Seditions of the Souldiery dangerous to the Ottoman State, as namely in the time of *Mahomet III.* when the Janisaries in the heat of drunkenness entered the *Seraglio* by force, and demanded the Heads of the chief Favourites: And as then it was judged the best Expedient to cool the hot brains of the Janisaries, to proclaim a Prohibition of Wine at *Constantinople*, and to command upon pain of death, that those who had any Wine in their Houses should bring it forth, and slave it; so now the use of it was universally forbidden in all the parts of the Grand Signiors Dominions, and a special Command was sent to all places respectively under the penalty of death, and a thousand maledictions, cursing Wine as come from Hell, and as a Liqueur produced by the Devil to ensnare mens Souls, and inebriate their heads, and confound States. And so generally this Prohibition enjoyed, that his Majesty's Ambassador at *Constantinople* with long solicitation and charge obtained licence for his Family, and the Merchants there to make Wine; but for the Merchants at *Smyrna* there was more difficulty, and this year Wine was not made in their Houses according to custom, and not without scruple permitted to be imported from the Greeks Islands, and other parts where the Command extended not its force; for the Prohibition was to all places where Moslems or Turks Inhabitants, the Villages or Isles where Christians only lived were not included. To this

1670. this Prohibition were added on every Friday Sermons to the People inveighing against Wine, and cursing the Drinkers of it, in which affair *Vanni Efendi* the Grand Signiors Preacher was much concerned, from whom the Original of this Command was judged to proceed. And now to please the Reader, who perhaps may be curious to know the stile of this Prohibition, I have here inserted the Command *verbatim* as translated out of the Original, and directed to the Kadi of *Smyrna*.

TO the most perfect of the Judges amongst Musulmin (or Believers) the most worthy amongst those Powers which profit one God, the Mine of Virtue and Wisdom; the Exemplar of Justice to all People, the Inheritor of the Sciences of the Prophets and Apostles, the Ornament of his Office and (through the Grace of God assisting) our President in *Smyrna*, whose Virtues may they ever be augmented. At Receipt of this my Royal Command know, That Wine and Games at Dice, and figured Cards, and of Arrows without feathers, which are Lotteries, are the filthiest of Diabolical work (according to the testimony of the miraculous Revelation) are Fomenters of malice, and wickedness, and are the ferment of that Faction and Sedition which corrupt and seduce the Servants of God, which being prohibited by Authority, and yet used, provokes the anger and disdain of Almighty God against us: And whereas by this Mother of all wickedness (that is, Wine) the Musulmin Kingdoms are defiled, there appears an evident alteration of the Musulmin Law and Faith, and an inlet to actions of foul impression. Praised be the high and most great God, that in the days of my years abounding in Felicity, the observation of lawful Precepts hath been confirmed, and unlawful things have been prohibited; and now I know that this is the sum of the most important Affair conducting to my Kingdoms and my own Felicities, and in general the principal and greatest care, and the best and most necessary Canon of my Empire: so that being desirous to justify the Creator of the World, my Royal and immutable Will resolves to cleanse and purify the Musulmin Kingdoms of this prohibited and filthy abomination; wherfore when this Royal Command comes to your hands, wheresoever there are Taverns of Wine, let them be raised and thrown down in all Cities and Towns ennobled with Musulmin Moschs, let the buying and selling thereof be prohibited, with all drinking and use of Wine; and likewise I command, That in *Constantinople*, *Brusa*, and *Adrianople* the Impostition thereupon be wholly taken off. And that in all other Cities and Towns adorned with Musulmin Moschs, there be not a drop of Wine suffered or admitted in; and that Musulmins neither privately nor secretly

1670. drink Wine; and whosoever is or shall be Author of this sin, and to alter my Command in this particular, either now or hereafter, may be punished by the Universal Lord of all the World. Likewise when this my Command of high Reputation appears, which is a Royal Writing, let it be annexed to the Decretal Rolls, and be put in execution according as it is obligatory. And when this Command comes to your hands, you are to have all the care of this enjoined particular. That it operate, according to the Tenor of this Royal Injunction, participating of Prosperity and Majestick Rewards, by virtue of which you are to reprove, reprehend, hinder, and prohibit, according to the Law of God, the drinking of Wine; and that it may be wholly taken away, let the Tax and Revenue which proceeds from thence be taken off, and in all guarded and governed Cities and places of my Kingdoms, let the Taverns be ruined and overthrown. And therefore you are to make known and publish to all Citizens and Inhabitants the force of this my Royal Command, as well in the City of *Smyrna*, as in other Cities and Towns ennobled with Musulmin Moschs, and you are to ruin the Taverns which are found there. And you are to take away the Houses of Entertainment amongst the Franks which are in *Smyrna* that sell Wine; nor shall they sell Wine in their own houses, but you shall hinder and prohibit them; if those Taverns shall be the Possessions of private men, you shall advise the Owners of them; or if they be bequeathed by Testament to the Deputies of the *Muevelli*, you shall admonish them with earnestness and threats, That in the place of Taverns they raise other more profitable and lawful Buildings, and that they re-edify them in a different form from the first. And the Taverns being ruined and demolished according to my Royal Command, and the Butts and other Vessels thereof taken away, you shall make a publick Act thereof, and send it to my Royal Stirrup; and you being admonished thereof by my Royal Admonition, you are to have a care that neither in the City nor Suburbs thereof, nor in Cities adorned with Royal Moschs, any person whatsoever bring in Wine, or one drop thereof, or that the buying or selling thereof be admitted, and that no Musulmin drink Wine. For if after this I come to understand, That any person have brought in Wine, though it be but one drop, I swear by the Holy Souls of my Grandfathers, and great Grandfathers that those who bring it in, or sell it, or drink it, shall be punished with such tortures, as were never inflicted on any before. In short, this being a business so important as to the Faith, as to my Empire, my strong intention and firm resolution is to cleanse and purify in the highest degree as well the Frontiers, as the Royal Seats of my Empire from so foul a

1671. *sub of so much filibines and diffension; and therefore do injoin this Royal Writing of high felicity so far, that nothing shall be able to change or alter it, or revoke this Command of Majesty's Reputation. And for the future, let him be willed, that shall offer to oppose, or alter, or change this my Command declared by these Presents, or have intention or design to the contrary, may the curse of God be upon him. In conformity hereunto know you, that are Judges, that this being my Will and Pleasure, and ultimate Resolution, you are to register this noble Command in the Book of publick Acts and Decrees; that so it may be preserved, and for execution thereof you are to use all your diligence and power, and therein to take due care; for if after these Admonitions, Confirmations, Menaces, and Rigors, Mine be either bought or sold in the Cities or Suburbs, or other places, as before; or that there remains any Tavern not willed, or if in any wife a drop of Wine be bought or sold, you shall receive due punishment, and your self suffer the same torments which are threatened against those who are publicly guilty of the transgression of this Law. Therefore know this, and knowing it, give credit to my noble Firme.*

Dated in the Month *Rabiul Ewel*,
Hegeira 1081. in *Azioghe*.

And now one would imagine that this Command being a *Hattaheriff* signed with the Grand Signior's own hand, would have been of durable and perpetual Force and Authority. But experience hath showed us the contrary, that in one Year after, Licence being first given to Franks, to make Wine in our own houses, and especially to all Christian Ministers; in one year more the indulgence became universal, and Taverns were again admitted, and till continue as common and free as in former times.

Anno Christi 1671. Hegeira 1082.

THE Ship which carried the Presents for the Turks and designed to transport the Ambassadors, being cast away, new preparations were made, and the Gally *Braxzani*, commanded by *Alexandra Zeno*, a noble Venetian, was dispatched with them, being ordered to transport Signior *Molino* the Ambassador to the Port, who was received with the usual honours due to his Quality and Character; all which Ceremonies and Offices being past, several matters occurred which were not so well expressed in the Capitulations, but that they needed an explication; and new Orders and Models for redress of Affairs in *Dalmatia*: For the Morlachs, who in the time of the War had submitted themselves to the obedience of the Venetians, began now to insult the Country, and to enter into those places, which in the first years of the War they had destroyed and abandoned; the Turks on the other side opposed them, and the Country be-

ing open, many skirmishes happened, and as many troubles ensued as in the time of the War. For adjusting these differences, *Mahomet Pasha* of *Bosnia* was dispatched into those Countries with Authority and Instructions; where on the other side he was met by *Antonio Barbaro*, Provveditor General of *Dalmatia* and *Albania*, appointed by the Senate to accord and settle the differences of the Confines; and the place designed for meeting of the Commissioners was appointed to be between *Climna* and *Cliffa*; but such was the fury of the people, and the passion that both parties had to recover their ancient possessions, that the Turks in the Month of November, by force of Arms made themselves Masters of *Orizano* and *Darin*, which were surrendered without much opposition, by reason of the small numbers of the Morlachs; who neither having Garrison nor Fortifications were easily surprized, under the pretence of peace. But it succeeded otherwise at *Scardona*, where by the assistance of a Gally and some Brigantines, the Gally, and in like manner at *Risano* they were beaten off, and put to flight with much confusion and laughter, with the death also of *Uffiz Bey*, their chief Commander, and Author of all these troubles.

The Relation of these disturbances was carried to the Port by the Bosnians, who were confined in these Affairs, with all circumstances of aggravation which might incense the Grand Signior, and move the Vizier to take part in their Quarrel; But he being desirous to maintain that Peace which he himself had concluded, moved the Grand Signior to dispatch a *Hai-achee*, or one of his Royal Officers, to render him an exact account of the true state of the Affairs of that Country. In which interim *Mahomet Pasha* of *Bosnia*, the Commissioner happening to dye, the Vizier moved, That the Morlachs should surrender up those places which they had lately possessed, and that new Commissioners should be again sent for adjusting the Limits of the Confines, and the Possessions of the Inhabitants. The Senate of Venice accepting this proposition, gave Orders to their General *Barbaro* to withdraw the people from the places in dispute, and in the Month of May 1671, made and constituted the Cavalier *Nani* Procurator of St. Mark, their Plenipotentiary, with full authority to compose all differences touching the Frontiers. On part of the Turks one *Mamut*, once *Pasha* of *Buda*, and late *Chimac* of *Constantinople*, was nominated and impowered with like faculty; he was a person with whom I was well acquainted, and of whom we have had occasion to discourse, when he was *Kahya* to old *Kuprile*. He was a Native of the Country of *Bosnia*, who was reputed for much more affable and courteous disposition, and of more pleasing Conversation, than the common temper of the Turks who are for the most part of haughty, fullen, and saturnine Complexions.

These Commissioners, with *Thomas Tarfia* Interpreter, met about the end of July, in the plains of *Iland* between *Zara* and *Sebenico*, under Tents erected for that purpose: At this meeting were present also the *Nutia*, and Treasurer of *Bosnia*, and all the Kadis and Military Officers of that Province, which might make a Body of four or five thousand men, ill armed, and badly accounted: With *Nani* the Commis-

1671. *ander for Venice*, were present, *Alberto Magno* Captain of *Zara*, *Favetti* Provveditor of *Cliffa*; divers military Officers, such as the Cavalier *Varisano*, *Girmaldi* Sergeant General, Count *Rada*, the Count *Scarto*, *Vimerata*, *Cajurini*, with divers other Colonels, and Peritors of Quality, and Nobles of the Province, some of which were Representatives for their principal Cities, such as *Zara*, *Sebenico*, *Spalato*, and *Trau*. His Excellency the Commissioner *Nani* had three Troops of Horse, and as many Companies of Foot, for his Guard, and at *Possidaria* were two Gallies and four Brigantines to attend him: so that his Equipage appeared as well Martial, as agreeable to a place ordained for a Treaty of Peace.

On the 27th. of July the Commissioners had their first Conference in the *Pasha's* Tent, the Debate continued many hours with much heat; which did not only relate to the late Conquests, but new difficulties arose in regard that *Ferat Aga*, appointed Commissioner for the Port, had in the year 1573 aligned Bounds and Limits to the Confines, according to his pleasure and arbitrary will, which not being assented unto by the Venetians, a new regulation was made by the said *Ferat*, together with Cavalier *Soranzo* in the year 1576. Time afterwards, and the turbulent spirits of the Inhabitants had altered these Limits, and by reason of the long War the Land-Marks and Bounds of the Confines were removed or wholly destroyed. The original Copies of the Writings of Agreement were rotted, and much defaced, the names of the places and the situations being wrote in diverse Languages, were confused; and the reports of the people were so different, proceeding from the diversity of their Interests, that little of judgment could be founded on their relations. At length, as to the Confines of *Zara*, it was agreed, That they should be regulated according as they were limited by *Soranzo* and *Ferat*; for better settlement of which, and to avoid all doubtfulness or mistake, the Commissioners took the pains to travel several days journey in person to erect the bounds and Limits of each people; in which though many contentions and differences arose between particular persons, yet at length personal intertels were forced to give way to publick determinations.

In like manner the Confines of *Sebenico* were determined, being bounded by the River *Cheza*, and being arrived at *Scardona*, the *Pasha Mamut* desired that he might have the convenience of passing in the Gally, and accordingly he was received aboard, and treated with that generous entertainment which is agreeable to the magnificence of the Republick; and landing at the River of *Bellala* on the Banks of the Valley *Daniel*, where the *Pasha* had placed his Tents, the Turks who with a greedy eye swallowed in their thoughts the possession and enjoyment of all these Plains, would have enlarged their Confines to those marks which *Ferat Aga* had singly placed according to his own arbitrary pleasure, including also *Verpogly* within their Li-

The difference about *Verpogly*.
mits. This *Verpogly* was a small Redoubt on the top of a Hill once belonging to the Venetians, which at the beginning of the War they abandoned, as costing more to maintain and defend, than the value or consideration of it; the Turks afterwards possessed it, when they had a design to besiege *Sebenico*, but afterwards forsook it, and retired; upon this place *Mamut* much insisted, producing a Command from the

Grand Signior, ordering that it be taken in, fortified, and garrisoned. But *Nani* with more force of Argument insisted on the contrary, producing ancient Writings, and undeniable Testimonies to prove that this place did really, and of right belong to the Republick; by which though the *Pasha* was fully convinced in his own mind, yet being over-awed by the insolent importunities of the Inhabitants, he was cautious and fearful of declaring his true sense in the case, but rather endeavoured to overcome the Venetians sometimes with flatteries, and anon with menaces, having to that purpose, besides his own Forces, ordered the Beglerbey of *Greece* to approach those Confines with an Army of about ten thousand men. But all this did not move the steady Constancy of the Venetian Commissioner from his reason and right; for maintenance of which he appeared firm and resolute, and being necessitated for convenience of Water to remove his Quarters to the Lake *Rebenich*, gave some jealousy to the *Pasha* by this retirement of an intention to break the Peace; howsoever, *Nani* declared his meaning to the contrary, and that there might be no interruption to their proceedings, proposed that these differences might be referred to the Supreme Powers; and that in the mean time, until answers came, they might proceed in the adjustment of other parts of the Confines. But the *Pasha* assented not hereunto, but desired rather the dispute should be referred to the Port, and that in the mean time he himself should retire to *Cetina*, and the other to *Spalato*. Scarcely were the Messengers sent, and the Dispatches made by *Isaac Aga*, a Person whom *Mamut* well knew, before *Mamut Pasha*, after a short indispotion ended his days: he was a man of about ninety two years of age, at which years I have admired to see him ride abroad, and transact his affairs with great dexterity, with a strong memory, and a sound judgment. And here it is admirable to observe with what constancy and patience the Turkish Officers do usually support their laborious employments; they contemn all difficulties and incommodities of living, as if they did not feel them, inuring themselves to colds and heats, to watchings and labours, being abstemious in their diet, and as occasions require, not indulging to sleep; and no question but this aged man travelling in the scalding heat of the Sun, and suffering much for want of plenty, as well as of good water, dried up that little radical moisture which remained, and caused this Autumn-fruit to fall, which perhaps might have continued a short time longer on the tree, had it not been defecated by drought, and shaken too hard by the motion of travels and labour.

The News of *Mamut Pasha's* death being arrived at the Port, a Commission was immediately granted to *Chulsein Pasha* Inbrathor, or Master of the Horse to the Grand Signior, to succeed in his government and business of Treaty concerning the Limits of the Confines; with which Authority and Instructions *Chulsein* parted away, and being well informed by *Isaac Aga* of the ill nature and rapacious disposition of those Borderers, arrived with intentions to agree, and with courteous and benign thoughts towards Cavalier *Nani*, who had gained a great esteem and regard amongst the Turks of a generous and noble disposition.

On the 4 of *Chasser* the Commissioner m
Gg in

1671, in the Valley of *St. Daniel*, throwing a courteous and friendly aspect each towards other. Where-
 fore, having all confederations concerning the
 Limits assigned by *Father Aga*, and the Convents
 about *Vergelle*, the Line drawn from the
 Mountain *Tartarus* was agreed, and determined
 to be the true and undoubted Confines of *Soraneo*.
 The Valley of *St. Daniel*, for the pleasure
 and fruitfulness it administered more of diffi-
 culty; but at length the Arguments of *Nani* pre-
 vailed, and induced the *Patna* to assign to those
 Bounds, which had been assigned by *Soraneo* in
 the Year 1576. giving, to avoid future mixtures,
 the true names to those places, where the Lines
 formerly advanced, and the Confines true, had
 altered and disguised, that they might not be
 changed. Thence proceeding to the Territory of
Tray, where was less of difficulty or trouble;
 for the Wars not having made much alteration
 in that place, the Lines were evidently detected
 by *Soraneo*, according to the same description
 of the Plains, Rocks, and Mountains were mea-
 sured out, and allowed.

Lately, they were near to *Spalato*, where before the Turkish Army there was little of any Territory was assigned; but now by the Conquest of *Cliffa* there was annexed into it a spacious and fruitful Country, extending it self to the foot of the Mountains. As to *Cliffa* there was no difference at all: howsoever the Turks would on no means admit, that the Venetians should keep *Salona* and *Draguizco*, because by that they would cut off all communication between *Cliffa* and *Spalato*, and thereby render it a place useless, and so they more charge than benefit; and because there were two places of *Salona* and *Draguizco* had been the Dowry of a Sultaness, *Widow Ruffier* Patha, and by her given to endow a Mosch, which therefore according to their Religion could not be given away, and so they alienated. But *Nani* insisted so vigorously on this, as on other points, that he himself resolute to maintain this particular, as being that, which if not granted, would certainly in a short time be occasion of those quarrels and diffentions, which must necessarily break forth into an open War: for that there could be no security of Peace to the Inhabitants of *Salona*, whilst they lived amidst their Enemies, and just on the Skirts of *Cliffa*, *Spalato*, and *Saffo*. *Chelubain* having well comprehended this consideration, and being desirous for those matters towards a durable Peace, suggested the opinion and sense of the Borders, and so concluded all matters, and in presence of *Nani* subscribed the said Agreement on the 24th of October in the Divan held in the Campagne of *Salona* in which was also mutually subscribed, and Copies interchangeably given. And in this manner the difference about the Confines was concluded, and the long War between *Venice* and the Turks had an end.

the Turks had any were reducing themselves into a posture of Peace, the Timaroz disbanded, and the Janilaries retired to their Chambers, in the month of *October* returned the Turks Envoyé from *France*, bringing with him an Ambassadeur from that King calling Monsieur *De Noimiel*, a Person of an excellent temper, grave and serious in his Treaties and comportment; and to give this Embassy the greater reputation, he was attended with three Men of War and a Fire-ship, which falling along the *Hellefont* and *Propontick* without opposition, came to an Anchor near seven Towers, from

whence sending advice of their arrival to the Chinese and desiring to be recalled by the Seraglio, they promising as they passed to show the first demonstrations of courtesy; but that being denied as not usual or customary, the French Ships passed the Seraglio silently without firing a Gun, or any significations on either side, whether of Friendship or Hostility: the Ships came to an Anchor at *Fondouk*, where the Ambassadors remained about unattended and unacknowledged by the Sultan, Ministers, or any of the Court, until a great Vizier, who supposed that a breach with *France* ought to have better foundation than a mere Puff-bell of Honour, seemed more to despise than take notice of the affront. For he who knew so well to dissemble, after he had seen the French Troops ranged both in *Hungary* and *Candia*, against the Ottoman Forces, and yet politically conceived thereunto, and accepted an excuse, did not esteem it prudent to ground a War upon the smoke of a Cannon; but the contrary ordered, That the Ambassadors should be received with the usual Form and Solemnity of Reception. The French having the advantage by this success, the Soldiers and Sea-men belonging to the Ships committed many insolencies in *Peru* and *Calata*, which never were revenged or accounted for; and when the Ships departed, about a hundred Europeans, six *Capitans*, six *Gallies* and parts of *Companies*, and gained Sanctuary abroad: amongst the rest one Monsieur *De Beau-Jeu* a Knight of *Malta*, who had for a long time been Prisoner in the seven Towers; but at length knocking off his Irons, and by help of a Cord letting himself down from one of the highest Towers in the night, recovered the Ships, and regained his liberty. Nor yet did this nor other affronts, whereby the French did really brave the Turks, diminish their former false notions of a choler, but they still passing all by, as if nothing had been done, or nothing worthy his notice, frankly gave his Orders to let the Ships pass the *Catties*, which upon the foregoing cautes and pretences had been before detained: adding, That it was natural, as well for men as for birds, to endeavour to procure their liberty, and therefore were not blameable but that those to whose care they were committed, wanting due circumspection and vigilance in their office, should pay for the escape of their charge by the price of their own lives or liberties.

The French Ambafadorfah in the mean time proceeded in his Journey to *Adrianople*, where the Court refided; and having paffed through the feveral degrees and Puntillo's of Vifits and other Ceremonies, atlength defending to matters of bufinefs, propofed the renovation of the Articles of Peace, with an addition of thirty two Particulars to be altered or adjoined. The Vifiter who all this time appeared in his heart difpleafed in his countenance, and was ready to confend to the conceffion of the moft eafie and reafonable of their demands, offering only to renew the Capitulations *verbatim* according to the Temour of the ancient Cannon, without other alteration than the Name of the prefent Sultan, and the Date of the Month and Year, and herein he was fo conflant and fixed, that no arguments or colours of reafon could feem to move him in the leaft minute and lefs impaffioned point of circumftances; and this perhaps left the World fhould

167¹⁵ should imagine, that the Turks were affrighted into Terms and better Treatments of Friendship, or that Immunities and Privileges in the Ottoman Court were acquired rather by rude usage adjoynd with menaces and neglects, than by more candid and fawning Addresses.

In this manner the French Affairs rather went back than forwards in the Ottoman Court, and it seemed that the Turks late Embassy into *France* and of the French to the Port served to augment the differences more than ally them. For the new Ambassador falling thort in his expectation, having obtained nothing of those many Particulars which he demanded, retired male-content from *Adri-nople* to his usual Residence at *Constantinople*, where he resolved to attend what farther Instructions should be given him from *France*; and supposing his Master would ill reſent his being ſo long ſtaying there, was promitted in ſilence to depart, and ſet out for his own general terms, did ſuppoſe, that ſome new Orders would be of revocation, and that thoſe frequent diſguſts and diſrepects to often received, and given on one ſide and the other, would at length burſt out into an open defiance. The Turks apprehended ſo much themſelves, and as their affairs and deſigns proved afterwards with *Poland*, they were diſpleaſed that they had given the moſt Chriſtian King ſo juſt and ſo good a queſtioning and underſtanding towards the latter end of the Year, and that great Preparations for War were making in *France* both by Sea and Land, they were conſcious that their demerits had juſtly deſerved the chaffellment of the French Arms, in revenge of the many injuries they had offered that Nation, and therefore pauſed a while, and obſerved the motion of their Enemies, before they would engage themſelves in a War with *Poland*. But at length the beginning of the year 1672, ſeeing that the deſigns of *France* were not intended againſt *Holland*, and that the Turks reſtreamed their purſuits no longer, premiated againſt *Poland*, with an arrogant and natural to Turks, and with a ſcorn not only of *France*, but of all Chriſtendom. For his moſt Chriſtian Maſteſty judging, perhaps, that the rude treatment of an Iſſidel Prince ſo far remote, intrenched not ſo much on his Honour and Interreſt, as the quarrel he had with the neighbouring States, ſeemed to concern for the preſent, or rather to defer the revenge of his late injuries, till a more fit and commodious ſeaſon, wherefore he ſome time ſince his Ambassador upon new Inſtructions from *France*, brought purpoſely by a Man of War, ſent a ſecond time to *Adri-nople*, where he appeared unto the chief Miniſters the great deſire his Maſter had to maintain that League and Friendſhip, which for above an hundred years had continued inviolate and unqueſtioned; and therefore waving all other former Particulars of demand, declared himſelf ſatisfied, only to renew the Capitulations, with that ſingle alteration of their Cuſtoms from five to three in the ſixty ſixtying to that Privilege which the Engliſh and the French Merchants enjoyed, whole League and Friendſhip was ſubſequent to that of others. The Great Viſier, being now freed of that ſuſpicion and fear he apprehended of the French Fleet, and being aſſured that their Arms were not now probable to diſturb him in his deſigns intended, he

seriously imited in his leave at their Address, and with a kind of scornful neglect bid the Ambassador welcome to the Court, saying, That he should have what he desired. Wherefore the Capitulations were transcribed, and the alteration made in the value of their Customs; but the Vizier who meant nothing less than to yield them this Privilege, defeating the daily importation to day, pacifying with dilatory excuses, until at length having protracted the time to the very day that the Grand Signior and he began their March towards *Paland*, without so much as granting the Ambassador a personal Audience, did then with loft and gentle words signify to the Ambassadors the grand pleasures of his Affairs at present, that would permit him time to perfect all matters with the Ambassador, whom they should assure, that at his return with Glory and Victory from the Enterprizes in hand, those requests should be granted, and his promises performed; and in the mean time his Nation should remain secure in these Dominions, as in former times, and the League and Friendship continued unobscured. The Ambassador was strangely surpris'd at this last Farewel; but being a Gentleman of great Morality and Vertue, knew, no doubt, how to bear such a disappointment with an equality of mind agreeable to the greatness of his Soul; and therefore with a due resignation of the injustice, he returned to *Constantinople*, whilst the Sultan and Vizier proceeded in their March towards the *Confines of Persia*.

But before I enter into a relation of the motives of that War, and the success thereof, which is the Subject of the following Year, let us return to the place from whence we have departed, and observe in this Year of Peace and tranquillity of this Empire, what the Sultan contrived for security of himself by the death of his Brothers.

We acquainted you formerly in what manner the Sultan was disappointed in his designs against his Brothers, by means of his Mother, to whom the Janissaries had committed the care of their faculty, which the according to her promise had maintained, and tendered equally with her own. But now the Vizier being returned from the Wars, and the most seditious among the Janissaries withdrawn from *Constantinople*, it is thought that he will attempt on the Princes still residing in the old Seraglio, which was performed with those due preparations and secrecy, that it took effect on Sultan *Orchan*, the eldest of the two, who in the Month of September, 1671, was deprived by a draught of poison, which was administered to him as a Present from his courtiers, and brother; some say he was strangled, and others believe that he was strangled by a serpent; he killed one of his executioners with his Janissarie. This Prince was reported by the people to be a comely Person, of a strong and robustious body, of large and black eyes like Sultan *Murat*: his death was lamented by all, and regarded as fatal to the Empire, in regard that that very night that he was murdered the Moon suffered a greater Eclipse than it had done for many years before, which happening out in this conjuncture was interpreted as ominous, and served to increase the malignities and evil speeches, which the Turks in general

167 I. cast out upon those who gave this counsel to the Sultan.

About this time the State of *Genna* desirous
 to change the Officers in *Turkie*, sent a new
 Resident to *Conflaminyale*, and a Consul to
Smerna, which change was principally obtained
 at the request of the old Ministers, who weary
 of an employment tedious, without a benefit
 corresponding to their melancholy life, and
 perceiving their Trade decline before it was ar-
 rived to any tolerable state or degree of reputa-
 tion, by the assiduity and mediation of friends
 solicited their Letters of Revocation. For the
 Trade of *Genna* being chiefly founded on
 hopes of those advantages which they expected
 from a coarse or less sort of money, did in-
 flantly decay to soon as the Turks discovered
 themselves to be abused by the vast quantities
 of *Tennis* imported, as we have before related:
 after which their profit failing, the Consulate
 consequently decayed, which is the only sub-
 sistence and encouragement of such Officers as
 are necessary to reside for the continuance of
 that Peace, which but a few years before they
 had unadvisedly made with the Turk. The new
 Resident had no sooner arrived at *Conflami-
 nyale*, and considered the poor and mean estate
 and ill foundation of their Trade, the grow-
 ing charge of the Residency, and the great
 debts thereof that were to devolve upon him
 from his Predecessor; but he perceived into
 what a Labyrinth of troubles he had ingulged
 himself, instead of being preferred according
 to his hopes into a place of Honour and happy
 retirement. In which confusion of thoughts
 arising one morning before day from his bed,
 and sitting on the Close-stool (as from his bed,
 the house reports) he beheld at the servants of
 the Consulate, within the Lock of a Carbine
 being unsprung, hanging always charged near his bed,
 unconsciously drew the Trigger too hard, which
 with that gave fire, and shot the poor Gentle-
 man into the belly with a brace of Bullets,
 of which being mortally wounded, after Con-
 fession and some Prayers in a few hours he
 passed to another life: unhappy mischance, if
 it may be called a chance; for I have under-
 stood from a sober person of that Nation, that
 the anguish of mind which he conceived at the
 evil condition of his affairs, wrought in him
 a species of melancholy and despair, under
 which languishing some days, did at last
 most miserably lay violent hands upon him-
 self.

and now is time to recall the Conspiracy of Count *Scrim*, the Marquis *Frangipini*, and Count *Nadafi*, Persons of Quality and of great Power in *Croatia* and *Hungary*, who (as we said before) had sent their Messengers to the Great Vezier then remaining in the League of the *Candia*, with overtures of Submission to the Ottoman Power. It was found that the News to the World to hear of such a Conspiracy should be known on the Christian Party, and those renowned Defenders of their Country should apologize, though not from Christianity, yet from that Cause and Liberty which their Ancestors and themselves had defended with Blood, Treafure, Valour, and Contancy. But the dilutions and animosities torn by the Enemy of the Church, and thus did strangely corrupt the minds of those famous Persons, and so to them a Spirit relolved to avenge the wrongs and injuries put upon them by the

Ministers of the Imperial Court, though at the expense and hazard of their fortunes and lives, and of the ruin and shipwreck of their Honour and Conscience: For the neglects and affronts undescribably cast on *Nicholas Serini* during the late War (as before related) and the contempt and scorn put on the Croatian and Hungarian Nobility, was supposed to have fired the hot and ambitious Spirits of these Persons, who could more easily endure the slavery of the Turkish yoke, than condescended to the government and prevalence of a contrary Party. Wherefore in prosecution of their design, the commander *Serini* being resolved to submit to the Turk, dispatched two other Gentlemen to the Ottoman Court (besides those which were sent the year before to *Salonia*) who arrived at *Adriampole* the 11th of February 1675 demanding the protection of the Sultan for those which they promised a Tribute of thirty Purfes, or fifteen thousand Dollars every year for the Lands they held in *Croatia*. To this demand hereunto a Divan or Council was called, in which were weighed the Arguments and Reasons on one side and the other. The Muslie opposed their receiving into protection, as being against the Capitulations and Agreement so lately concluded with the Emperor, wherein the receiving or abetting of Rebels is expressly forbidden, and provided against by Preacher who used the other; but *Pasni Effendi* the opinion to the Muslie, being of the same opinion to the Muslie, was urged to have them received, because that the advancement of the Muslietean Cause, and enlargement of their Empire was more facied than the conservation of their League with an Infidel Prince. And that the Ottoman Court was no longer to be termed the Refuge of the World, if it could not yield that protection which oppressed Kingdoms and distressed Princes petitioned to obtain. In this manner the matter being controverted without Agreement, it was at last resolved to refer the matter to the determination of the Grand Vizier, who was now a few months past returned triumphant from *Candia*. But by this time Intelligence being come by way of *Belgia*, that the Emperor had already entered *Croatia* with thirty thousand men, that he had taken *Chiabieturno* in *Cotioria*, and that *Serini* and his Associates were taken already or fled, either to *Albania* to beg pardon of the Emperor, or *Transylvania*, or some other place, that the Marquis *Serini* had fortified *Sogras* and other Castles of *Serini* with German Garri-sons, the Turks esteemed it too late to ad- minister help to this desperate cause, and therefore refused to own the Patronage of a People, to whom they could neither pretend by Reason, nor defend by Arms. The Vicer also like the Fox, condemned those Grapes which he could not reach, and with an alibi saying it was of the Revolt or Rebellion, and a zealous Hater of all the Impugners, refused to assist in any of the Complices in the late Confederacy, which he politically designed in reference to the Emperor, whose friendship he would seem to conserve most faithfully, lest he should interrupt him in the carrying on of that War, which he then meditated against *Poland*. But what became afterwards of these Conspirators is the subject-matter of the German History, it is sufficient to acquaint the Reader here that their design be-

ing seasonably discovered, they were interrupted by the hand of Justice, and met that Fate which is due to Traitors and Rebels to their Country, having abused the goodwills of their Prince, to whom clemency and mercy are conunatural. We shall therefore leave these men to render the next account to the Judge of all things, and prosecute our Relation of the Wars of *Poland*, which now was the next prize held up to the Turkish Militia, and was that adventure which was to contaminate the glories of the Great Vizier. However, this gave beginning to the Rebellion in *Hungary*, which to this Year 1679 hath been continued, without prospect how far it may proceed, and what may be the issue of such direful Effects.

Anno Christi 1672. Hegeira 1083

WE have formerly acquainted you how the Emperor the Chincaman of *Adrianople* had in the year 1667 treated the Ambassador of *Poland*, who came to complain of the incursions made into their Country by the *Tartars*; desiring that not only satisfaction might be made for the late spoils, but that such unruly and savage people might be restrained from the like Attempts in future. But this being refused, he returned in person it was thought necessary, That to preserve this grofs Body of Empire from corruption, it should be exercised with motion, and the vigorous agitations of a new War. To what place they should now convert or employ their Arms, was the important subject of a grand Consultation; they had lately made the *Crimea* their first concern, and that late it was too early to make an interruption, the parts of *Perfia* were too remote and distant to carry on a War with success and pleasure; the fields of *Hungary* had been lately treated; and they were fatiated with the blood of *Austria* and *Germany*; something now of novelty must be proposed, and the forgotten ways of *Poland* must be again opened, there being nothing being so common as to be engaged in prosperous Arms, which delight in victory, and abhor as much to fight often in the same Country, as Travellers do to see the same place twice. The *Polanders* had unto this day preserved the Limits of their Country with honour and gallantry, that the *Turks* could never secure the conquest of the whole of *Poland*, and their Territories, until the most and most detestable Disorders of that Country had them open to the fury of their Enemies, who embraced this most grateful opportunity, which facilitated their Design, and made that easier which they had so long desired, and with care studied and contrived. But for the better understanding of these Affairs, it is convenient for us to divide this Thread of History into three distinct parts, the first of which will better light comprehend the Causes, Occasions, and Occurrences of this War.

The hatred and jealousies which the Ottoman Porte hath always nourished and conserved against the Kingdom and Dominions of Poland, are ancient and inveterate, having their rise from the valiant opposition and successful repulses it always made against the various attempts of the Turks; whereby the Poles were

animated to treat always as equals with them, 1672
 and with terms agreeable to that vain glory, and
 swelling pride, which are natural to their
 Nation. But that which renewed the memory of the
 of past adions, and raised an expedition in
 of the Turks to avenge the injuries by subjugating
 the Coſacks, was oſe Bogdan Chmielnizky
 General of the Coſacks, who growing powerful
 in that Country, with the ſtrength of a nume-
 rous Army, abhorring the Preſence of a Mun-
 ſter, ſet out to ſubvert the Kingdom, reſolving
 to make himſelf the abſolute Prince of that
 Province, from whence various fortunes
 of War ſucceeding, he was at length forced to
 join himſelf to the Tartars, and craved the
 protection of the Turkiſh Arms. In the mean
 time, Poland, invaded by the Swedes, Moſco-
 via, and Transilvania, was diſmembered of
 Livonia, and a great part of Lithuania and
 Verania, the fiſt poſſeſſed by the Swedes, and
 the latter by the Czar of Moſcovy, and the
 Czar of Poland, whoſe confuſions rejoiced the
 Turks, who gave them the fiſt hopes, and
 to free themſelves from the frequent Piracies
 the Coſacks committed on them in the Black
 Sea, but to ſuppoſe upon them the Ottoman
 Yoke; to which end they maintained a ſecret
 correſpondence with the Generals of that peo-
 ple, promiſing them the aſſiſtance of Men,
 Money, and Arms, but yet with that caution,
 that they would not ſeem unpoſſeſſed
 to grant them ſuch aſſiſtance, or without
 juſt cauſe to violate the peace of Chriſtia-
 nity, to which they pretended a moſt religious
 and reverend regard.

the Tyrerent Regard. And that they might not appear
cautious Advers against that solemn League,
they feerely encouraged those Incursions, which
in the Years 1666 and 1667 we have already
mentioned to have been made by the Tartars
into Poland, as far as the Walls of *Leopole*;
which action, that the Tartars might not re-
fuse to obey and maintain, the Poles
were obliged to send a solid Embassy to
the Turks, desiring that the Tartar Han might
be deposed, for having unjustly violated the
sacred peace of *Chocim*. For that as the Poles
were obliged to restrain the Piracies and De-
predations of the Colacks in the Black Sea, so
the Turks were become security against the
incursions of the Tartars. The Emperor
was likewise assured this message, be-
fore he unhappily died at *Adriavople* (as we
have before signified,) to whote Complaint
and Demand, after many delays, no other
answer was given, than that the Poles should
first break their League which they had con-
tracted with *Moscow* for three years,
without the content, and against the plea-
sure of the Port, and then after that they might
expect and promise themselves all due satis-
faction.

In this manner Affairs stood when King *Casimir*, weary of the Factions and Discord of the Nobility, resigned up his Crown to retire unto a private life. And now it being necessary to proceed to a new Election we may consequently expect various Commotions and Disturbances in this State, sufficient to attract the eyes of the Turks, and encourage the *Cossacks* in their intended Revolt. At length Prince *Michael Korieut Wisniawski* being elected King, it seemed agreeable to reason, that all *Verania* should have returned to obedience of him.

1662, him, to whom the best part of that Country did by right of patrimony, and natural inheritance belong; but the success thereof fell out contrary to all expectation, for *Dorofenki*, then General, desiring to usurp that Government, propoised the project of uniting *Verania* to the Body of *Poland*, as a member of the Crown, by which means that Province would not only become free from its Vassalage to the Nobility, but obtain equal Infringes in the Diet, with all the other more free and privileged Countries; and in this manner he might not only compel *Poland* to condescend to his designs, but confirm himself in the absolute and supreme Authority of the Cossacks: This proposition therefore seemed so insolent, and favouring of Rebellion to the Polish Court, that a severe and menacing Message was dispatched to *Dorofenki*, threatening to take from him his Bulawa, or Truncheon of General, if ever he entertained any such imagination so highly derogatory to the Majesty of the Polish State; he therefore thought it his time to cast himself wholly into the Protection of the Sultan, and accordingly dispatched Ambassadors to the Port to signify their submission, begging to be received into the Arms of the Ottoman Power; and as an assurance thereof, that he might receive the (Tough) which is the Ensign of Authority, carried by Pathaws. The Vizier at the first motion hereof, reflecting on the evil consequences, in case the Grand Signior's honour should be soiled in this action, suspended a while a pleasant answer thereunto; but at length being instantly solicited, and perceiving the Disorders and Factions of *Poland* to encrease, the Cossacks were received for Subjects of the Empire, and obliged to wage War against all Enemies to the Ottoman Power.

Duke *Michael* being elected King, the first Act he performed was to send an Ambassador extraordinary to the Grand Signior, with no other Design than to acquaint him of his Election to the Crown, only in case an opportunity presented, then to move for a ratification of the Articles concluded at *Chocim*. This Ambassador, called *Wijozki*, being of a haughty and proud spirit, became the Author of all the mischief which ensued; for being of a temper which could not equally bear the honour of his important Office, lanced out into matters beyond his Commission, and instead of imparting his Message, would become sole Arbitrator of all the differences between those two powerful Princes; for he being unacquainted with the Power or Affairs of the Turks, supposed nothing in this World comparable to the number, riches, and valour of his own Nation, and therefore gave himself that liberty of arrogant Language, that by way of Command and Menaces he rather seemed to act the part of a Governor or Empire in the differences of State, than of an Orator or Suppliant for peace. In his conceit the Turks wanted both courage and power to invade *Poland*, and therefore supposed he might safely brave them into a ratification of former Articles, especially when he mentioned a hundred thousand Horse, which he undertook before the Vizier to be able on his own account to conduct as far as the Walls of *Adrianople*. It was a strange humor of *Rashmond* that inspired these two last Ambassa-

dors, and if from them we may take a pattern of the disposition of the rest of the Polish Nobility, it will be no wonder to hear and read the Defractions that are amongst them, that they carry themselves with disrespect to their Prince, are emulous and factious amongst themselves, and that their pride and ignorance, which have flattered their humours, and triumphed amidst their Tenants and Vassals, should betray them to all those evils which we may fear may be the consequences thereof.

The Great Vizier, considering the confidence which this person used in his Discourse, imagined that the differences in his Country might be composed, and therefore in compliance with his desire, offered in general terms to confirm the peace made at *Chocim*, without Addition of any new Article in reference to the Cossacks, being a business of that nature which admitted of no present determination; this, he said, was his ultimate resolution, which if the Ambassador approved not, he might then advise it home, and expect a further refusal of his Councils. *Wijozki* being really possessed in his fancy of the Turks weakness, gave way to his passion, and with little judgment, replied, That he approved not of the Proposition, and needed he to transmit any such advice into *Poland*, he himself being a Plenipotentiary of as full a Power as the King and Council; for being a Nobleman, he was by consequence that necessary Member of the Republick, that nothing could pass without his Suffrage.

The Vizier amazed at this extravagant way of discourse, which he supported with moderation and temper, dispatched away a Chiaus into *Poland* with Letters, desiring that this Ambassador should be recalled, as being a Person unable to manage matters of the least concernment; and if they supplied his place with an other, he should be received with due respect, and a plain way laid open to conclude his Negotiations to the satisfaction of both Parties.

Wijozki abounding in his own sense and humor, represented matters in a far different manner into *Poland*, alledging, That the Law of Nations was impeached by the violence offered to his Person, being imprisoned, and the usual Tain or Allowance of Ambassadors withheld from him; both which were not absolutely true; for the maintenance he refused as too mean for his Quality and Office; and for his Imprisonment, it was no other than Confinement to the City of *Constantinople*, with a prohibition only from passing over unto *Persia*, where formerly in a house he had taken, he committed a thousand irregularities and disorders, which caused the Vizier to recal him again over to *Constantinople*, denying him the liberty of passing more to the other side. These were the injuries which he complained of into *Poland*, still fancying, That if the Nobility were assembled to consider of these matters, the Turk would be so affrighted at it as to condescend unto any terms he should propound. These reports of *Wijozki* took that impression with the Court, that esteeming all authentic which he said or wrote, without farther examination issued out Orders for a general Insurrection, and that all people should prepare for the War, rendering the Vizier no other answer, than that when their Ambassador was at liberty, and

and had licence to depart, the like should be permitted unto theirs; and in the mean time the Chiaus was committed to safe custody. The Grand Signior highly angered at this obstinate misunderstanding, immediately ordered that *Wijozki* should depart, and at the same time commanded his whole Militia to rise and follow him to the War; and so much the rather was he animated by the reports sent him from *Dorofenki*, seconded by the Vayvods of *Malderus* and *Valachia*, whose Letters declared the miserable confusions in *Poland*, divided into divers Factions and Parties, their want of money, and the mutiny of the Souldiery inclined rather to betray than defend *Poland*. And now a second and other Prefersal usual in these cases, being sent to the *Tartar Han*, he was ordered to march with the Cossacks, and to invade *Poland*, where being encountered near *Batavia*, by a Body of Horse under the Command of *Lutski* Governor of *Podolia*, the Poles were defeated, and was the fifth last Omen of the ill success of this unhappy War.

To second these beginnings, the Grand Signior having raised an Army of an hundred and fifty thousand men, marched towards *Poland* already sick and languishing with its own intestine distempers, and unable to contend with a Body united within it self, wanting neither internal vigour, nor nourishment to maintain its strength; the first Enterprize was the impregnable Fortresses of *Cassimier*, which had often in former times been the common Ascent in Arms; but now being ill provided, destitute of Arms, Ammunition, Provisions, and but weakly manned, and what was worst, despairing of any Relief, after eleven days Siege surrounded it self to the pleasure of the Conqueror. Hence the Turks had an open passage through all *Podolia* and *Volhynia* to the very Walls of *Leopold*, which they passed over like Travellers rather than Enemies, there not appearing one person in Arms to oppose them, delighting and sporting themselves in these most fruitful and delicious Countries of *Europe*: thus had private animosities and civil rancour possessed the minds of the Poles one against the other, that they had rather yield themselves to the servitude of an Enemy, than condescend to the humor or counsel of a Citizen. Thus had the Turks passed all this Summer in the Plains and Cities of *Poland*, where it seemed rather Peace than War, all places submitting without difficulty unto the Grand Signior as to their true and natural Lord and Sovereign, by which means the Inhabitants redeemed their Lives and Estates; for the Sultan willing to demonstrate his clemency, and to spare those who voluntarily yielded, and encourage others to submit to so gentle a yoke, forbade all the common outrages of Souldiers, not permitting Plunder or Booty to be brought into the Camps, nor greater Spoils to be committed, than if his Army had passed through his own Dominions; whether this obliging or winning manner of proceedings overcame the stout hearts of the Poles more than blows, will be experienced in the sequel of this story; it is certain the Militia returned home poor and weary, and more broken by this years Expedition than by the long and tedious March to *Persia*, and hazardous Battles during the Siege of *Babylon*; but the Sultan was desirous to return home, and give this first proof and testimony to the World

of his war-like and invincible Spirit, of his clemency and of his success in Arms, that at his first appearing in the Field, all Armies and Fortresses submitted to his Power. The Poles on the other side being of an opinion and temper far different to those of their Ambassador *Wijozki*, resolved to purchase the departure of their new Guests on any terms; so that their following Articles were agreed and concluded.

That the King of *Poland* should quit all Claim to *Ukraine*, *Podolia*, and *Rusland*.

That for *Leopold* and the Country thereabouts should be paid a Tribute of seventy thousand Dollars a year; all other Capitulations formerly made were to stand in force and virtue.

These Articles being signed, the Grand Signior committed the Government of *Verania* and *Podolia* to *Dorofenki*, and the defence of *Caminiez* to *Chulacai* Patha with a Garrison of twelve thousand Janizaries; so that now being returned home, the Militia was permitted to repair to their several Countries and Dwellings, the following year being dedicated to the repose and ease of the Souldiery.

Towards the end of this Year, when the Ships of *Barbary* returned home, those of *Tripoli* conceived a certain discontent against their Patha named *Ozman* for his covetous behaviour towards his Souldiers; for having that Summer taken very rich Prizes from the Venetians and other Nations, the Souldiers expected at their return home to receive a division of their Spoils according to their just and equal shares. But the Patha grown old and covetous, seeing the whole into his hand, appropriated the greatest part to his own Coffers, distributing to the Souldiers an inconsiderable proportion of what they had gained the year before. Hereupon the chiefest Commanders amongst them becoming greatly enraged began to incense the Souldiery, which for interest or want of Pay, being always ready to mutiny, took fire immediately, and were blown into a Rebellion; so that first making Parties, and retiring into secret Junto's and Councils, they resolved to destroy the Patha, and alter the Government, and thereby make themselves Masters of all the Treasure and Riches which *Ozman* Patha had in the space of thirty years amassed together. The Patha having notice of all that passed, and apprehending the Conspiracies of this unbribeled People to be dangerous, began to provide for his safety, and getting together so many as he supposed of his Party, and that were, or might be faithful to him, which joined with his Slaves and Servants, made up a small Garrison, wherewith to defend and preserve himself within his Castle, which being well provided of Ammunition and Victuals, he shut his Gates, denying access or admittance unto all persons upon pretence and account whatsoever. Hereupon the Mutiny appearing, the Souldiery drew into a Body in the open field, against whom several shots were made from the Castle; so that now the Civil War was begun, and the whole Force of *Tripoli* raised against the Patha and his Castle, which being straitly besieged the Defendants who were for the most part Servants and Slaves, failing in their courage, resolved to make Conditions for themselves to the best advantage; wherefore conspiring against their Master, entred his Chamber

1663 and strangled him in the night; and the next morning opening the Castle-gates, received the Enemy within the Walls, making manifest the death of their Master and their own Treachery. *Osmán* Pasha being dead, every one acted for a time what the wildness of an unruly multitude could suggest, till such time as the Heads of the Rebellion could frame themselves into some form of Government, which for the present was resolved to be by a *Dei*, as most convenient for commanding of the Souldiery, intending for the future to take the *Alger* Government by a Divan for their Pattern and Model of Rule, under which the people of that place had found and experienced the sweetness of liberty, riches, and success. These matters being agreed upon, some of their Men of War were sent to give advice unto the Grand Signior of the revolutions of their City, supplicating him to pardon the violence used against their Pasha *Osmán*, whose Covetousness and Tyranny forced them for self-preservation to precipitate that Authority, which they knew on their complaints, his Majesty would have granted them; and that he would be pleased to receive them into his protection and favour, as his faithful and humble Subjects and Slaves, and as an evidence thereof would grant them a Pasha appointed by his Royal Signior. The Sultan, though at first shewed himself much displeased with this manner of proceeding against *Osmán* Pasha; yet seeing that there was no remedy, suffered himself to be mollified by their Pretences and submission; granting them a Pasha for their Governour, whose power proved as insignificant as his doth, who bears that Title at *Alger*. Matters being thus reduced to some tolerable condition amongst them, they concluded, that the most beneficial course of life to render them considerable, as well as to amuse and divert the minds of their rude people from innovations against their Governours, was to grant free liberty to whomsoever pleased to arm out Ships of War; which Privilege *Osmán* Pasha reserved to himself and his Confidants; and finding at present that they were able to set out six Sail from forty to fifty Guns, and four more from twelve to thirty, intending to acquire in all the full number of fifteen Sail; those who traded in the Levant Seas began to apprehend, that this faithless and heady people would at a time, when they found their advantage and the temptation of a rich Prize, break their Peace with his Majesty our King, the which *Osmán* Pasha had notwithstanding conserved for several years without violation, moved perhaps thereunto out of an apprehension, that in such troubles which a War with *England* might bring upon them, he might lose or impair his riches, and bring the like confusion on his people, as he had lately heard of in *Alger* on the like occasion; but how and in what manner these matters succeeded, and how at length this people broke their Peace and Faith, we referre to be recounted at the end of the Year 1674.

Towards the end of the month of *August* it pleased God to take out of this life unto a better Sir *Samuel Harvey* his Majesties Ambassadeur at *Constantinople*: a man whose person being comely, was extremely grateful to the Turks; and for the experience he had at the Ottoman Court, was equal in the happy management of Affairs to any of his Predecessours.

Anno 1673. Hegira 1084.

BUT it seems the Turks had made too much haste in their return to digest a Conquest of so large Extent; so that they were scarce well warmed by their Winter-fires, before they were alarmed again with Jealousies of *Poland*, and the Seditions amongst the Cossacks, whom *Dowghesko* wrote he could not keep in subjection, unless he had some Succours sent him from the Port. The rumors likewise, that the Muscovite armed, and was resolved to Assist the Poles in recovery of their lost Country, increased the apprehensions of the Turks, who too late perceived the error they had committed in so soon disbanding their Army, which before some were scarce got home, they were forced to recall. But now the year was well begun, and no grand preparations made; so that it was impossible to collect an Army in so short a time considerable enough to be honoured with the Conduct of the Sultan; wherefore it was resolved, that all things this year should be disposed in a readiness against the next. But the Grand Signior had a project of his own to depart speedily with his Court, and to pass the heat of the Summer in the Mountains of *Zagna* about five or six days. Journey on his way towards *Poland*, which being reported to be a place well planted with Trees, watered with cool and fresh Springs, and abounding with all sorts of Game, made him impatient to take up his Summer-quarters in a Country so agreeable to his humor; and that he might cover the design of pleasure with that of profit and policy, he pretended that the report of his proceeding so far would hasten the Army, and give a terror to the Enemy. But the Great Vizier and his Council who weighed all things better, were of another opinion, judging it neither honourable for the Court to be retired into Woods and Mountains, nor the advantage of such a surmise able to countervail the expence and inconveniences of that Journey; and therefore it was concluded to stand unto the first resolution. The Grand Signior with the main Body of his Army could not move until the following year, but that in this interim all preparations should be made for Provisions and Ammunition, in order unto which three thousand Janizaries were already sent away to *Rominieze*, under the Command of the *Samsonghesbee* and six thousand more under the *Zagarghesbee* were to be landed on that *Albanus*, which joins the *Grim* Tatar unto the Main, from whence they had a short March to the assistance of *Dorhiesko*. *Chalsein* Pasha lately come from *Damascus*, was nominated for General to be sent into *Silistria*, and there to command in Chief over the Militia of *Dobruza*, *Bosna*, and *Rumelia* in case of any alteration and disturbance in *Poland*: this Person was always accounted a stout and valiant Souldier, though seldom fortunate, and was the same that lost the Battle before *Lena* in the last German Wars, as we have before intimated: he was about this time grown infirm by a hepatical Dysentery, which reduced him to a weak condition of body, with little hopes of recovery.

In the mean time arrived at *Adrianople* an Ambassadeur from the great Czar of *Moscovy*, bringing

1673. bringing Letters dated in April of the preceding year, which was before the time that the Turks had entered *Poland*, the contents of which were, That the Grand Signior would do well to desist from his design against that Country; for that if he did proceed and invade those Dominions, he should find himself obliged to make War upon him, and with his mighty and puissant Power to drive him back to his own Jurisdiction. This Message appeared very unseasonable, and caused much laughter at first; for that the Turk had since the Date of that Letter invaded *Poland*, and possessed himself of vast Countries; and yet neither encountered any opposition from the Muscovites, nor so much as heard any rumor of his Motion. Wherefore the Turks with scorn forbade the Ambassadeur any farther Addresses, and commanded him to be gone speedily, saying, That his Master had neither courage nor force to maintain his word of War, nor wisdom to manage a Treaty of Peace.

The Reports now from the parts of *Poland* carried only sixty Guns, and was manned accordingly only with about an hundred Scamen, and about two hundred more which were Land-men, wholly unacquainted with the Sea or with Naval Fight: the biggest Ship amongst the rest was belonging to the Queen-Mother, and the others to the Grand Signior, being freighted principally with Sugar, Coffee, Rice, and other Provisions for the proper maintenance of their Courts, which we may suppose will highly inflame their grand Passions, with anger and disdain, when they reflect on their own proper losses which touch them so nearly as their peculiar Goods and the Furniture of their Kitchens.

The Turkish Court now angered with this loss, was more moved in the midst of May, when a Messenger from *Poland* arrived with Letters from the Grand Chancellour, declaring with modest terms, That their Kingdom was unable or unwilling for many respects to pay the promised Tribute; so that if they did not premise judge fit to wave or lay aside those pretensions, they should be forced to take up Arms in defence of their Honour, Safety, and Privilege of their Dominions. The Turks surprised with this unexpected Message, too late perceived the error of the last years proceedings, which were carried on with a clemency and confidence not agreeable to the disposition and humor of such an Enemy, as is unacquainted with feintedness, and so far from being able to support a Foreign Yoke, that they cannot endure subjection to their own Civil Government, every Nobleman (of which there are many in *Poland*) being ambitious to be a Prince, judges himself better than his elected King. Hence proceeded all those diffentions which laid them open to the late invasion of their powerful Enemy, the apprehension of whom having obfuscated for a while those fores of Faction which festered amongst them, and that principle of self-conservation, which by a forcible nature inclined them to Union, at length armed them with a resolution to avenge the Liberties of their Country, and assured them of the Truth of that Saying, That a Kingdom divided against itself cannot stand.

The Turks now wished that they had either made a true use of their Victory, and the opportunity

The Alexander Fleet taken by the Alexief.

The Poles refuse to pay their tribute.

1673. portune Conjunction of the last years Affairs to have felid and scoured their Conquests, or that they had never begun the War; for now finding themselves engaged in it, they were in honour obliged to proceed, and lose the fair opportunity which presented to make their advantage in Hungary; to which place they had been, and were still invited by the Rebels of that Country, who to revenge the Cause of *Serim, Nadali*, and some other Discontents and Aggravations of which they complained, and to defend the Protestant Religion, in which by the zeal of some Churchmen, they were disturbed, resolved to abandon their Allegiance to their natural Prince, and rather seek a protection for their Estates, and allowance for their Religion under the Turks, than remain beholding for either to a prevailing party at the Imperial Court.

The chief Authors of this Rebellion were *Petroczy, Sepsi, Tende, Gabor, Satroy*, and other principal persons amongst the Hungarians, who having on their own strength opposed themselves against the Emperor the last year were defeated in divers engagements, and at length reduced to a very low and miserable condition. Wherefore they renewed again their Petitions and Precesses to the Sultan, sent by their Agents about the beginning of this Month of *April*, begging his assistance and protection, representing the calamities of the Conquest, and how large a Gate they were able to open to his Armies, and make a plain way for him into the most fertile and opulent Countries of the World, of which he seemed already half possessed by reason of those Discontents and Factions that were amongst them.

The Turks though well satisfied of the reasonableness of the design, yet being engaged in honour against *Poland*, knew not how to retract, and therefore dispatched away the Messengers for the present with fair hopes and secret promises, well treated in private, though they received rather a Denial than Encouragement in publick. For the expedition against *Poland* was that which employed solely the wisest heads of the Empire, who as it were in fury issued out immediate Orders, That all those who eat the Grand Signior's Bread, should without farther delay prepare themselves for the Wars against *Poland*; and that Provisions and Ammunition should be supplied in all places according to the usual proportions; The Tugh, or Horle-Tail, (the Signal for departure) was set forth, the Tents ordered to be carried into the Field, and such haste made in all parts, as if the raising of an Army were the business, but of one day's resolving immediately to proceed against their Enemies, to whom the Sultan returned a most dreadful and menacing Letter, full of expressions agreeable to the Turkish Style, which threatened Confusion, Sword, Famine, Fire, Destruction, and a thousand other more direful Judgments: but the Collection of this great Army, and the appendages belonging thereto, were not so suddenly provided as to admit of such a dispatch as the Sultan's fury pretended; wherefore in cooler blood it was concluded, That for this Summer they should not pass much beyond the other side of the *Danube*, that the Winter Quarters should be designed in *Silistria*, from whence they might more effectually threaten and affright their Enemies with their near approach.

About this time the French found an opportunity to accommodate all their Affairs with the Port, and to put a period to the several Articles and particulars they had for many years demanded. For now the French King not only appeared very formidable by reason of his success against *Holland*, but likewise instrumental to promote the designs of the Port, whilst he kept the Brandenburgers employed, and diverted the whole Armies of the Empire; and now also that they might engage him not to contribute assistance to the Poles, they judged it reasonable policy to evidence to that Ambassador more external demonstrations of kindness, and strain their courtesy beyond the terms which they could cordially, and in reality afford them. Wherefore, at length the Capitulations were renewed, and some Articles and Privileges superadded, which are these that follow.

First, That all religious Persons and Bishops of the French Church shall remain and continue quiet and unmolested in their respective Habitations and Dwellings, with liberty to perform all their Ecclesiastical Rites and Ceremonies.

Secondly, That the Religious of Jerusalem and of Bethlem shall conserve those religious places which they have anciently possessed, and there may continue to celebrate their Worship of God, and all their Devotions, without any disturbance.

Thirdly, That if these Religious of Jerusalem or Bethlem have any difference or dispute with the Officers thereof, it shall be remitted to the decision of the Port.

Fourthly, All Frenchmen, and all under their Banner, shall safely at all times go to Jerusalem, and return without molestation.

Fifthly, The two Churches in Galata belonging to the Jesuits and Capuchins, and anciently possessed by them, are now again confirmed by these Presents; one of which belonging to the Capuchins having been burnt, free liberty is given for the rebuilding thereof, and to remain as formerly in the hands of the French; and in the Hospital in Galata, if they will read the Gospel after their fashion, none shall give them disturbance or hinder them.

Sixthly, Whereas the French Nation formerly paid 5 per. Cent. Custom, now in regard they have been ancient friends to the Port, and that they have renewed their Capitulations, they shall pay no more than 3 per. Cent. and accordingly let no more be demanded.

Sevently, All Portuguese, Sicilians, Catalans, Messineses of Ancona, &c. that have no Ambassadors at the Port, if they come under the French Banner, shall pay no more than 3 per. Cent. according as the French pay.

Eighthly, In payment of their Customs, they shall pay the Current Money such as passes in our Treasury, and the Farmers of

1673. of the Customs shall not refuse the same.

Ninthly, The Melteries they shall pay according to what the English Merchants pay, and no more.

Tenthly, All the Merchandise they bring, or shall bring, shall be valued according to the present estimation, and no more pretended of them, and if the Customer will notwithstanding raise the esteem of the Goods above the value, then if the Merchant will pay his Custom in specie, it shall not be refused.

Eleventhly, The Custom of Silk being paid — a new Custom ought not to be demanded.

Twelfthly, The Custom being once paid, the Customer shall not refuse to give his *Teshcare*, and the Merchant being willing to transport his Goods to another Scale, another Custom shall not be demanded.

Thirteenthly, The Officers and Customers at Sidon, Birut, Aleppo, or Cairo shall not compel the Merchants to take Goods by Force, not under any pretence whatsoever take one Afer from them, nor demand money to be lent unto them.

Fourteenthly, The French Vessels may bring Goods from the Indies, by way of the Red Sea, into the Port Suacis, and having paid their Custom once there, whatsoever Goods they cannot sell in that Country, they may have liberty to transport over land to Alexandria, and there relade them again on their own Vessels without paying another Custom, or receiving molestation from any person. Howsoever, this Capitulation is to be understood with this condition, that this point shall be signified to the chief Officers of Cairo, who having called a Council of the most knowing and experienced persons to consider hereof, and they concluding that this point is in no wise prejudicial to that Country, nor to the Interest of the Believers, then this Article to be of force, but if they advise the contrary, then this to be of no effect.

Fifteenthly, If the Fryars, or Merchants, or Druggermen will make Wine, and transport it abroad, none shall hinder them.

Sixteenthly, The French Consuls, and all under their Banner, having a difference with any of or above, four thousand Aspers, it shall be decided at our publick Divan.

Seventeenthly, If any man slaughter shall happen in the street where French dwell, they shall not be liable to pay the price of the Blood, unless it be proved before the Justice that a Frenchman was guilty thereof.

Eighteenthly, The Druggermen in service of the French Nation shall enjoy the same privileges, as before specified.

Nor was the French interest only available at that time to obtain the foregoing Articles,

and renew their Capitulations with such Additions: but likewise to procure Licence for the Ambassador to travel into the remotest parts of the Ottoman Dominions; for though it were a thing never practised before, and denied to (as is well known) to other Christian Ambassadors; yet it was granted to Monsieur de Noailles (with so much freedom, that first in a Brigantine he went to *Sicily*, thence visited the chief Isles of the *Archipelago*, thence crossed to *Rhodes*, and so proceeded to *Satalia*, *Cyprus*, and *Jerusalem*: so much confidence had the Turks, contrary to their custom, in this Ambassador: for as they stile all Representatives from Foreign Princes their pawns or pledges of Peace, so had not the Turks in that conjuncture thought the interest of France worth the obliging, they would never have deviated from their ancient Custom, and given an example for other Ministers to demand a privilege of the like nature.

But to return again to the designs against *Poland*, the Sultan about the end of July resolved on marched with such Forces as were then in a readiness towards the Confinnes of that Country; and though he had not with him above fifteen thousand men, yet it was concluded that the Fame and terror of the Grand Signior's motion would either abate and bring low the spirits of the Poles, and induce them to dispatch an Ambassador with terms of Peace, or at least this readiness of the Turkish Camp would be an early preparation for the designs of the next year, and put the whole Empire into a timely motion, and that uniting with the Forces of the *Provinces*, they might make a Body sufficient to resist any sudden Incurfion.

This resolution being taken, the Great Vizier led the Van, and encamped on the Banks of the *Danube* near a place called *Iaggee*, where he with all diligence built a Bridge of Boats to pass his Forces with the greatest facility to the other side, on which lies the Country of *Moldavia*. The Sultan about a days journey short of the Vizier, fixed his Court and Camp at a place called *Bukowina*, with intention after some days to cross the River, and proceed as far as *Kemenitz*, that by the influence of his powerful Presence he might encourage his Army there, and provide all things necessary for security of that Garrison. But in the mean time advices coming that the Polish Army, consisting of about twenty thousand men, was moving about the Confinnes of *Leopold*, under the Command of General *Winski*, and that a reconciliation was passed between the King and him; and that *Zircha*, Commander of the Colacks, joynted to considerable forces of the *Moscovite* and *Calmuck* Tartars, had made incursions into the parts about *Osac*, caused the Sultan to desist from his designed progress to *Kemenitz*, and to pass no farther than over the River into *Moldavia* for hunting of other pastimes. By these matters the Turks being fully convinced, that the Poles resolved not to pay their promised tribute, nor to send an Ambassador with propositions, which were conceding or supplicating for Peace; the Sultan himself dispatched away an Aga with Letters into *Poland* full of threats, menaces, and protestations of bringing all that ruin, misery, and destruction on their Country, which always attends the most cruel and bloody War, if they did not retrieve their error by a speedy submission.

The rage of the Turkish against Poland.

The French Ambassador to Constantinople.

1673. submission and compliance with those Articles which were the last year accorded. And this was the last motion the Turks made towards a Peace, which they were desirous to embrace on any terms honourable, that so they might have opportunity to divert their Arms to the more mild Climates of Hungary, where, besides the entertainment they expected to receive from friends, who invited them, they should not be liable to half those inconveniences of Cold, Frosts, and Famine, as they were probable to meet in the parts of Poland.

But the Poles were so much in earnest, and so little esteemed the menaces of the Sultan, that they anticipated his threats by some acts of hostility, and showed that they so much scorned his anger, that they were resolved to be the first Aggressors. For the great Marshal *Schleski* with his Lieutenant General *Wysniwitski* marched forward, and boldly passed the *Niefler* with fifty thousand select Souldiers. The General of the Turkish Army, *Chufsein* Pasha, alarmed hereat, immediately issued forth such Orders for preparing and fitting his Camp as were agreeable to a speedy Barrell; and that he might understand the state of his Camp, he called the Prince or Vayvod of *Moldavia* to examine him concerning the state and condition of his Forces; the answer he gave proving not satisfactory to the expectation of the Turk, who was enraged at the approach of the Enemy, with high and proud words insulted over the Prince, giving him no better terms than Dog and Infidel, and at length struck him over the head with his Pole-Axe; notwithstanding which, and the disgrace he put upon him, imprudently that night committed unto him, and to the Prince of *Polachia*, the care of the Guards, which consisted of three thousand Men. The Valachians as near

The Prince of Valachia carried by his own Souldiers to the Poles.

Neighbours and Associates with the others, seemed at first more grievously to resent the affront, than did the Moldavians, and therefore that Night took their Prince by force and carried him to the Polish Army. The Prince, that he might make a Virtue of Necessity, complained of no force or violence offered unto him by his Souldiers, but as if he had voluntarily revolted, showed outwardly a fair and serene countenance towards the Poles, until such time as with forty of his Men, he found an opportunity to escape; but being by next morning at break of day overtaken by five Troops of Polonian Horse, his whole Regiment was slain by them, excepting five of his men, who with himself, saved themselves by the swiftness of their Horses; Howsoever, the Prince received a wound on his left hand with a Sword, with which presenting himself before the Great Vizier, and by that testimony, boasting of his Faith and Loyalty to the Ottoman House, was conducted by him to the presence of the Sultan, who, in reward of his fidelity and valour, vested him with a rich Coat, and restored him again to his Principality with addition of three hundred Aspers a day pay. His Wife and Children, which he retained as Hostages at Constantinople, being upon the News of the Prince's Revolt clapped into the seven Towers, were again released, and conducted to their house with all imaginable honour and magnificence.

But the Moldavian Prince was more in

earnest, and heartily disdained the affront offered him by *Chufsein* Pasha, towards whom, and the other Turks, though he carried a serene and calm countenance, yet he nourished a secret flame and storm within himself; to vent which, and revenge the affront, he maintained a correspondence with *Sobieski*, giving him intelligence of all matters in the Turkish Camp, The Prince how he might most easily surprize the Forces of the Pasha of *Sivas*, and the four Generals of the Spahes of *Alababick*.

The Christians made use of this intelligence accordingly, by making their assault on the Enemy on the weakest side, when the Prince having reserved his anger until an opportune Season, turned his face against the Turks, and with a courage agreeable to his spirit and command, he entered the Tabor, or Intrenchment of *Chufsein* Pasha, and wounded him with his own hand. The heat of the Fight continued fourteen hours, in which none behaved himself more valiantly than did *Seylan* Pasha the Beglerbeg of *Bojna*, who though he was a brave and fought as stoutly as any man could having six Horses that day killed under him, he was at length forced to fly and abandon the field, following *Chufsein* Pasha, of *Sivas* and *Eddigella*, who made better use, in saving themselves, of their horses heels, than their own Arms; But in this Flight his Horse pitching his foot into the hole of a wooden Bridge, which he was to pass, was there flopped until he was overtaken by a Souldier with a Hat, who shot him through the Body, so that continuing his flight more faintly than before, he was overtaken by a Polonian Hussar, who with a Lance bore him to the Ground, where he was trod under foot, and cut in pieces by the Enemy. The other three Pashas were wounded; the General of the Green and Yellow Sanguicks of the Spahes were taken Prisoners, and two other principal Commanders of the Spahes were killed. The Zagagebashe, who commanded eighteen Chambers of Janiaries, was taken prisoner, the Standard of the Janiaries taken, and they wholly cut in pieces and destroyed, consisting of eight thousand five hundred men; all the Troops and Attendants of those Pashas, with four Sanguicks of Spahes, were slain upon the place, which in all were computed to be about twenty five thousand men. The booty taken was very considerable, for besides the ordinary Baggage they took two thousand purses of money; then newly brought for payment of the Souldiery, and twenty five thousand Waggon of Provisions and Ammunition.

After this success and important Victory the Poles became Masters of the strong Fortresses of *Chotin*, and other smaller Palanchas, on the Banks of the *Niefler*, making their Incursions into *Moldavia*, as far as *Tafel*, which is the principal City of that Country. And thus far was *Kaplan* Pasha proceeded with the Recruits of about four thousand men, when the News came of the fatal Rout, and the same threat encreasing by the fearful Relations of such as fled from the Barrell, alarmed the Turks with such frightful apprehensions, that they retreated back again to the other side of the *Danube*, and united themselves to the Forces of the Vizier. But *Chufsein* Pasha, though he saved his life, yet could not conserve

1673.

serve the Air of the Sultan's favour; for so soon as he arrived at the Court, he received an ill welcome; for according to the manner of Turks, who punish the ill success of a General equal to Crimes committed, he was immediately put into Chains, deprived of his estate and honours, and sent prisoner with the attendance only of two servants unto the Castles of the *Dardaniell*, where the disturbance and unequities of his mind reduced him to an infirmity of Body; so that being sick, and without Friends or Physicians, he sent to Sir *John Finch*, his Majesties Ambassador, as he passed up the *Hellepont*, to afford him the use and assistance of his Physician; but the Ambassador excused himself, letting him know, that his Retinue being passed before on another Vessel, he was sorry it was not in his power to accommodate him in the manner he desired.

The Winter being now well entered, which is very wet and cold in those Countries, caused the Armies on both sides to draw into their warmer Quarters, there to meditate and contrive their designs for the more active season. During these Affairs the King of Poland died; so that the Election of a new Prince, the manner of reconciling their intestine Differences, and the means to defend their Country, were Subjects of important Consideration, and matters more than sufficient to employ the wisest heads of that Nation for a longer time than their common Enemy was resolved to afford them. The Turk on the other side though full of revenge and anger for their last misfortune, yet patiently took this loss as the paying only of his Nails, that his Claws might grow the longer, and was contented with this blow, that he summoned all the Nations of his large Empire to come in to his assistance, towards which forty thousand Cars laden with Provisions were appointed to rendezvous on the Banks of the *Danube* towards the end of the month of March. Yet in the mean time the Turks not having patience to see their perfidious Prince avail himself of his Revolt, and in Despatch of the Ottoman Post, to let himself in his Principality of *Tafel*, were resolved to drive him thence; and in order thereto not expecting a milder season, immediately dispeised some Troops of Tartars, and two thousand Spahes under the Command of a new Prince, to drive him out of the Country. In the mean time the Poles, since their late Victory, kept the Fortresses of *Kemenitz* bravely blocked up on all sides, and thereby reduced them to such a want of food and other provisions, as might probably cause them to surrender before the Summer could open a way to their relief.

But before I conclude this Year, I must not omit to acquaint the Reader, that in the month of September an English Factor at *Smyrna* defended of good Parents, and educated under a severe and religious Master, one who had a reasonable Estate of his own, and in good business and employments, did notwithstanding in the absence of his Parents, with whom he was journeyed in Communion, carry out of the house 2453 fine Cloths belonging to several Principals of England, with a considerable Sum of ready Money, Jewels, and things of value: of which having possessed himself, he went before the Kadi, and there in presence of divers Officers

Chufsein Pasha imprisoned.

The Turks overtook.

The King of Poland slain.

of the City turned Turk; hoping by the Privilege of the Mahometan Law, whereby no Christian testimony can pass against a Turk, to appropriate unto himself that whole Estate, which he had thus treacherously got into his sole custody. And it being impossible for Turks to attest the Marks, Numbers, or know the Estates of Persons being in England, he judged himself out of the reach of any Power or Art to dispossess him of his unjust and wicked acquiescence. Howsoever the Consul did to closely pursue him both at *Smyrna* and at the Turkish Court, that in the space of seven months he regained all the Cloth, and the best part of the Money and Jewels out of his hands: and in fine reduced this Renegade to so low a condition, that he humbly supplicated the Consul to contrive a way for his passage into England: at which time His Majesties Frigate the *Centurion* being then in Port, he was embarked thereupon, and so returned into his own Country.

The Particulars of all which having been amply related in Writing and Letters to private Friends, I purposely omit the same in this place, that so I might cast a veil over the nakedness and shame of our Nation in that City. Howsoever I judge it requisite to recount this story in brief and in general heads. That men may know there is a God who rules above, who rejects impious and licentious persons, confounding the designs of those who betraying their Trust, deviate from the common Rules of Morality and Honesty.

Anno 1674. Hegira 1083.

This Year began at *Smyrna* with the happy Arrival of Sir *John Finch*, sent by His Majesty for Ambassador to the Grand Signior in the place of Sir *Daniel Harvey*, who dyed in August 1672, at his Country-house not far from *Constantinople*. His Excellency entered the City on the first day of January 1673, rejoicing the English Factory to the sight of their new Ambassador, (that Office having been now void for the space of sixteen months) who was welcome to all the people of the Country, judging him fortunate for arriving at the Feast of their great *Biram*: nor less pleasing was the News thereof to the Court, especially to the late Pasha of *Tunis*, whose Goods and Monies taken by one *Domimio Franceschi*, out of an English Ship called the *Mediterranean*, in her passage from *Tunis* to *Tripoli*, this Ambassador had recovered from *Lignie* and *Palais*; which being an action without example, was greatly admired and applauded by the Turks, and esteemed an evident demonstration of that great Interest and Power which the Glory of our King hath acquired in Foreign parts, and of the singular dexterity of such a Minister.

About the 18th of March, Sir *John Finch* arrived at *Constantinople* being transported to the *Dardaniell* on his Majesties Frigate the *Centurion*, and thence on a Gally hired at *Smyrna* for that purpose. Some few days after his arrival, the Grand Signior and Vizier being at *Adrianople*, the Lord Ambassador had audience of the *Chirmacan* whom he saluted with this speech.

1674. I am come Ambassadors from Charles the Second King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, sole Lord and Sovereign of all the Seas, that environ his Kingdoms, Lord and Sovereign of vast territories, and possessions in the East and West-Indies, Defender of the Christian Faith against all those that worship Idols or Images. To the most Powerful and mighty Emperor of the East, to maintain that peace, which hath been so useful, and that commerce which hath been so profitable to this Empire: For the continuance, and encrease whereof I promise you in my station to contribute what I can, and I promise to my self, that you in your will do the like.

But to proceed to the Wars. The Plunders being thus prosperous, made use of their success, and the sharp cold of the Winter-season to make their Incurtions, and Winter-quarters through all the Principalities of Moldavia; for they being born in cold Countries, and accustomed to the Snows and Frosts, were more patient and enduring of extremity of weather than were the Turks, who were brought forth from more mild and moderate Climates: so that neither could the Poles be driven out from those Countries, nor Kementiz be relieved by them, until such time, that the Sun getting high, and thawing the Snows, and warming the Earth, prepared a season for return of the Turks who marching according to their custom with an Army composed of great multitudes, quickly compelled the Poles to retire. For the Grand Signior and Vizier having both seated their Winter-quarters on the Banks of the Danube, were ready at the first opening of the Summer to enter their Arms into the Enemies Countries; and having called the Tartars to their assistance, did according to the usual custom make Incurtions for depredation of Slaves, Cattel, and whatsoever else was portable in a running host.

The Chan or King of this People was at that time greatly indisposed in his health, of which he advised the Great Vizier, as if he intended thereby to obtain a release from his personal attendance that year in the War: But the Vizier, who either supposed this excuse to be only a pretence, or that he had a kindred for his Person, immediately dispatched with his own Physician called Signior *Muslini*, an Italian born, a worthy Learned man, a good Christian, and my intimate Friend: with whom maintaining a constant correspondence by Letters, he wrote me, That from the Grand Signiors Quarters which were at *Batadag* near the Banks of the Danube, he arrived after seventeen days Journey in *Chirm*, where (he said) he was received with singular honour and kindness by the Great Chan, whom he found to be a Prince of admirable prudence, generosity, and generosity, but greatly afflicted with a Hypochondriacal Melancholy, which being an infirmity of some years standing, was with the more difficulty removed; however he was so far from being incapable to follow his Army, that he advised him to divert his mind with the thoughts of War: which counsel having taken, after thirty days abode in the Camp, he found himself much more cheerful than be-

fore, and greatly relieved of that pestilence of Melancholy and caliginous Vapours which oppressed his Brain. We are now (said he) at "Uffat at the Mouth of the *Boristhen*, which we have passed from the other side unto this, where the River is nine miles broad, from hence we are marching towards *Bender* upon the Night to pass into *Moldavia*, and there to join with the Ottoman Army. The Poles have sent to demand Peace, but with condition, that *Kementiz* be restored to them; which Proposition was with great disdain rejected, and will never be granted whilst this Emperor reigns. These people greedily desired a Peace with *Poland*, which the Election of *Schieski* for King may probably facilitate, for not only they, but the Turks also dread a March into *Poland*, and are so incredibly bent to take revenge on the Muscovites and Colacks, who lately became their Subjects, that they could accept of any reasonable Terms of Accommodation with *Poland*. I for my part found *Tartary* a very pleasant Country, plentiful of all Provisions, and the people much more courteous and obliging to the Strangers and Christians, than those Turks with whom you and I have conversed. Thus far *Muslini* writes in commendation of the Tartars, and in some Books, that as to their Morals, there are very few Nations to be found less vicious, they are extremely severe and faithful, they have no Thieves or false Witnesses amongst them, little Injustice or Violence, and live in union and great tranquillity: the marvellous fidelity of the Captive Tartars in *Poland* is every day to be observed, who never fail to return at the time appointed, when they are licensed upon their word to go and procure their Liberties by the exchange of Polish Prisoners, which they execute punctually, or return themselves, not failing a minute. And it is observed, That the Polish Gentlemen do rather trust the young Tartars, which are in their Service, with the keys of their Money and Jewels, than any of their Household.

The time for Armies to draw out of the Winter-quarters, and take the Field being now come, the Grand Signior and Vizier, with great numbers both of Horse and Foot passed the Danube, and prosecuting their March to the Confines of *Poland*, they relieved *Kementiz* in the first place, the Poles at the News of their approach raising the Siege. Thence they proceeded to *Chozim*, a strong Fortress on the *Niefter*, taken from them in the last year by the Christians, after the defeat given to *Chusman* Pasha, as before related, the which was surrendered without much difficulty on Articles, which were ill observed, the whole Garrison being afterwards put to the Sword. Nor had they worse success against the Muscovites, who retreated backward as the Turk advanced; leaving *Ajat* after it had been sacked and almost destroyed, to be again rebuilt, which was speedily effected by the assistance of the Capitan Pasha who was that year with thirty thousand men proceeded into the Black Sea, and with great numbers of Slaves and Soldiers repaired the ruins which the Muscovites had made. In the mean time, whilst the chiefest strength of the marine Force was thus employed, a small Squadron of about ten Gallies were ordered for the

Archipelago

1674. Archipelago and the Levant, under the Command of one *Mahomet* Pasha, a Person that managed fundry great Employments, but his prolixity and profuse way of living was the cause that he could thrive in none, only he thereby gained so much interest and credit with the Grandees and Monied men of the Court, who are the Pages and Eunuchs, as served him to contract a debt of a thousand Dollars without any ability of his own to give them satisfaction: of which their Creditors being afflicted, made it their Petition to the Grand Signior to grant him the Command of that Squadron of Gallies, which was that year designed for the Archipelago, supposing that he in this Expedition being to pass unto many Islands and Countreys, knew how to make such use of his time, and the advantage of his Employment, as would gain him a sufficient benefit whereby to satisfy and clear all his debts and accounts with them. This Office being accordingly conferred, *Mahomet* Pasha prepared himself to depart, whilst the Creditors remained in full expectation of a profitable Voyage and speedy returns; which to improve to the best advantage, the Pasha first visited the open and undefended Isles, from whence with the greatest severity and rapine imaginable he pillaged and plundered what he was able, making some of them to ransom their whole Country with money. Thence he proceeded to *Scala Nova*, called by the Turks *Kouli-adasse*, a place on the Coast of *Asia*, not far from *Ephesus*, where he demanded of the people (though all Turks) the Sum of five thousand Dollars, which they not finding to pay, were treated with all kind of force and violence, till at length paying down 1500, and engaging to pay the rest in a month's time, the Pasha departed, leaving an *Ag*, a Servant of his, to receive the money at the time agreed. In that interim, the Kadî coming to be changed, and another of more courage and spirit succeeding in his place, believed that the best service at his beginning and entrance into Office which he could perform towards the people, was to relieve them from the oppression of the Pasha, and persuade them positively to refuse the payment; who taking courage from their Chief, drove the *Ag* out of Town, with a thousand menaces and reproaches. Upon this News *Mehmet* Pasha returned again full of anger and indignation, but found not that easy reception nor kind entertainment, as before; but on the contrary, the Gates were shut against him, and the people abandoning their Habitations, with common consent resolved to make a Journey, to the Grand Signior; and to show they were in earnest, proceeded so far in their way as to *Ephesus*, which is about ten miles distant from thence: the prejudice and danger of which complaint *Mahomet* Pasha greatly fearing, sent Messengers to pacify them with good words and promises to relinquish his pretensions, in case they would return; but the uproar was so great, that they found as much difficulty to quiet it, as the Town-Clerk in ancient times had to appease the Tumult raised by the Silver mints about *Diana* of the *Ephesus*. Being thus baffled at *Kouli-adasse*, he vented his fury on some poor Islands which he could more easily master, and thence proceeded to *Napoli di Romania*, where the people being already alarmed with his behaviour, and violence of his actions in other places, and encouraged by the example of

Kouli-adasse, upon his arrival there, without farther ceremony shut their Gates, and appeared armed against him upon the Walls, with which entertainment and unexpected opposition, the Pasha fearing some evil consequences, fell far from thence, and crossing again the Seas into *Asia*, made *Rhodes* his next Port. Thence he passed to *Satalia*, to *Cyprus*, and *Scanderone*, and so again returned for *Constantinople*, taking *Smyrna* in his way, committing most extreme rapine and violence on the people, whose complaints having gone before him to the Court, he was immediately cut off at his arrival; but in the first place, his gains and ill gotten goods were seized on to satisfy the Grand Signior, and his Creditors of the Scraggio, who being sent to filch for Wealth, was served like the Cormorants in the Indies, which being made tame, and taught to filch for the benefit of their Masters, have a Ring clapped about their necks to prevent them from swallowing the prey they take.

But to return to the Actions at Land, which were matters of the greatest importance. The Turks had no sooner relieved *Kementiz*, recovered *Chozim*, and caused the Muscovites to retreat, and draw their Forces into their Country; but being Matters of the Field, and having the choice of adding according to their own pleasure, resolved to secure these places they already possessed, esteeming it more wisdom to make sure their late acquisitions, than to add thereto new conquests, which they could not maintain. And therefore considering the inconsistency of the Colacks, who having abandoned their subjection to *Poland*, had submitted themselves to their yoke; and also how unable *Dorogesch* their Governour was either to keep them in obedience, or else to defend them from the Polish Incurtions; they resolved for prevention of these inconveniences, and for a secure remedy against any sinister accidents of this nature, to make seizure of that Party of the Colacks, who had not submitted to them, and transport them into other parts, which they accordingly put into execution, and weeping all the Countries as they passed, carried away men, women, and children into captivity: part of which, such as belonged to the Grand Signior, had some Lands assigned them along the Coast near the Black Sea; the Armenians, who were a Trading people, and lived at *Kementiz*, were transported to *Philippoli*: of the Jews some were carried to *Adriampole*, and others to *Constantinople*, but the younger sort of both Sexes were permitted to the Soldiery to carry them for Slaves to their own homes, and were in great numbers dispersed through all parts of the Empire: a Policy anciently used by *Pharaoh* to his Egyptian Subjects, who having bought their Lands of them, did afterwards transport them from one end of the Land unto the other, that he might keep them in the greater servitude and subjection, Gen. 47. 21. And as for the people, he removed them from one end of the borders of Egypt to the other. And in this manner the success concluding the year, without any great Enterprize or Fears of Arms, the Sultan returned to his Court at *Adrianople*, about the end of November, licensing all the Asian Horse and Soldiers of remotest parts to return to their own Countries, with liberty to appropriate the following year to their repose and care for their peculiar concerns.

To

1674. To these Wars amongst secular Persons and men of Arms were added Differences, and never to be decided Controversies between the Religious of the Roman and Greek Churches at Jerusalem, who contending for the possession of the Holy Sepulchre of the King of Peace, rent that feeble Coat of Christ, and managed their Controversie with more malice and rancour each against other, than Princes do, who invade one the other with Fire and Sword. For the Franks or Western Christians subjected to the Popes Dominion, had possessed for several Ages a right to the Holy Sepulchre, and enjoyed the honour of the custody thereof, notwithstanding the pretences of the Greeks thereto, who for many years in vain attempted at the Ottoman Court to obtain that Privilege; for the Franks being ever more powerful by charitable contributions brought from Christendom, besides large Sums of Money from the King of Spain, did always obtain the Mark of the Greeks, and consequently made use of stronger arguments, than the adverse Party could produce in defence of their cause. Until such time, that one *Panaioti*, a Greek born in the Island of *Scio*, having by his parts and excellent address arrived to the honour of being Interpreter for the Western Tongues to the Great Vizier, at length obtained that favour with his Master, that he seldom refused whatsoever he with reason and modesty requested, and being a great Zealot in his Religion, and esteemed the chief Patron and Support of the Greek Church, he secretly begged in behalf of his Country, the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem out of the hands of the Franks; which the Vizier would not deny him, both to reward him for some services already performed, and likewise because he knew that a concession of this nature would again raise the spirits and animosities of Christians, the allaying and appeasing of which being an office solely in the power of himself, and the supreme Authority, would certainly prove beneficial to the Ottoman Court. *Panaioti* having obtained this Command, and considering that the defence thereof would be a trouble to him, for that thereby he should create Enemies which were no less than Kings and Princes to contend with, and perhaps should live to see it reversed, wisely laid it by him, there to remain dormant until the time of his death; which happening the year past, the Command was produced and brought to light, and was before the *Easter* of this year set on foot at Jerusalem, and by virtue thereof the custody of the Sepulchre sentenced by the Pasha and Kadi of that place to belong unto the Greeks, the which was occasion of so great trouble and confusion, as disturbed the Holy Feast, and polluted the Sacrifices with the blood of one or two persons, who most earnestly contended for the Privilege of their Nation and Religion. Nor could this difference be decided here, but both sides appealed to the Court above, which being heard and debated in publick Divan, the possession of the Sepulchre was adjudged in favour of the Greeks; the Franks being only to enjoy at precarious use thereof, as Pilgrims and Strangers to the Country. Howsoever the Fryers of Jerusalem would not tamely yield up their Right, but again resolved to try their Fortune at the Court, having by means of *F. Cambray* their Commissary with expence of a great Sum of Money obtained a review of the case,

but without success; for all these endeavours and charge proved fruitless, the former sentence being confirmed in favour of the Greeks; and the Franks having no other Expedient, applied themselves to the assistance of the French Ambassador, to whose protection the Holy places are assigned by Capitulations. But neither the power of the French Ambassador, nor of any other Christian Representative was available, for the Vizier either mindful of his promise to *Panaioti*, or being resolute to maintain the Command he had given, would on no terms be persuaded to revoke it; the which intention of the Vizier being made known to the Greeks, their Patriarchy earnestly pressed a hearing of the case; but the Fryers not willing to abide the shock, retired to Constantinople, left the Greeks forcing them to Justice, they should be condemned in *Judicio contraddictorio*, and a *Hoger* or Sentence passing, they should be condemned in Law as well as by Authority of the Patriarchy. Which to put in execution, the Patriarchy took out a Command whereunto was added, That the Fryers in token of their subjection, should pay a Drachm of Silver a head to the Patriarchy, and hold all their places of them. This was the issue of the present controversies, which is certainly determined for the time of the Vizier without revocation, yet perhaps in the time of another, it may admit of a review for money, especially being received when as yet the new Minister hath not satiated his covetous desires; howsoever, the expence will always be chargeable, and the offices uncertain. Thus have I seen and observed in this particular the effect and experience of two things; viz. The covetousness and pride of Fryers, and the conclusion of their Law-suits before Infidels. The Franks, or the Western Christians, had until this time the custody of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Greeks that of the Chappel of *Bethlem*, but the use was free to both; but the Franks not being able to enjoy the Sepulchre with contentment, whilst with envious eyes they beheld the Greeks in possession of *Bethlem*, were always contriving devices by force of money, and power of Christian Ministers to eject them from that Right; until that now in these contentions they have lost both; being neither able to recover the one, nor conserve the other.

Before we end this year of 1674, and begin that of 1675; it will be necessary for us to discourse of the cause, and original of that War which England had with the Government of Tripoli in Barbary, and the success and conclusion thereof.

In the year 1672. Old Mahomet boar at *Scio* and of the Greek race who for many years by *Baratz* or commission from the Grand Signior had boaren the Office, and Title of Pasha of Tripoli; and being grown very rich, and covetous by the Pyracies his Ships made on the Christians, and oppression of his people, not dividing amongst the Souldiery, that just proportion of the prey, which of right belonged to them, so incensed the minds of that people, that conspiring against him they murdered him in his Castle, and seized all his riches, to the use of the Publick. The Pasha being dead all his creatures, and persons that boar Office in his time were displaced, and others of more justice, and bravery (as they imagined,)

1674. imagined), put in their places, and a New Governor being set up, he began to make a through Reformation, and to alter and change every thing according, to his own humor, and pleasure. In the first place he gave leave to all people to Arm in Corsia, or to set out Private Men of War, as every one pleased, and was able; differing to the practise of the former Pasha, who reserved that benefit, and privilege to himself; and next it was proposed to constitute a Divan after the manner of *Algier* in whom the supreme power of all should be lodged. In order hereunto they immediately, left forth to Sea six Sail of Ships from forty to fifty Guns, excellent Saylor, and armed them with the best and stoutest of their Men, together with four more from twelve to thirty Guns; with these Ships they took many prizes belonging to French, Venetians, and other Nations; and though they had long desired to taste also of the sweetness of English Lutes, yet not encountering a prize worthy the trouble and evil consequences of such a breach; they for some time deferred the design which they had long meditated. Till at length about the Month of August 1674, they unhappily encountered the *Marion*, a rich Ship bound from Venice to Cadix, which they carried to Tripoli; and on the 17th of September following, they seconded this outrage, by other of the like nature, committed on the *Hunter* Frigate, *Thomas Parker* Commander bound from *Ligorne* to Smyrna; whom the Tripolines meeting with six Men of War at the entrance into the *Arche-pelago*, they brought her into the Port of Tripoli; where having plundered all the strangers goods laden upon her, to the import of forty thousand dollars, the particulars of all which were given under Oath of the Commander, the Ship was dismissed, and dispensed on her Voyage to Smyrna with no other damage to the English, than the embezzlement of 750 dollars, robbed, or pilfered by the Souldiery, together which such charge, as the Consul of Tripoli challenged for his service therein. This news being adressed into England, as a breach of Peace, his Majesty one of his usual and gracious care of the welfare of Trade, was pleased to order Sir John Narborough his Commander in chief in the Mediterranean Seas, to demand satisfaction from that people; who accordingly Sailing thither, and requiring restitution of the goods injuriously taken, received a denial, and denunciation of War. Whereupon Sir John Narborough wrote to the Consul of Smyrna in this manner.

These are to advertise you, that the people of Tripoli have broken the peace with his Majesty; they are resolved to take all the English Ships they can meet, and overcome. I have been there with a Squadron of his Majesties Ships to demand restitution of the goods taken out of the *Martin* and *Hunter*; they refuse to make any, so that now it is open War with those people: I am now in Malta taking in water, I intend to sit at Ligorne; I suppose his Majesty will have a Squadron of Ships to look after these people of Tripoli this Summer. Sir, I pray signify this to my Lord Ambassador at Constantinople, and to all others: his Majesties Sub-

ject where you converse, that they may prevent falling into their hands; in last I conclude, and kiss your hand, and I remain

On board his Majesties Ship
Humettat at Malta,
March 15th.
1675.

Your Humble
Servant
John Narborough.

Sir John Narborough having fitted himself at Ligorne, and recruited with an additional Squadron of six or seven Men of War he departed for Tripoli, taking under his Convoy, the *Pyner*, Brigal Merchant, and Mediterranean for Smyrna; and now appearing before the Port of Tripoli in a formidable manner, the Pyracies began to repent of their late violation, knowing that they must now either disgorge their ill got goods, or prove the evil effects of War; their hearts began now to fail them, so that they unrigged all their Ships, laying them out close in the harbour, and with them for the present all thoughts of roving on the Seas; for supposing, that the English Ships could not live always in that Station, but that bad weather or want of provisions would enforce them some time to retire, they hoped in that interval to find an opportunity to launch into the Seas, where being clear, and good Saylor, they might have room enough to escape. Howsoever Sir John Narborough with his Squadron, continued with such diligence on the coast, plying them with continual alarms, standing off to sea at night, and towards the land in the day; that they found not the heart, nor opportunity to adventure abroad; until one of their Ships, which had formerly been their Rere-Admiral, bound with Negroes for the *Mora*; resolved to hazard an escape; but not being able to make her passage good, she was forced ahoo, and burnt by our Ship, most of the Negroes falling into the English hands; some few days after Sir John Narborough fired three of their Galeons, burnt a Sate, took a fisher-boat, and a Sambehin; with which success being encouraged, and the Enemy affrighted, their Ships were blocked up in Port for some months, whilst ours found free passage on the Seas; until that at length growing weary of so long a demorage, necessity drove them to adventure abroad, which two of their best Men of War successfully effected on the 8th of September in despite of the English Squadron, being assisted with calm weather, and help of their Oars; four others observing the success of the former in a few days after tempted the like, and escaped in the same manner. And now the Commanders of English Ships in diverse Ports, taking false measures, on confidence that the Tripolines were blocked up in their Ports, trusted themselves with unadvised security into the Seas; amongst which none was so unfortunate, as a Ship called the *Brigal* Merchant one *Plummer* Commander, laden with eighty two Bales of Silk, besides other rich commodities bound from Smyrna to Ligorne, whereon were several Merchants, some of which having lived many years in Smyrna had acquired plentiful Estates.

1674. namely Mr. John Foley, Mr. Thomas Laxton, Mr. Jacob Turner, Mr. Philip Gell, and Mr. Tison Nephew to Mr. Foley; Persons who expected a prosperous Voyage, and a happy arrival in their own Country. But observe here the course of humane disappointments, for being embarked on the Ship afore said they set Sail from Smyrna the 10th or 11th of September in company with the *Pyner* which happened to be about two or three days after the *Tripolines* had first broken out of their Port; these two Ships by bad weather, or want of due care lost company each with other in the *Arche-logs*, which proved a happy fortune to the *Pyner*; for the *British* Merchant some few days after being off of *Cape Sapienza* encountered the two *Tripolines* which first came out of Port, and being Vessels of forty to fifty Guns, soon made themselves Masters of a Merchant-Ship laden, and of mean force. The *Tripolines* were greatly elevated with this rich prize which they immediately carried to a place called *Derna*; and there landing their goods, and men, for better security transported them over land to *Tripoli*. The Persons we mentioned before, were forced for the most part to walk all the way a foot, being thirty four days journey, unless some times, they were favoured to mount a Camel, which is such an unpleasant way of riding, that walking is much more easy; and travelling in a sandy, dry Country, water was very scarce, the days journeys being commonly proportioned according to the distance of the Wells of Water; which they drank with better Appetites, and Pleasure, than they formerly relished the most pleasant Wines. Being arrived at *Tripoli* they were ill welcomed by the severe looks, and hard diet which they received from their Hosts; and the Plague raging greatly in the City, added to the miseries, and dread of the place.

The *Tripolines* encouraged with this prize, and with the expectation of the farther success of their Ships abroad, hoped to weary out the *English* Squadron, which still continued to infest and trouble their coasts taking their Corn, Boats, and interrupting all Commerce which that Town had with the Sea. At length the *English* resolved to make an attempt on the Ships in Harbour which they resolutely performed in the night, and with great success according to this relation which Sir John Narbrough gave under his own hand.

Vizby the 14th of January 1675.

I Being before Tripoli, in Barbary with his Majesties Ships under my command, namely these,

Harwich
Houistica
Fregats
Portsmouth

Anne and Christopher } Fire ships.
Holmes.

Guinny Merchants Ships attending for Martin's Convoy.

And seeing four of the Tripoly Ships of 1674 War in the Port of considerable force preparing to go out, and cruise, I fitted a fire-boat out of the fire-ships; and commanded, that all the boats of my Squadron being twelve in number, should be manned, armed, and fitted with Fire-works also. I ordered a considerable Officer to be a Commander in every boat, and my Lieutenant Cloudily Shovel to be Commander in chief of them all, for being resolved by Gods permission to attack the Enemy that night in Port, I gave instructions requisite for such a design. About twelve a clock in the night my boats resolutely entered the Port, took and seized the guard boat, and killed the people in her, boarded the Ships, and fired them, and utterly destroyed them all, some Turks and Moors slain, the rest fled to save themselves. These four Ships lay under the Dey's Castle Walls, which was all that were in Port, except a Tunis Merchant Ship, which I ordered should not be meddled with and so escaped firing. This action was performed in less then an hours time without sustaining the least damage on our side, then the expense of some Ammunition, Fire-works, and Fireboat, which were effectually bestowed, as designed, to the great astonishment of the Turks, who endeavoured to impede our design, by plying several great and innumerable small shot at our boats, and men, which were within Pistol-shot of the Dey's own Castle, and Palace. Such was the wonderful mercy of God towards us, that not one man of ours, was killed, wounded, or touched; nor a boat any way disabled, but all returned in safety, bringing the Guard boat, two Moors, and the Turkish Colours of the four Ships in triumph along with them to my Ship. Our men employed in the boats on this occasion were one hundred fifty and seven, they all behaving themselves, as became Englishmen.

To God alone be the Glory.

Names of the Tripoly Ships of War that were burnt with their Guns.

	Guns
White crowned Eagle	50
Looking-Glass	34
St. Chiara	24
French Petach	20

Guard boat brought off with one Peterero, and two Moors in her.

I verily believe that in case I had landed at that time with five hundred men only I might have carried the City, for the Turks were so amazed, that they fled out of

21

1674. it, they fired several great and small shot all at random, without hurt to any of our men, God being pleased so to direct it.

The 26th of January I fired about one hundred shot into the City of Tripoly amongst the Inhabitants.

The first and third of February I took and destroyed five Corn boats twenty Leagues to the Eastward of Tripoly, and landed and burned a Stack of wood and Timber, which was for building their new Ship, and some small Masts, and Yards, and some bags of bread brought off, and two Guns spiked, which could not be got off; it beginning to blow, and likely to be bad weather; so I was constrained to leave them, and repair on board, and leave the coast. The tenth of this Month the Portsmouth took a *Sambecche* in her ballast thirty Leagues to the Eastward of Tripoly, she belonging to that Government, the Moors got all aboard but the *Sambecche* was brought to Malta.

From aboard his Majesties Ship, *Harwich* aboard the 18th 1675.

John Narbrough.

The *Tripolines* being discouraged, and affrighted with this boldness and diligence of the *English*, and apprehending that they would always infest their coast, which would be an utter ruin, and destruction to them; and being touched in the most sensible parts of their interest, and welfare; they generally concluded, that there was now no safety, but by making a peace with the *English*. To farther which, and to assist in the Office of Mediation; it happened, that there was at the same time at Tripoly, one *Hassie bey*, a great man of *Tunis*, who had been Dey of that Country; but being driven from thence by his Nephews, was come to Tripoly with an immense treasure, intending afterwards to Transport himself to *Constantinople*, to make his aggressions known at the Grand Signiors Court. Of this person we shall discourse more at large hereafter; but in this place it is pertinent to relate, how influential he was to effect this peace in which, he laboured with the greater zeal, that so by assistance of the *English*, he might find a speedy and safe conveyance on their Ships of his Person, Goods, and Servants into the *Morcia*, from whence he designed by land to *Constantinople*. The Treaty being thus began; a peace was concluded between his Majesties of Great Britain, &c. and *Hassie Pasha*, *Ibrahim Dey*, *Agas*, *Dervans* and Governors of the Noble City, and Kingdom of Tripoly, Dated the fifth of March 1675. Being the last day of the Moon *Zel-hedgea*, and *Hegaira* 1086. By this instrument all the former Articles were again confirmed with addition of two others.

First, that all Persons taken under *English* Colours should be delivered to Sir John Narbrough and set at liberty without payment of any ransom for them; under which notion, Mr. Foley, Mr. Laxton, Mr. Turner, Mr. Gell, and Mr. Tison, with

the Captain and Sea-men taken on the 1674. Bristol Merchant were freed; whose ransom otherwise might have cost dear, and perhaps almost the value of their private Estates.

Secondly, That eighty thousand Dollars (which was the account made of the value of goods, and Money taken on the Martin and Hunter) should be made good to Sir John Narbrough, in Money, or Goods, and Slaves. To which was adjoined such a submission, recantation, and acknowledgment for their late offence, and outrage, as testified the sorrow of their true repentance, as we shall see more at large in their following Articles.

And now the peace being concluded; Sir John Narbrough returned to Malta; and soon after came back to Tripoly to receive the remainder of the monies, and goods agreed for, the Slaves being delivered already. In this interim the six Ships which had formerly broken out of the harbour, and failed to the *Levan*, hearing of the peace, returned to Tripoly; where great feuds and dissensions arose; the Souldiery accusing *Ibrahim Dey*, nick named *Misser agli* as the beginner and Author of the War, and for continuing it so long with obduracy, until they were reduced to their last extremity. In fine they threatened to cut him in Pieces; but at length they were contented to cashier him only from his Office, after which he fled into the *Morcia* and their Vice-Admiral *Mustapha Grande* was made Dey in his place; with whom, and with the Souldiers in general now returned; Sir John Narbrough renewed the Articles of Peace, and dated them the first of May 1675; which are these that follow.

Articles of Peace and Commerce between, &c.

Articles of Peace, and Commerce

Between the most Serene, and Mighty Prince Charles the Second by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. And the Most Illustrious Lords *Hassie Bassa*, *Ibrahim Dey*, *Agas*, *Dervans*, and Governors of the Noble City and Kingdom of Tripoly in Barbary concluded by Sir John Narbrough Knight, Admiral of his Majesties Fleet, in the Mediterranean Seas.

I. In the first place, It is Agreed, and Concluded, That from this day and for ever forward; There be a true, firm and Inviolable Peace, between the Most Serene King

1674. King of Great Britain France and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. And the most Illustrious Lords, The Bassa, Dai, Aga Divan, and Governors of the City and Kingdom of Tripoly in Barbary, And between all the Dominions and Subjects of either side; And that the Ships, or other Vessels, and the Subjects and People of both sides, shall not from henceforth, do to each other, any harm, offence, or Injury in word or Deed, But shall Treat one another with all possible respect and Friendship?

II. That any of the Ships, or other Vessels, belonging to the said King of Great Britain, or to any of his Majesties Subjects, may safely come to the Port of Tripoly, or to any other Port or Place of that Kingdom, or Dominions thereunto belonging; freely to buy, and sell without the least Disturbance; paying the usual Customs: as in former times hath been paid, for such goods as they sell; And for the goods they sell not, they shall have free Liberty to carry on Board their own Ships without paying any Duties for the same; And when they please they shall freely Depart, from thence without any stop, hindrance or molestation whatsoever.

III. That all Ships and other Vessels, as well those belonging to the King of Great Britain, or to any of his Majesties Subjects, as also those belonging to the People and Kingdom of Tripoly, shall freely pass the Sea, and traffick where they please without any search, hindrance, or molestation from each other; And that all Persons and Passengers of what Country whatsoever; And all Monies, Goods, Merchandise and Moveables, to whatsoever People or Nation belonging; being on board any of the said Ships or Vessels, shall be wholly free, and shall not be stopped taken or Plundered, nor receive any harm or Damage whatsoever from either Party.

IV. That the Tripoly Ships of War, or other Vessels thereunto belonging, meeting with any Merchant Ships, or other Vessels of the King of Great Brittain Subjects, not being in any of the Seas appertaining to his Majesties Dominions may send on board one single boat, with but two Sitters, besides the ordinary Crew of Rowers, and no more but the two Sitters to enter any of the said Merchant Ships or any other Vessels; without the Express from the Commander of every such Ship or Vessel; And then upon producing them a Pass under the hand and Seal of the Lord High Admiral of England, the said Boat shall presently Depart; And if the Merchant, Ship or Ships, Vessel or Vessels produce no Pass from the Lord High Admiral of England, yet if the Major part of

the said Ships or Vessels Company, be Subject; 1674. to the said King of Great Britain; The said Boat shall presently Depart, And the Merchant Ship or Ships, Vessel or Vessels, shall proceed freely on her, or their Voyage, And if any of the said Ships of War, or other Vessels of his said Majesties meeting with any Ship or Ships, Vessel or Vessels belonging unto Tripoly; if the Commander or Commanders, of any such Ship or Ships, Vessel or Vessels, shall produce a Pass, Signed by the chief Governor of Tripoly and a Certificate from the English Consul, living there, Or if they have no such Pass or Certificate yet if the Major part of their Ships Company or Companies, be Turks, Moors, or Slaves belonging to Tripoly, Then the said Tripoly Ship or Ships, Vessel or Vessels shall proceed freely.

V. That no Commander, or other Person, of any Ship, or other Vessel of Tripoly, shall take out of any Ship or Vessel of his said Majesties Subjects, any Person or Persons whatsoever to carry them any where, to be examined, or upon any other pretence, nor shall use any Torture or Violence to any Person of what Nation or quality whatsoever, being on Board any Ship or Vessel, of his Majesties Subjects upon any pretence whatsoever.

VI. That no Ship-wreck belonging to the King of Great Britain or any of his Majesties Subjects, upon any part of the coast belonging unto Tripoly shall be made or become a Prize. And that neither the goods thereof shall be seized, nor the Men made Slaves; But that all the People of Tripoly, shall do their best endeavours to save the said Men and their Goods.

VII. That no Ship or any other Vessel of Tripoly shall have permission to be Delivered up, or to go to any place in Enmity with the said King of Great Britain, to be made use of as Cojairs or Sea Rovers against his said Majesties Subjects.

VIII. That none of the Ships or other smaller Vessels of Tripoly shall remain Cruising, near his Majesties City and Garrison of Tangier or in sight of it, nor any other way Disturb the Peace and Commerce of that place.

IX. That if any Ship or Vessel of Tunis, Argier, Tittuan, or Salli, or any other place, being in War with the said King of Great Britain, bring any Ships or Vessels, Men or Goods belonging to any of his said Majesties Subjects to Tripoly; or to any Port or Place within that Kingdom; The Governors there shall not permit them

1674. to be sold within the Territories of Tripoly.

X. That if any of the Ships of War, of the said King of Great Britain do come to Tripoly or to any other Port or Place of that Kingdom, with any Prize, they may freely sell it, or otherwise dispose of it, at their own pleasure, without being molested by any; And that his Majesties said Ships of War, shall not be obliged to pay Customs in any sort; And that if they want Provisions, Victuals, or any other things they may freely buy them at the rate in the Market.

XI. That when any of his said Majesties Ships of War shall appear before Tripoly, upon Notice thereof given to the English Consul, or by the Commander of the said Ships, to the chief Governors of Tripoly; Publick Proclamation shall be immediately made, to secure the Christian Captives, And if after that any Christians whatsoever make their escape, on board any of the Ships of War; They shall not be required back again, Nor shall the said Consul, or Commander, or any other his Majesties Subjects, be obliged to pay any thing for the said Christians.

XII. That if any Subject of the King of Great Britain, happen to dye in Tripoly, or its Territories, his Goods or Monies, shall not be seized by the Governors or any Ministers of Tripoly, but shall all remain with the English Consul.

XIII. That neither the English Consul, nor any other Subject of the said King of Great Brittain shall be bound to pay the Debts of any other of his Majesties Subjects; Except that they become surety for the same by a Publick Act.

XIV. That the Subjects of his said Majesty in Tripoly, or its Territories in matter of Controversies, shall be liable to no other Jurisdications but that of the Dai, or Divan, except they happen to be at Difference between themselves; In which case they shall be liable to no other Determination, but that of the Consul only.

XV. That in case any Subject of his Majesty, being in any part of the Kingdom of Tripoly, happen to strike, wound or kill, a Turk or a Moor (if he be taken) he is to be punished in the same manner, and with no greater Severity, than a Turk ought to be (being guilty) of the same offence; But if he escape, Neither the said English Consul, nor any other of his said Majesties Subjects, shall be in any sort questioned or troubled therefore.

XVI. That the English Consul, now or 1674: at any time hereafter living in Tripoly shall be there at all times, with entire freedom, and safety of his Person and Estate, and shall be permitted to chuse his own Druggerman, and Broker, And freely to go on board any Ship in the Road, as often, and when he pleases; And to have the Liberty of the Country; and that he shall be allowed a place to pray in; And that no Man shall do him any Injury in Word or Deed.

XVII. That not only during the Continuance of this Peace and Friendship, but likewise (if any Breach or War) happen to be hereafter between the said King of Great Britain, and the City and Kingdom of Tripoly, The said Consul and all other his said Majesties Subjects, shall always and at all times, both of Peace and War, have full and absolute Liberty to Depart and go to their own, or any other Country, upon any Ship or Vessel of what Nation soever, they shall think fit, and to Carry with them, all their Estates, Goods, Families, and Servants, (although born in the Country,) without any Interruption or hindrance.

XVIII. That no Subject of his said Majesty being a Passenger, from, or to any Port shall be any way molested or meddled with, although he be on Board, any Ship or Vessel in Emity with Tripoly.

XIX. That whereas a War hath lately happened, between the most Serene King of Great Brittain, and the most Illustrious Lords: Halil Bassa, Ibrahim Dai, The Aga Divan, and Governors of the Noble City and Kingdom of Tripoly in Barbary; by reason of the Injuries done unto the King of Great Brittain and his Subjects, by the Government and People of Tripoly contrary to the Articles of Peace; We Halil Bassa, Ibrahim Dai, Aga Divan, and Governors of the Noble City and Kingdom of Tripoly in Barbary, do acknowledge the Injuries done; And that the Breach of the Peace, between his most Excellent Majesty of Great Brittain, and its of Tripoly was committed by our Subjects, for which some are banished and some fled from our Justice; And for further Satisfaction to his most Excellent Majesty for the Breach of Articles we are sorry for the same, and do by these engage to sit at Liberty and Deliver unto the Right Honourable Sir John Narbrough Knight, Admiral of his Majesties Fleet, in the Mediterranean Seas, All English Captives, Residing in the City and Kingdom of Tripoly, and Dominions thereunto belonging, without paying any Ransom for them; And likewise by setting at Liberty and delivering unto the said Sir John Narbrough Knight,

1674 all other Persons taken under English Colours without paying any Ransom for them, And by paying eighty thousand Dollars in Money, Goods, and Slaves, to the aforesaid Sir John Narbrough Knight: And moreover we do engage our selves and successors, That if any Injuries for the future be done, contrary to these Articles, by the Government and people of Tripoly, to the King of Great Britain and his Subjects, if upon demand of satisfaction from the Government, and people of Tripoly, We, or they refuse, or deny to give satisfaction therefore, so that a War be occasioned thereby, between the King of Great Britain, and the Government and people of Tripoly; We do engage our selves and successors to make restitution for the Injuries done, and likewise to make satisfaction to the King of Great Britain for the full charge and damage of that War.

XX. That no Subject of the King of Great Britain, &c. shall be permitted to turn Turk or Moor in the City and Kingdom of Tripoly, being induced thereunto by any surprisal whatsoever, unless he voluntarily appear before the Dei, or Governor with the English Consuls Druggerman three times in twenty four hours space, and every time Declare his Resolution, to turn Turk or Moor.

XXI. That at all times, when any Ship of War of the King of Great Britain, &c. carrying his said Majesties Flag at the main-top-mast-head, appear before the City of Tripoly, and come to Anchor in the Road, That immediately after notice thereof given, by his said Majesties Consul or Officer from the Ship, unto the Dei and Government of Tripoly: They shall in honour to his Majesty cause a Salute of one and twenty Cannons to be shot off, from the Castles and Forts of the City, and that the said Ship shall return an Answer by shooting of the same Number of Cannons.

XXII. That presently after the Signing and Sealing of these Articles, by us Halil Bassa, Ibrahim Dei, Aga Divan, and Governors of the Noble Kingdoms and City of Tripoly, all Injuries, and Damages sustained on either part, shall be quiet taken away and forgotten, and this Peace shall be in full force and virtue, and continue for ever. And for all Depredations, and Damages, that shall hereafter be Committed, or done by either side, before Notice can be given of this Peace, full satisfaction be immediately made. And whatsoever remains in kind shall instantly be restored.

XXIII. That whatsoever shall happen hereafter, that any thing is done or committed, by the Ships or Subjects of either side contrary to any of these Articles (Satisfaction being Demanded therefore) shall be made to the full, and without any manner of Delay, and that it shall not be Lawful to break this Peace, unless such satisfaction be denied, and our Faith shall be our Faith, and our word, our word, and whatsoever shall be the Cause of the breaking of this Peace shall assuredly be punished with present Death.

Confirmed and Sealed in the Presents of Almighty God, the fifth day of March Old Stile, and in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand six hundred seventy five, Being the last day of the Moon Zelhedga, and the year of the Hegeira on thousand and eighty six.

Whereas there were several Articles of Peace and Commerce, between the most Serene and Mighty Prince Charles the Second, by the Grace of God King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. And the most Illustrious Lords Halil Bassa, Ibrahim Dei, Aga Divan, and Governors of the Noble City and Kingdom of Tripoly in Barbary, lately made and concluded by the said Lords, on the one part, And by Sir John Narbrough Knight, Admiral of his said Serene Majesties Fleet in the Mediterranean Sea, on the other part, and by them confirmed and Sealed in the Presence of Almighty God, the fifth day of March, Old Stile, And in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1675 being the last day of the Moon Zelhedga, And the year of the Hegeira 1086.

Since which time of Confirming and Sealing the aforesaid Articles of Peace, and Commerce, The aforesaid Lord Ibrahim Dei, being fled away from the Government, of the City and Kingdom of Tripoly in Barbary.

Now we Halil Bassa, Aga Divan Governors, Soldiers and People of the aforesaid City and Kingdom of Tripoly, have Chosen and Elected Vice Admiral Multapha Grande to be Dei of the aforesaid City and Kingdom of Tripoly to succeed Ibrahim Dei, in the aforesaid Government.

And now we Halil Bassa, Aga Divan, and Governors, Soldiers and People of Tripoly aforesaid, having seen the aforesaid Articles

1674 Articles of Peace and Commerce which were lately made and concluded as aforesaid: And having seriously perused and fully considered all particulars therein mentioned, Do fully approve of all and every the aforesaid Articles of Peace, and we and every one of us do now by these presents, consent and agree to and with Sir John Narbrough Knight aforesaid, for the just and exact keeping and performing of the said Articles: And do accept, approve, ratify, and confirm all and every of them in the same manner and form as they are inserted and repeated in the preceding Articles aforesaid: hereby firmly engaging our selves, and successors, assuring on our faith sacredly to maintain and strictly to observe, perform, and keep inviolably all and every the aforesaid Article and Articles of Peace and Agreements for ever. And to cause and require all our Subjects and people of what degree or quality whatsoever, within the City or Kingdom of Tripoly in Barbary; or Dominions thereunto belonging, both by Sea and Land punctually, inviolably, carefully and duly to observe, keep, and perform all and every the aforesaid Article, and Articles, thereof for ever: And our Faith shall be our Faith, and our word our word, and whatsoever shall at any time violate and break any part of the said Article, or Articles of Peace, they shall be assuredly punished, with greatest severity, and his or their heads shall be immediately cut off; and forthwith be presented unto any Officer whom the most Serene King of Great Britain, &c. shall Authorize, to make Demand thereof.

It is further agreed that the Subjects belonging unto the most serene King of Great Britain &c. Trading unto the Port of the City and Kingdom of Tripoly in Barbary aforesaid, or to any Port or Place of the Dominions thereunto belonging; in any Merchants Ship or other Vessel belonging to the said Serene King: Subjects shall not pay so much Custom by one per Cent. for whatsoever Goods or Merchandize they sell or buy; as other Nations do for the Customs of the like Goods, or Merchandize, notwithstanding whatsoever is Specified in the Second Article aforesaid to the contrary.

And that the most Serene King of Great Britains Consul residing in Tripoly aforesaid, shall have Liberty at all times, when he pleases to put up his said Serene Majesties Flag, on the Flag-staff on the Top of his House, and thereto continue it spread as long time as he pleases, likewise the said Consul to have the same Liberty of putting up and spreading the said Flag in his Boat, when he passes on the Water, and no Man whatsoever to Oppose, Molest, Disturb, or Injury him therein either by Word or Deed.

These and all other preceding Articles are 1674. to remain firm for ever, without any alteration; and in any other particulars not mentioned in any of these Articles, the Regulation shall be according to the Capitulation general with the Grand Signior.

Confirmed likewise and Sealed in the Presence of Almighty God, at our Castle in the noble City and Kingdom of Tripoly in Barbary, the first day of May Old Stile, and in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1676, being the twenty sixth day of the Moon Zaphire, and the year of the Hegeira 1080.

Halil Bassa's Seal, Multapha Dei's Seal, Aga's Seal, Ally Admirals Seal.

A True Copy Examined out of Sir John Narbroughs.

Thomas Fowler.

Having thus related the original cause, proceedings, and conclusion of our War with Tripoly. Let us Travel to Tunis; which though since the year 1655 hath ever maintained Peace with England, yet the civil dissensions among themselves have admitted unto us Subject of discourse, and more especially, since it hath some relation to Hassibey, whom formerly we named, as Mediator of the Peace between Us, and Tripoly.

On the sixth of September 1675. Morat Bei General of all the Land Forces in the Kingdom of Tunis dyed, the most Politick, and Popular Person, that ever managed that Office, his Sons Ciddi Mehmet and Ciddi Ali by the general approbation, and consent of the Souldiery joyntly succeeding him in that charge. But the ambition of these two young Gallants would admit no union in the Government; the Elder would know no equal, and the younger no superior, so that it was necessary for one to govern, or both to be laid aside: the decision of which was referred to a full Assembly of the Turks. In the mean time Hassibey Brother to Morat deceased, and Uncle to the two Competitors, taking advantage of these divisions, offered himself a Candidate for the place; and so operated with the force of money, and with assistance of the younger Nephew who would rather yield to an Uncle, than to a brother, that he clearly carried the election by the common suffrages of the people. The Elder Son Ciddi Mehmet not enduring the indignity to be thus degraded took the field and set up his standard; After him followed all his Fathers Old Spahes and the Moors abroad came into him, so that in a few days he became so formidable as to give Laws to the Dei and People of Tunis; chiding them immediately to banish his Uncle, and to receive him as sole, and absolute General of all the Land Souldiery in those Dominions: Hassibey not being able to resist this force, posted

1674. polled away with such expedition that he adventured to embark himself, renine and treasure (which was reported being modestly calculated, amounted to three millions of Dollars) on no better a Vessel, than a *French Sate* for *Tripoli*; where he was honourably received by that Government; and Letters sent from them to the young *Bei* at *Tunis*, mediating for the return of his Uncle, with promise, that he should live quietly, and give no interruption to the course of his Government; but *Sidi Mahomet* resolving not to trust him, positively declared against his readmission, as not consistent with his Government, and Safety.

It happened at this time that the *English* had War with *Tripoli*, and blocked up the Port; and that afterwards a Peace ensuing; (*Hoffe-bey* (as we said before,) showed himself very forward, and zealous in the Mediation; which taking effect, he was afterwards together with his retinue transported on the *British Fregat* Commanded by Sir *John Berry* to *Adon* in the *Mores*, from whence he went by Land to carry his Complaints to *Constantinople*; whilst the *British Fregat* proceeded to *Smyna*, to receive the *Turkey* Companies Ships under Convoy for England.

Hoffe-bey being arrived at the Grand Signors Court, prepared an eulie and ready access to the Grandees, by the great Presents, he sent them; which being the only means to mollify and make tender the hearts of *Turk*; he found upon all his addresses such repentments, and compassionate feelings of his aggressions that if assurances in words, and promises would do his work, he might be ascertained of engaging the entire power, and puissance of the Empire for his re-establishment. The news of *Hoffe-bey*; being gone to address himself to the *Turkish* Court for relief much perplexed the Government at *Tunis*; and at the same time the plague desperately raging there, made them sick, and infirm both in body, and mind: wherefore after serious considerations and debates hereupon; it was concluded necessary, to Fight *Hoffe* with his own Weapons; and immediately to dispatch away four Ships for *Constantinople* with Messengers, and Presents to the Grand Signor; and his Officers being by this means to open the reasons and understandings of the *Turk*; and make them as well capable to comprehend the justice of their cause, as to reconcile their affections. The four Ships arriving at *Constantinople*, were seized on, at the instance of *Hoffe-bey*; and he declaring, that those Ships were belonging to him, and his own proper Estate, easily procured a judgment in his favour; and the Captains of them being called to the *Dewan*, were commanded to own *Hoffe-bey* for their Master, and to obey him as their *Pasha*, and absolute Lord under the Grand Signor. It was too late, when at *Tunis* they apprehended the Error they had Committed, in sending their four Ships to *Constantinople*; which now upon more serious consideration than the former they expected to return freighted with armed Men; and Imperial Commands to re-establish *Hoffe-bey* in the Government of which, and of what was harder preparing at the Ottoman Court, that they might have good advice; they dispatched two Messengers for *Constantinople* on a French *Sate*, which they had freighted for that pur-

1674. pose, to Land them at *Smyna*; where being arrived they addressed themselves to me, then Consul there, bringing me Letters of recommendation from friends at *Tunis* to assist and help them in all their occurrences. I was well informed in all particulars concerning the success, and motions of *Hoffe-bey* at *Constantinople*, and I did not omit to relate all matters distinctly to them; for not long before, I had occasion to be acquainted with *Hoffe-bey* himself having at his earnest request found means to furnish him with the Sum of three thousand Dollars, upon a good Pawn of Gold, and Jewels; amongst which there was a Petlock of Gold enameled, and set with Diamonds, just in the form and fashion of those, which we put on our horses, when they go to graze; and this, I understood, was one of the Ornaments, which they put on the Ankle of the Bride on the marriage day; I know not whether it were to grace her legs, as bracelets do our wrists, or to put her in mind of her servitude, so soon as she submits to Wedlock. I acquainted them, as I said, with all matters: That the Grand Signor, and his Officers, had greatly resented the sufferings of *Hoffe-bey* and that they owned his cause, having stoped the four Ships of *Tunis* at *Constantinople*; and had promised to furnish him with a whole Chamber of Janiaries, with a Licence to raise such Volunteers on the Sea-coast of *Asia*, as would willingly, and of their own accord follow his Colours. I had not many days given them this intelligence, which others confirmed in like manner; before *Hoffe-bey* himself with his four men of War and two other hired Ships arrived in the Port of *Smyna*: where having stayed some days in lack of provisions, and embark those who had lifted themselves for his service in those Parts; they departed for *Tunis*, touching at *Séba*, *Navarine*, and *Tripoli*, in their Way, reinforcing themselves with such, as voluntarily followed their Standard. The Messengers posted back with all speed, on a Vessel hired at *Smyna*; and arriving some time before *Hoffe-bey*; rendered an account of the treatment which he had found at *Constantinople*, with the particulars of the forces he brought with him. The *Tunises* being prepared with this intelligence, took courage to oppose a handful of men, to whom they refused Licence so much as to one man of them to land; only out of respect to the Grand Signor's Commands, they were willing to admit *Hoffe-bey* to a treaty; and to receive him ashore with three or four Servants and Companions; They slightly perused his Papers, rather to discover his strength, and the progress of his negotiations, than with intentions to condescend in the least to his desires; which having done, and given permission to see his house, and wife and children; they banded him again aboard; and all the Country being in Arms, they threatened to treat him and his People, as Enemies, if they adventured to make a descent. *Hoffe-bey* being discouraged with this rude Treatment, and with the Union, and general Confederacy of the people against him contrary to his expectations; returned to *Navarine*; where he landed, discharged his Ships, and Souldiers, which lay too heavy upon a Private Purse, and retired himself for some time with much melancholy and discontent; at length he travelled again to *Constantinople*, where the *Turkish* Officers attended

1675. tended his coming with open mouths, expecting to share once more in the recruits he had brought with him from *Tunis*. But his stock being low, he was not able to dispense his money, and presents so generously, and plentifully as before; which the *Turks* perceiving fell much in their respects for him, and strangely on a sudden lost wholly the zeal and compassion for his cause; suffering him to live at *Constantinople* in the Condition of a private Aga. In the mean time the disturbances, and civil dissensions ran high at *Tunis*: the two Brothers waging War with various and interchangeable success, caused such agitations in the State, that in three months time four Days were cut off. At length the younger Brother *Chidi* gained the Victory, and always inclining towards his Uncle, confessed that he should be recalled from *Constantinople*; whereupon four Ships were fitted at *Porto Farina*, to carry presents of atonement to *Constantinople*, and to bring *Hoffe-bey* from thence with Title of *Pasha*; whom the people now, expected with great impatience, as the only Person, whose Presence and Authority was able to settle, and restore them to their former quietness and union. This happened in the year 1677; when the Country was so harried with Civil Wars, that a miserable Famine ensued; so that a Caffice of Wheat which was ten Bushels, was sold for twenty eight Dollars, and of Barly for fourteen: and the scarcity of this Country which is commonly the Granary of *Italy*, had such influence on *Spain*, in the years 1677 and 1678 that the State of the Grand Duke of *Toscany* suffered much thereby; and had more, had not the State of *Lucia* out of Friendship, and on the score of Neighbourhood relieved their necessities.

Anno 1675. Hegira 1086.

Propositions of peace not being so earnestly pressed, nor so advantageously proffered by the Poles, as the pride of the *Turks* did expect, the War still continued, but not prosecuted either on the one side or on the other with the same violence with which it began. For the Sultan designing this year to circumcise his Son, the young Prince, now about twelve years of Age, and to marry his Daughter of seven to his Molays, or Favourite, *Pasha* of *Magaslai*, commonly called by the Name of *Kut-agli*, which signifies the Son of a Slave, he resolved to dedicate this whole Year to quiet repose, mirth, and jollity at home, only two thousand Janiaries were sent to *Irabim Pasha* to recruit the Souldiers on the Frontiers of *Poland*, and the Tatars were reinforced with some *Turkish* Troops under *Ussif Pasha* to assist *Dorogemka* against the Poles, who were with a considerable Army fallen into *Ukraina*; And the Captain *Pasha*, with twenty eight Sail of Gallies, was dispatched into the Black Sea for carrying of such Provisions and Ammunition for War as was necessary for supply of the Army: Besides which, no preparations of War were designed, these being judged sufficient, though not to conquer, yet at least to repress the Incursions, and amuse or keep the Armes of the Enemy employed.

For at the Ottoman Court the face of all

1675. things was become serene and calm, no Seditions of great men, nor discontents of the people, nor black and cruel designs of State disturbed or clouded the splendour of the Solemnities, or the brows of the great Statists, but all matters ran in an uninterrupted course of joy and Festivity. The Sultan, who in his action showed himself a most benign Prince, sparing and compassionate of the blood and misery of his Subjects, hath, since his arrival to a mature Age, exercised a wise manner of Government, sovereign and just, and yet void of the cruelty and tyranny of his Ancestors; under whom the trading Christian enjoyed the privilege of their Capitulations with more justice, and less frequent Avianies. The Vizier also, and other great Officers, being sensible of the benefit which

Trade brought, treated Merchants with more gentleness and respect than in former times, their Ships not being forced on every occasion into the Grand Signor's service, but rather persuaded to it by rewards and fair promises, otherwise than in the times of former Viziers; and it is to be wished also that the like might be said under the Government of those which are to succeed; though if we look forward to the years 1678 and 1679 we shall find the Scene of things altered, and not only Merchants, but even Ambassadors, and the Representatives themselves, remain under sad discouragements. Amongst these joys and gentle ways of Government, the manner of this Court was much altered; the *Divan* had not for two months space been opened for business, to the great prejudice and interruption of Justice; Wine, that great abomination to the *Turkish* Law, which four years past was by the Imperial Decree forbidden under pain of Death and a thousand Excommunications and Curses, was now the common Drink, and diversion in fashion, used immoderately by all, excepting the Grand Signor, the *Mufti*, and *Reis Effendi*; the Vizier himself having been excessively intemperate therein, had extinguished the natural heat of his stomach, which could be warmed by no less heat than what proceeds from *Aqua Vitæ*; by which debauchery and indisposition all Business were slowly and negligently dispatched, and according to his example the Officers and Ministers acted in their Affairs, which in former times being always dispatched by nine a Clock in the Morning, that became now the time and hour of rising.

The Grand Signor himself, though not taught by his Attendants to drink Wine, lest it should perhaps betray him to some actions dangerous to them, gave himself to Amours, for falling in love with a Polish Woman, lately captivated at *Kemenitz*, he made her his second Haisake or Sultaness; for having had the good fortune to bring him this, that honour was the reward of her fruitfulness; and that he might give other testimonies of his favour, he cast his eyes on a poor Chingance, or Gipsy Boy, who with singing and dancing do pleased him, that he gave him six purses of money, containing three thousand Dollars, with Horses and Servants, and took him into the Seraglio. Amidst these Delights the Grand Signor gave order to the Vizier not to speak to him of three things: Neither of returning to *Constantinople*, nor against his Favourite, nor against his hunting; in other matters he might use freedom.

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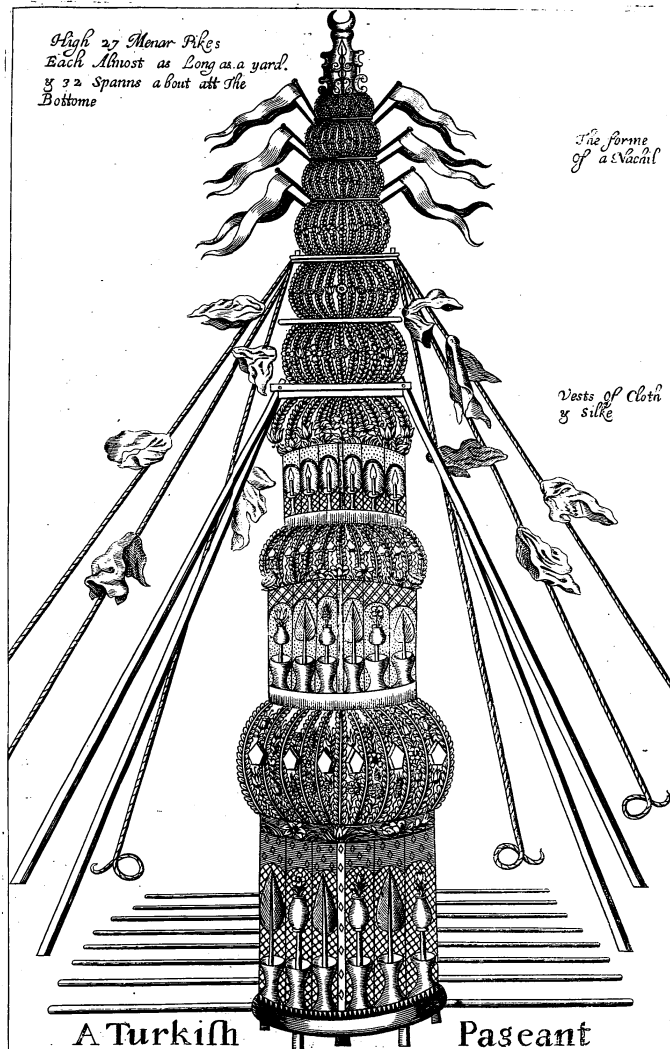
Another

1675 Another alteration of a better nature, with reference to Learning and Knowledge, seems also remarkable in this Court; for the Grand Signior having been some years past preſented by the Dutch Reſident, with twelve large Volumes of the new *Atlas*, upon an accidental ſight thereof was ſo pleaſed, that he commanded it ſhould ſpeedily be tranſlated into Turkiſh; to which Work Dr. *Alexandro Mauro Cordato*, the Viſiers Interpreter, who ſucceeded in the place of *Panaſius* deceaſed, was nominated; but he finding it too unwieldy for him, deſired the aſſiſtance of a French Jeſuit, then at *Scio*, ſkilful in the Turkiſh and Arabick Languages, who was immediately ſent for, and therein employed; and though it is thought, that this buſineſs is above their Element, and that it will ſoon cool and be neglected, yet it ſeems to be the firſt ſtep which the Turks have made unto Learning, and therefore is the more obſervable.

The great Feſtivals in which manner celebrated at the Turkiſh Court.

And now the Feſtivals beginning on the 16th. of May, we muſt for ſome days lay aſide all buſineſs, and obſerve with what order and form theſe Solemnities were performed. In the firſt place. On this day the Grand Signior, with the young Prince his Son, went to their Tents, which were pitched very ſumptuouſly in the Plain near the City, and indeed were truly ſtately and magnificent, all the great men, as the Viſier, Muſti, and others, having their Pavilions erected; amongſt which was raiſed a very ſtately Throne, with a Canopy of Cloth of Gold, extended under the ſhady leavineſs of two tall Elms, which, ſet off with many Lamps, in the Night repreſented a very pleaſant and glorious Scene. On this Seat of State the Sultan placed himſelf in the morning, being accompanied thither by all the Paſhaws then preſent, and by the Representatives of thoſe who were abſent; who according to their Degree, in order kiſſing his Veſt, delivered in a Silk Purſe, a Note or Schedule of their Preſents, which were afterwards put into the Teſterdar's or Lord Treasuſers hands to ſee and compare them with the particulars received; which were ſo great and conſiderable, that they far

ſurpaſſed the Charges and Diſburſments of the Solemnity. Oppoſite to the Tents were ſeveral poles fixed, between which at Night were hung Lamps of ſeveral ſhapes, which being varied every Night made a very pleaſing and magnificent Object; by light of which in the Evening were exerciſed ſeveral tricks of Agility, as Wreſtling, Dancing, and Singing, and ſometimes were acted Turkiſh Comedies, which conſiſt only of Farces, and ſome ridiculous Dialogues, and at laſt the diverſions of the night concluded with Fire-works, which were ſo many, that (as reported) 240 men were employed for four months time in the making of them, and yet there are better made in Chriſtendom; only one ſeemed to excel the reſt, being a ſort of Rocket, which went up very high, without any tail of fire, like the common ones, carrying only a ſmall compacted Globe of red fire like a Star, and making no noiſe in mounting, but raiſed to its height, breaks. Theſe were the paſtimes of the Night; in the day time all the ſeveral Arts and Trades, ſome one day, and ſome another, paſſed before the Tents, every one offering their Preſents, as they paſſed, repreſenting by ſome kind of Pageant and Proceſſion their diverſities of Trade: this continued for fifteen days. On the 25th. of this inſtant May, was a ſolemn Cavalcade, in which marched the Janiſaries with their chief Officers, Chiaufes, and Mutafaracas, &c. And of the Great Men, the Viſier, Muſti, and *Kuloglu* the Favourite, the firſt on the right hand, and the ſecond in the middle; after them followed the young Prince who was to be circumciſed, extraordinary rich in the Furniture of his Horſe, and the number and largeneſs of the Diamonds, which were on his Turbant and Bread. In this Cavalcade were carried twenty four ſmall Nachils, and two large ones, as high as the Maſt of a Ship, which were carried by a hundred Slaves, and ſet before the Seraglio, which are in form of triumphant Pyramids, adorned with Tinſils in thirteen Diviſions, according to this following Form or Deſcription.



1675. On the 27th. being the day of *Mahomet's* Birth, the Grand Signior rode publicly to the *Mosch* of Sultan *Selim*, having no other attendance than the Retinue of his own Court; his Pages were very rich in Cloth of Gold; each carrying a Feather studded with a rich Jewel on his Head; after the Grand Signior rode the young Prince, who that Night was circumcised. During this Festival, a vast number of people wasted at the charge of the Grand Signior, and about two thousand circumcised, every one of which had a Quilt given him, with a small pay of three Aspers a day for his Life.

The manner of the marriage of the Grand Signior's Daughter.

This Solemnity for the Circumcision being ended, on the 10th. of June began the Feast for the Marriage. The Kuzlir Aga, who is the black Eunuch of the Women, was Bridegroom or Compare to the young Princess, and the Tefterdar or Lord Treasurer to *Kul-oglu*, both which in the name of the Bride and Bridegroom went before the Lord Chief Justice called the Kadelescher, and by him had the Articles of Marriage wrote, and passed into publick Act; which being done, the Presents were sent, and first those from the Bridegroom to the Bride, which were these, a great number of Beasts and Birds ill-favourably made in Sugar, thirty Mules laden with two Chests of Sweet-meats a piece, and about their necks each carried a Vest of Sattin for the Mulejiers, then were carried a great many Pots of Sherbet, then an hundred and twelve men carrying Vests of Silks, Cloth, Velvet, and Cloth of Gold, some had three, some five or six at least wrapt up in Linen; then went five Horses, one with rich Furniture; then followed a noble Vest of Cloth of Gold lined with Sables and nine Buttons and Loops on a side embroidered with large Pearl, on the top of which on the one side was a very large Diamond, and on the other a Sapphire, with Shoes, Boots, and Patterns for the Bagnio, all covered with Pearl; likewise two Dressing-boxes, with Looking-glasses, and a Cap in form of a Crown, a little Cabiner embroidered all over with Pearl, eight Girdles set with Emeralds, Rubies, and Diamonds, a large Diamond-ring, a pair of Pendants of two great Emeralds, with many other particulars, which in passage were impossible to be remembered.

These Presents being thus performed on the part of the Bridegroom to his Bride, the next Presents concerned the Grand Signior to his Daughter, which were in place of her Dowry according to the custom of the Eastern Countries: wherefore the 10th. of this month the Presents were ushered with a most solemn Cavalcade of all the Grandees of the Court to the House of the Bridegroom, which were two Gardens made of Sugar, forty little Natchils, eighty six Mules laden with Household-stuff, ten men with her Dressings, as Boots, Shoes, &c. embroidered with Pearl as the former; then were carried her Jewels set in Girdles, Bracelets, &c. promiscuously together, not in that rule as those were which were sent her by the Bridegroom. The Household-stuff was made up with coverts, yet howsoever some parts were left open on the sides, to shew that the Cushions were embroidered with Pearl, and others were of Velvet embroidered with Gold. At last came twelve Coaches with Slaves and thirty six black Eunuchs. The 13d. the Bride was conducted to her Bridegrooms Palace with a solemn Cavalcade, with two great Natchils of

the same form and bigness as those carried at 1675. the Cavalcade of the Prince, with two smaller ones of Silver. The Bride was seated in a handsome Coach drawn with six Horses, and covered with Plates of Silver, and the sides adorned with long Streamers of Tinzel; before which went the Kuzlir Aga or chief black Eunuch, of the Women; after followed four Coaches, with six Horses apiece, and twenty one more with four Horses, each carrying two Eunuchs: than at some distance off came the Hafsakee or Queen-Mother of Silver, and attended with ten other Coaches more: the night following the Bride was conducted to the Nuptial Chamber in ceremony only, the not being yet ripe for consummation of Marriage: all which Solemnity was attended at the Bridegrooms Court, with the same Sports and Fire-works which were made at the Feasts, with an addition of dancing on the Ropes, and sliding down a Rope fastned to the top of the steeple of the *Mosch* of Sultan *Selim*, which had like to have proved fatal to one who came down with a Boy at his back; for when he was about twenty yards from the ground, the Rope broke, but falling on a tree first, and then on a man, he was taken up with little hurt. The most remarkable of all these Shows was a man that walked up a Rope as high as the second Balcony of the Menateh or Steeple of Sultan *Selim*, which is as high as commonly our Fire-Speecles are in England: And another hanging on a Rope with his hands, with his body extended, turned himself twelve times round with his hands: at all which Sights the Grand Signior was a constant Spectator. In this manner these Solemnities ended, the Molays or Favourite rich in the esteem of his Prince, and in high honour with all, had yet some allay to attempt and moderate his joy; for the Princess not yet fit for consummation, in case she dyed before that time, all her Jewels and Goods must return to the Grand Signior, notwithstanding which he would be obliged to pay her Dowry, which was said to be the Sum of two years Revenue of *Grand Cairo*, but let it be what it will, he will be insolvent, being, as reported, three hundred Paises already in debt. And now to demonstrate the uncertainty of the Courts of Princes, as well as of all other places and conditions of the World, the Great Tefterdar or Treasurer, who had for the space of thirteen years managed this Office with singular industry and advantage, was now removed from thence, and under a specious shew of Preferment, was advanced to the Dignity of Pasha of *Grand Cairo*; this change was the more wondered at, because he was a Person so acute and so proper for the Office, that no man that held the place did ever manage it with greater reputation, nor with greater benefit to the Interest of his Prince; besides his good husbandry in other matters, he was so skillful in knowing the price of Commodities, and so near in making his Bargains, that the Merchant could scarce live by him, which in that consumption of Goods made in the Seraglio, will produce a considerable abatement, when all things are bought at the best hand; considering which, many reasons were alledged, and conjectures made of his removal: some said, That the Grand Signior having a liking to a young Man of his, to prevent his being taken into the Seraglio, the Tefter-

1675 gave him a Wife, and thereby greatly displeased the Grand Signior, as if he had purposed to deceive his desires: others said, That the Grand Signior would have borrowed money of him to pay the Arrears of the Spahes, which he refused to lend: but others talked, and that with best reason, That Kara Mullahpa the old Chimaam, who is always with the Grand Signior, had found an opportunity to represent him amiss, suggesting, that the Treasurer should say, That want of money in the Treasury was caused by the vast Sums consumed in the fooleries of the late Feasts: and the Vizier, though he entertained no personal animosity against him, yet was willing to sacrifice him to the friendship of Kara Mullahpa. And to being dispossessed of his Office, thereunto succeeded the Janitary Efsendi or Judge-Advocate of the Janitarie, a great Drinker of Wine, and one not to hold any comparison with the parts and abilities of his Predecessor. Money now wanting greatly in the Treasury, several ways were sought to bring it in, and to save expences. The first of which was, that a review be made of all Otoraks, such as *Millets emerits*, who are exiled from the War, and yet receive their pay; from which number those were excluded who had bought it, but were not come legally by it, which would have the Grand Signior a vast Sum of Money yearly: and to help at this time of need, the late Treasurer must refund and ease himself of money, before he enters on that rich and important Office of Grand *Cairo*. And *Chussein Aga* the chief Customhouse, who was a man that had enriched himself by many bad ways and arts, was displaced from his Office, and caused to disgorge great Sums of Money to add unto the Supplies of the Treasury. He was a Person of a subtle disposition, raised from the mean degree of a Shoemaker, and being well acquainted both with good and bad ways of gaining money, was a proper Instrument for the Turkish Government, it being his fortune to find riches rather for others than himself. And now being deprived of his Office and the best part of his Wealth, he resolved, like all other discontented Ministers, to take a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and to that end made a solemn Visit to the *Pasha of Cairo*, then in his Tent near *Scutari*, acquainting him of his intentions to wait on him, and perform his Respects in his passage to the Holy *Kelch* or *Mecca*.

The Turks have not of late years been very prodigal of the blood of their Subjects, nor have those Executions been done of late on any Officer, unless his Tyranny and Oppression of the people did justly draw due punishment upon himself. And such was the case of the Kahya or Secretary of the Chimaam or Governour in the Viziers absence of *Constantinople*, who taking on himself the management of all the Affairs of his Master, acted every thing according to his own pleasure; for finding that whatsoever he did or propounded, was always confirmed and assented unto by his said Lord, he assumed a boldness to undertake any thing upon the proffer of money, so the Sum was in any manner agreeable to the greatness of the matter required, or to the danger he incurred; by which means he involved his careless and unwary Master in such intrigues, as could have no excuse besides his own supineness, and the corruptions of his Servant. At this

manner of administering Justice, the people being discontented, hastened the removal of the Chimaam: and now another entering on the Office, the Kahya remained exposed to the malice and complaints of all his Enemies, amongst which none was of greater force than an accusation laid against him, for having granted leave to the Armenian Christians at *Constantinople* for a Sum of Money to erect a Church; for which, though a Command was granted by the Great Vizier, obtained at a good price, to build one there of Timber, but of a low and mean Fabric; yet the Kahya for a greater Sum of twenty Purcs of Money, or ten thousand Dollars, improved this Command, and changed their Materials from Timber to Stone and Mortar: the which Building beginning to rise with some magnificence, offended the neighbouring Turks with so much scandal, that great numbers of them carried the Complaints thereof to the Grand Signior; who calling the Vizier, and examining the Case, the Vizier would own no other Command, than for repairing of an old Church, but not building one new. Whereupon Sentence of Death being passed on the Kahya, an Officer was sent to execute it. And in his way to *Constantinople*, at a place called *Seldeva*, meeting with the Officer, he caused him to return again with him to *Constantinople*, where having strangled him, his Body was thrown into the Sea.

We have thus far discoursed of the Affairs at home, which consisted for the most part in jollities and diversions; let us now look on the enterprizes and attempts abroad, and we shall find no great matter of action this year performed against *Poland*, more than some incursions made into *Ukraine* by the Turks and Tartars under the Conduct of *Ibrahim Pasha*, in which we have no Battels, nor great skirmishes to recount, only a seizure or surprize of those *Cofacks*, which were not under the jurisdiction of *Dorofenke*, who like sheep were driven from their pastures, and Men, Women, and Children carried away into Captivity, and transplanted into Countries, where they might better serve the purposes and designs of the Turkish Empire; to which ends also vast numbers of Tartars with their Families, were called to inhabit the circumjacent parts of *Remenitz*, for better security of that Conquest, to which the Tartars most willingly concurred, esteeming it a happy Bargain to exchange the Soil of *Tartary* for the fruitful Plains, and more gentle Air of *Poland*. And thus we may consider what the intestine Discord of the Poles hath brought upon themselves; that they, who in former days maintained their honour and reputation with the Turks, beyond any of the bordering Nations; not having ever suffered them to continue in their Country, much less to sojourn or possess one palm of Ground therein; can now more easily see them before the Walls of *Leopolis* or *Cracovia*, and planted in the very Bowels of their Country, rather than a King of their own Country let over them not agreeable to their own humour and fancy; or perhaps rather than behold the evicted calamity of some persons to dignity, or some little disorders in their Government; of which the Turk knows well to make use, it being no new Lesson for him, to profit himself of the Discord and Animosities of the Christians.

In

1673. In like manner the Marine Affairs of the Turks this year afforded little worthy of Praise, unless it were, That the Captain *Pasha* was employed with about thirty Sail of Gallies into the Black Sea, for transporting of Ammunition and Provisions to those Forces in *Ukraine*; but he returned not with an equal number of Gallies, with which he departed, having lost five of them by storm, and then arrived at *Constantinople* on the 26th. of October, called by the Greeks the Feast of St. *Dometius*, and by the Turks *Cafusghoua*, a day which is commonly remarkable for Storms at Sea; of which the Turks and Greeks are so apprehensive or superstitious, that on that day or near that time, either before or after, until the storm hath vented its fury, and taken its course, they will not adventure themselves unto the Sea, upon the most pressing occasion, or hopeful inducement whatsoever.

And here I judge it requisite to conclude this Year with two matters very observable relating unto Trade: The first is with reference unto the Genouefes, who in the Year 1666. first sent their Ambassador Signior *Durazzo*, with many Presents and great Magnificence to conclude a Peace with the Ottoman Empire, with the sole design and intention of Trade; which having been established on no other foundation at the beginning, than that of their Temins, and the Fabric of their own Cloth, when the first failed, as it did in two years after, and that their Cloth turned not to account, but was out-sold by the English and Dutch, then their Trade began to decay, or rather never came to perfection, like the fruit of a young tree, which buds fairly, and produces fruit, but hath not strength to digest or bring it to maturity: Even so it was with the Genouefes, who having been at the charge of an Ambassador Extraordinary, and sent a Resident at *Constantinople*, and a Consul at *Smyrna*, and all the other Formalities of Trade, wanted that nourishment thereof from their own Soil, which produces the true and natural fruit of Commerce, which is gain and profit; and being out-done by other Nations in shipping, there could little or no benefit be expected from their own Navigation in the Levant. For these reasons, their Trade failing, the Duties of Consulate on Goods appointed to maintain the Officers, and delay the publick Expenses, were consequently wanting; so that the Consul *Ficchi* Resident for that Republick at *Constantinople*, finding himself in great distresses and necessities, and unable to maintain himself and his Attendants agreeable to his Character and Quality, often advised his Prince and the Senate of the unhappy fate of their Affairs, desiring from them either to provide a Supply agreeable to the occasions, or to recall him from that Office, where he could no longer live in that Honour required. This impunity produced the exchange of Officers, and the Million of Signior *Gualfiamano* to reside at *Constantinople*, and Signior *Genile* at *Smyrna*; the first of which, some few days after his arrival, being unfortunately killed with a Carabine in his Chamber at *Constantinople*, as before related, the Office of Resident came to be still continued in the person of *Ficchi*, who remaining without provisions necessary to maintain his degree, and the annual Presents expected by the Turks, which they esteem as due as their Income, and as part of their Revenues, was forced to take up money

on Pawns, and his own Credit at the Interest 1675. of 20, 25, or 30 per cent. according as his necessities increased; and the apprehensions men conceived of an insolvency and hazard in their security, was the cause that the debt, which in the beginning was inconsiderable, increasing with Interest upon Interest, came at length to the Sum of sixty or seventy thousand Dollars, which the Republick of *Genova*, attributing in a great measure to the ill Conduct of *Ficchi*, and judging the greatest part of this debt to be feigned, sent another Resident called Signior *Spinala* to succeed him in his Office, who arriving at *Smyrna* in the month of May 1675. of this present year, on a stout Ship hired of the Venetians, and under the notion of a Man of War accompanied with a Merchant Ship, and a new Consul (the old one dying the year before) settled there such Orders, as were judged necessary for the government of their Affairs. But before these Genouefes arrived, a report had fore-run them from *Ligorne* and other parts, that their Ships brought great quantities of false Gold and false Pieces of Eight: the which coming to the ears of the Turks, Commands were provided against their arrival to search their Ships, and try their Monies; to which the Genouefes not condescending, Arz or testimony was made thereof by the Kadi unto the Grand Signiors Court. In the interim whilst this Arz went up, and the answer expected, the Genouefes Resident designed to proceed forward on their Voyage to *Constantinople*, demanded the Kadi's Moraleau or Ticket of Licence for the Man of War on which he came, to pass the Castle, (for that Ship had entered within the Port.) The Kadi judging it necessary, that both the Resident and Ship should attend the arrival of the answer from above, refused to grant this Licence; whereupon the Resident all in a rage embarked himself, and immediately let sail, and having a fair breeze out of the Port, gently slid along by the side of the Castle without any stop or interruption.

This affront being put upon the Kadi, greatly displeased him; so that calling the Lieutenant and Gunner of the Castle into question, and not admitting of their Plea, that the Ship was a Man of War, and the person thereon a Resident, both which were privileged, and both going up to the Grand Signiors Court, were to answer there for what was laid against them; but this I say, not being admitted for reason, the Kadi committed them both to Prison, from whence with some charge afterwards they released themselves.

The new Resident being arrived at *Constantinople*, the Creditors of Count *Ficchi* demanded payment of the debts owing to them, which was given in, to amount to sixty thousand Dollars, and so much was to be paid before *Ficchi* should be permitted to depart, or at least that part thereof being satisfied in hand, the new Resident *Spinala* should give security for payment of the remainder: the which he refusing to do, as not owning the accounts which *Ficchi* had given in, in regard he judged them to be composed of extravagant Interests, and to arise on charges not allowable by that Republick, who siveat the death of *Gualfiamano* disallowed *Ficchi* for their Minister; hereupon great disturbances and commotions arose amongst the Creditors, some of which being in great Power, as the Janitary-Aga and others, Sec-

The Chimaam of Constantinople dismissed out off.

1675. Sequestration was laid on their Man of War; so that the was towed away to the Arsenal, and there laid up, and attached for payment of the debt: which arising on the account of the Publick, the Goods of the Common-wealth was justly esteemed liable to the Sequestration: during which time the Pestilence, the Epidemical disease of that season at *Constantinople*, affecting with its contagion the Ships company, about eighteen or twenty of them dyed thereof, and all their affairs reduced to a strange confusion.

In this interim many and various were the disputes and contentions between the two Residents; sometimes they propoled to refer their differences to the decision of the English, French, and Venetian Ministers; sometimes again, finding the distance so wide and spacious between them, they resolved to have their matters determined by Turkish Sentence. At length the new Resident perceiving no end of this business, and that the Ship lay engaged at a great charge, and as it were captivated to the great dishonour of the Republick, came to an agreement to pay thirty three thousand Dollars, one third whereof was to be paid in hand, and the other two thirds by equal portions in the space of one year; the first payment to be made after six months, and the other six months after; to which not only the Resident, but their Merchants also entered personally into obligation. In this manner the Ship being cleared, and taking such Lading as offered for *Genoa* at *Constantinople* sailed for *Smyrna*, where taking another Ship of the same Country into her company, departed with the Dutch Convoy for Christendom. But having remained six months in Port, subjected to much charge and trouble, and not finding a Freight equal to the time and expence, was no great encouragement to the Genouettes to continue this Trade; which by good experience appears in no manner agreeable to their Country, nor yielding success answerable to the long expectation of ten years past.

In this Year it was, that the Grand Signior and Great Vizier at the instigation of *Obduquin* Aga the chief Customier (whom we have before mentioned) casting their eyes on *Smyrna*, and finding it a place of a great Trade, and a convenient Port, for which in ancient times it was always famous, and for the same cause was frequented by Merchants both from the Eastern and Western parts of the World; so that it was become the only great and considerable Mart or Scale within the Precincts of the Turkish Empire: considering it (I say) in this manner with a benign eye, as bringing great profit and advantage, they began to think it worthy the Ornament of some publick Edifices, founded with that Magnificence as might endure long, and renew the ancient Honour and Reputation of *Smyrna*: Hereupon they erected in the first place a Befasteen, which is in the nature of our Exchange, where several Shops are made, and variety of Goods sold; and to make the better Front towards the Sea, it was founded therein on vault Stones and Piles, fit to support a weighty Building.

The next Edifice erected was a Custom-house built into the Sea only on Piles of Timber, with a handson Front towards the Sea; and this the Great Vizier judged to be a work not only necessary, but also agreeable to the Majesty of his Master; for until this time the Customier

lived in a hired House but unlike the others which Merchants inhabit. And now this house being completed, a Hattethis or royal decree came down from the Court, commanding that all Ships that came into that Port either to lade or unlade, should lay their sides to that Custom-house Scale, and thereon discharge their Goods and receive others.

And now whereas the Merchants enjoyed at all times in former days the convenience of having their Goods landed on, and laden from their own Keys or Scales, they greatly resented this innovation; and as they unwillingly quit any Privilege, so they judged this not unworthy to be contended for with singular constancy and resolution: the commodiousness of which was thought so considerable, that it not only caused this place in former days to flourish, and to be distinguished from all the Marts in the World; but also the enjoyment thereof invited the Inhabitants from the more elevated parts of *Smyrna* (where was health and pleasure) to the lower Bays and Marishes; exchanging health and cheerful air for profit and convenience of Commerce. Hereupon applications were made by all the Consuls of the Frank Nations to their Ambassadors and Ministers at the Grand Signiors Court. In the mean time Trade by common agreement was interdicted, at least as to the lading or unlading of Ships, which continued for several days, and touched somewhat grievously the English and Dutch Nations: the first having two Ships, and the latter six Merchants-Ships in Port. The English Ambassadors being then personally at *Adrianople*, was the first who without the assistance of any other Minister, moved in this affair, but found great opposition in it from the Turkish Officers; who with some resentment of the present reluctance of the Merchants, declared not without passion, the resolution the Grand Signior had to conform the honour of the Custom-house in some semblance with those of Christian Princes; and therefore did wonder that the Christian Merchants could so easily condescend to the rules of those Custom houses in their own Countries, where they were Natives, and yet could not support the same in these parts where they were Aliens and Strangers. And as a farther evidence of the Turks resolution to maintain this point, it was said by the Vizier's Kaluya, that the Grand Signior was resolved to blow up both Port and Town, rather than not be obeyed in his own Dominions; with this Answer, Merchants despairing of the success, began to unlade their ships at the Custom house, or to give an account there of the Goods in their Boats; for the Customier was become sensible, there was not sufficient Water for ships to ride at the Key of the Custom house, and did also indulge unto the Merchants several other particulars herein, that so the innovation might sit the more lightly on them, which he perceived was so ill relented and taken to heart. And this was the first beginning in the Months of *August* and *September*, when this privilege was taken from the Merchants. And in this Year also the Great Chan next to the Befasteen was in Building, and the first Foundation thereof laid, and the great Aqueduct brought from the Plains of *Bogian*, and little *Harchi-honor*.

At the end of the year 1674, we have related the beginning proceedings, and conclusion of

1675. of the War, which our Gracious King was pleased in defence of his Subjects, and Commerce to make on *Tripoly*; which we brought down to this year 1676, when Sir *John Narborough* Sailing home for England, touched in his way at *Algiers*, for better understanding of the State of all matters with that Government. Things had for some time remained in a doubtful condition between England, and that people; who having lately proved the smart effects of War with us, were not very forward to make a breach. However it being that time, when by means of a General Peace, which we enjoyed with all the World, and of a War in which the rest of Christendom was involved, that our navigation flourished, and that few other Ships besides English passed the Seas; the *Algierines* grew weary of Peace with us. And herein they seemed to have some more reason then usual, because that when it was their fortune to meet with strangers, they were so disguised with English Colours, and Passports surreptitiously, and fraudulently procured, that they could not distinguish their Friends from Enemies, whereof they made frequent Complaints, and addresses to his Majesty. The King out of a sense of Justice, and a tender care of his Subjects welfare, knowing that such indirect practices must necessarily produce a War was pleased by a Letter to that People, to signify his care in that particular, and recalling all Passports formerly given, promised a better regulation of them for the future; as appears by the Proclamation here following, which was inclosed, and sent in the Letter to *Algiers*.

By the King.

A PROCLAMATION.

Relating to the Articles concluded between His MAJESTY, and the Government of *Algiers*.

CHARLES R.



Whereas by the late Articles of Peace concluded between His Majesty, and the Government of *Algiers*, His Majesty out of His Royal Care of the Persons and Estates of His Subjects, did agree and provide, That none of His Subjects employed or trading in any English Ship or vessel, should for the future be taken and sold as Slaves, or his or their Goods made Prize by any of the Subjects of the said Government of *Algiers*; And also, that any of His Majesties Subjects going in foreign Ships, as Passengers

only, and having Authentick Passports testifying the same, should have the like freedom for their Persons and Goods aboard such foreign Ships: And whereas His Majesty is informed, that divers of His Subjects, contrary to the effect and true meaning of the said Treaty, do take upon them to colour and conceal the Ships of foreigners, with whom the said Government of *Algiers* is in War, and to that end do either wholly subvert the Ships of such foreigners, or otherwise serve in the same as Mariners or Soldiers: which way of proceeding, as it doth for the present abridge just cause of Complaint from the said Government of *Algiers*, so will it in a short time (if not prevented) endanger the Security intended by the said Articles for the Ships, Persons and Estates of His Majesties Subjects: His Majesty doth therefore by this His Royal Proclamation, strictly forbid all His Subjects, that they do not for the future subvert the Ships or vessels of any foreigners in War with the said Government, nor presume to serve in the same either as Mariners or Soldiers. And His Majesty doth hereby further Declare, That if any Offenders contrary to this His Royal Proclamation, shall be taken, His Majesty will not require any release of their Persons or Estates from the said Government of *Algiers*; but that they must expect to be excluded (as they were intended) out of the benefit of the said Articles; His Majesty also strictly charging such persons as shall hereafter go as Passengers in foreign Ships or vessels, to take care that they have Passports with them, signed by His Majesties proper Ministers in England, or His Ministers or Consuls abroad, expressing the Names of their Persons, and the Contents and Qualities of their Goods, at their perils.

Given at our Court at *Whitehall*, this Two and twentieth day of December 1675. in the Seven and twentieth year of Our Reign.

God save the King.

1676. This Care and just Expedition of his Majesty to prevent Fraud and Abuses in this business, was otherwise confuted by the *Algerines*, and made use of, in a contrary sense, than was intended by his Majesty. For now whatsoever Ships they met with, without these new Passes, they began to fend to *Algier*, and make prize of their goods, not considering that the meaning of the King was by these Passes to deter mine doubtful cases about Ships; and not to make a share to entrap Ships *English* built, manned with *English* Men, and freighted with the goods of his Subjects. But these Pyrates, and ungracious Villains would find a knot in a Bull-rush, and a scruple where none was; for now they seized most *English* Ships they met with; for few had been so cautious, as to procure the new Passport; so that by this pretence having made themselves Masters of a considerable Estate belonging to *English* Merchants, and denying to redress the same, War was the necessary consequence of their refusal, which broke out in the year 1676, the success of which we may perchance have occasion to relate in the following years.

Anno Christi 1676. Hogeira 1087.

This Year began with joyful News to the whole Turkish Empire, all Places and Cities of less renown rejoicing to hear the intentions of the Sultan to refresh and adorn again his Capital Throne of *Constantinople* with the Imperial Presence; for that City (which is the most proper Situation of the World, to be made the head of a great Empire) having now almost for sixteen years wanted the Rays of Majesty, and the Commencement of the Sultan, became almost abandoned and forsaken of its Inhabitants, so that the spacious Seraglios or Palaces of the chief Ministers and Officers of the Empire began to decay and run to ruin, and the Artisans and Shop-keepers to leave their dwellings, and to follow their Trade at *Adrianople*, or in the Camp. But now the News of the designed return of the Grand Signior to his ancient Seat, filled all places with joy and triumph, especially at *Constantinople*, which was not more satisfied with the consideration of the benefit and advantage it was likely to receive by the Royal Presence, than that those suspicions and jealousies which formerly possessed the mind of the Sultan with a prejudice against this place, did seem now to vanish, and that he reassumed a confidence of his Royal City equal to that love and esteem which his Ancestors had of it; so that the humour which then possessed *Constantinople* appeared like that of *London* at our Kings Restoration, all joy, even to transport, for this unexpected Return; the people in the streets congratulating their mutual happiness, thanked God, that they had lived to see that happy day and blessed hour.

The occasion of this unexpected and sudden resolution caused many roving guesses and opinions of the reasons of it. Some said a Dream which the Grand Signior had, and which gave great disturbance to his thoughts, until he resolved for *Constantinople*. Others said, the revolt and troubles at *Cairo*, of which we shall presently have occasion to discourse, and some

added certain Commotions at *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*; some reported, that *Xeriff of Mecha* wrote him a Letter, that he could not acknowledge him the Head and Protector of the Mussulman Faith, so long as he had abandoned his Imperial City, and lived in the mountains and unknown places. Others said, that the Janitories and Militia murmured, and that his Coming to *Constantinople* was forced and not to be avoided; and that the Sultan being now out of love with *Adrianople*, had cursed it, and sworn never more to set foot in it, having ordered the materials sent for the building of the Great Seraglio at *Adrianople*, to be stopped on the way, and returned back again. At this rate all the World talked and discoursed, joy and hopes made the people fancy every thing according to their wishes. The Grand Signior being approached near to *Constantinople*, fixed himself in his Camp in the Fields, near a small Seraglio of his own, called *Douat Bafha*, from whence the people for many days expected, that he should, according to the Custom of his Ancestors, make a solemn Entry; instead whereof he made some Salies with a small Company through the Streets, as it were *incognito*, taking his pastime on the Water, and on the sides of the *Bosphorus* in his Gallies and Boats, but most commonly frequented his Place of *Schutari* on the Asian side, where with much delight and confidence he lodged and resided his Court, but made no solemn Entry through the City, nor frequented his great Seraglio; where though he might perhaps dine, and pass certain hours, yet he slept not one Night there; of which the people took especial notice, and thereby received confirmation of the jealousie their Sovereign had of them, to their extraordinary grief and dissatisfaction; however it was some contentment to the people, and renown unto the City to have their Emperour so near, though it was rumoured as if the Court towards the approach of Winter intended again to return unto *Adrianople*. In the mean time the Grand Signior took his chief delight and diversion on the Water, passing in his Gallies and Pleasure-Boats up the *Bosphorus* to the mouth of the Black Sea; and thence returning, much frequented the Gardens, and Houses of Delight upon the Banks of the River, and visiting all places, a Dutch House called *Therapsea*, belonging to the Dutch Resident, received the honour of his Presence, which he liked so well, that he took it from the Proprietor, and conferred it without any consideration of money on one of his Courtiers, giving out a Proclamation, that such Christian Minister should possess any Seat or Habitation on the side of the *Bosphorus*. A strange thing, which was not to be paralleled in any part of the World.

About the beginning of this Year the Captain *Patha* died, and *Zaid Ahmet Patha* ogli, then at the Camp, succeeded him; his Father was a famous Man, and in the same Charge, but cut off by old *Kuperlee*. Soon after *Ibrahim Patha*, General of the Army at *Keminitz*, likewise died, and his Office was conferred on *Ibrahim Patha*, that was *Patha of Candia*, of whom we have had often occasion to speak, being a great friend to the English Nation. The Great Viceroy of *Yemen* was not far remote from the Confines of Death, being now fallen, by reason of immoderate drinking of Wine, and chiefly of hot Cinnamon Waters, into a tormented Dropick and Jaundice.

1676.

Confessions concerning the progress of the Grand Signior.

1676. In the preceding year we touched on the removal of the Tefterdar or Treasurer from his Office to the Government of Grand *Cairo*, and the reasons for it, which though it might be a preferment (being the richest and most important Charge of the Empire) to which the eldest the Sultan had of his parts and abilities, might probably advance him; yet the employing of him at a distance, to remote, was certainly an effect of some displeasure, whereby he or his Favourites judged him a Person not fit to remain longer near the Royal Presence. Wherefore having commenced his Journey (as before mentioned) he arrived at Grand *Cairo*, where he had not long continued before he began, according to the natural acuteness of his mind and huffing manner, to pierce with a narrow inspection into all Affairs of that Government, and particularly into the Revenue and Treasure of the Country, contriving with himself by what means the disorders might be corrected, and the Revenue and Tribute improved; for he had an excellent Genius or Spirit in the matters of Money, nothing in advantage of Interest could ever escape him; so that he began to lay a new foundation in all proceedings; he would not be contented with the old Taxes and Impositions, and where he found Lands improved, or the Customs augmented, he would put in for a share of the Benefits, and would reform every thing wherein he judged his Master to have been abused. But though he was acute and sharp-sighted in such matters as these, yet he wanted experience in the Government of *Egypt*; for these great Beghs of this Country being alarmed with the innovations, began to stand upon their Guard, and to enter into private Consultations, in what manner to oppose themselves to this new way of Government, which looked like slavery, and a subjection bringing them into servitude, and a subjection unknown to them and their Fore-fathers. For indeed the Government of *Egypt*, if well considered, is rather Aristocratical than Monarchical; for though they acknowledge the Sultan to be their Head, and accept his *Patha* for Ruler, and pay a yearly Tribute, yet the Beghs which are great Lords in their respective Countries, carry the sway and Dominion in all other matters, and will endure nothing with favours of oppression or innovation, so that these persons grown jealous by the proceedings of the new *Patha*, flew into open Sedition, and immediately to Arms, with force of which they assaulted the *Patha's* Palace, took him and threw him into Prison. The News whereof flying with all haste to the Ottoman Court, appeared at the first apprehension or surprise as if all *Egypt* had revolted, and gave the World occasion to discourse, That the War was to be carried Eastward, and that the sudden resolution of removing the Court to *Constantinople* was in order to a farther March into those parts. But frequent Messages with time making the business to be better understood, caused the Grand Signior to dispeise with all haste another *Patha*, with Commission to remove the former, and to compose all the ancient Customs and Privileges from the beginning indulgent to the Beghs of *Egypt*; which which Meddles and gentle words of grace and favour from the Sultan, all discontents being pacified, the former *Patha* was released from his Imprisonment, and suffered to depart, and thence proceeded to the

Island of *Candia*, where he arrived on that *Patha's* thaluck, succeeding *Ibrahim Patha* in Charge, who (as before related) was sent to *Keminitz*, to be General of the Army, in place of the *Patha* lately deceased.

But here I must not forget a story which happened during the time of this Summer, whilst the Grand Signior had his abode and enjoyed his Recreations in the circumjacent parts of *Constantinople*, there was a certain Sultana which had been a cast *Wench* to Sultan *Ibrahim*, who after his death, having been married to some *Patha*, obtained her release from the old Seraglio, and being also a Widow by the death of this Husband, had liberty to take her habitation on the Banks of the *Bosphorus*, or where she thought fit. This Lady was called *Soltana Sporchia*, in Turkish *Madar*; how she came to the title of her I cannot tell, perhaps some story of Italian Pages of the Court might in respect to her way of living impose this Name upon her, for she was no other than a Bawd, or something worse, making it her Profession to buy young Girls, and to educate them in singing, dancing and in all the ways which best accomplish Courtians. Amongst this Train of Scholars, she had one more brisk and acy than the others, which could sing and dance, and prate incomparably, and was so quick in her Repartees, that she greatly delighted the *Patha's* and Lords, whose pleasures she attended, bringing from them considerable Gifts and Presents to the enriching of her self and Mistress; and became so much the talk of the Court, that at length the report of her arrived the ears of the Grand Signior, who being also desirous to enjoy some diversions by the pranks of this witty Girl, sent to the Sultana one of the black Eunuchs for her; which Imperial Command he not daring to disobey, consigned her with great submission into the hands of the Messenger; but with this caution, that she humbly desired the Sultan not to make any attempt on her Chastity, in regard she was both a Virgin and Free-woman. The Grand Signior having pleaded himself with the wantonness of this *Wench*, began to take a fancy to her, and resolved to take her into the Seraglio; but she shewing a kind of nicety and coyness, the Grand Signior, who perhaps was better accommodated, sent her back as gain to her Mistress, reflecting (as was supposed) with some disgust on the caution which accompanied her. It happened not long after, that this Girl exercising her Art in the presence of some great Persons, one *Chelme Aga*, a Eolian by Nation, Captain of the Great Villers Guard, a stout and valiant man, happening to be a Spectator one night, became unfortunately enamoured of her, and from that time not being able to remove the impression she had made in his heart, resolved, if possible, to make her his Wife, and to that end made his affections known and his intentions of Marriage, both to her and to her Mistress. The Girl was well enough pleased to become the Wife of so honourable a Person; but the Sultana unwilling to lose the profit and benefit the daily brought her in, refused the Match, declaring, That she was a Slave, and not at her own disposal, and therefore in no capacity of bestowing herself any way without her consent. This impediment giving a stop to the Marriage, put the two Lovers on plots and contrivances in what manner to enjoy each other, and Love being ingenious, quickly found

The G. Signior returns to Constantinople

1676. found out a means to bring them together; for the Girl, escaping from her Mistress, lodged her self in those Chambers which her Lover had found for her. And being now mislead, none but *Chesni* Aga was charged with her, of whom she complained to the Grand Signior, and died him before his Master the Great Vizier to answer for her; but he denying to know any thing of her, and no witness appearing against him, all farther proceedings were superseded for the present: But *Soltana Sporcha* keeping watchful spies upon all the motions of *Chesni* Aga, at length found him and his Mistress together, and by the Authority of Officers brought them both before the Vizier, to whom the Sultana sent a rude message, That *Chesni* Aga should be punished, and that her Slave should be returned. The Vizier hereof acquainted the Grand Signior, and gave him to understand the message which the Sultana had sent him, desiring to know what punishment he was pleased should be inflicted on them. In which interim *Chesni* Aga told the Vizier, That he expected no other than a sentence of death from the Grand Signior, only he desired that his beloved Mistress might be spared, for he was sure he should live in her. It was not long before the fatal Decree came for putting *Chesni* Aga to death, and sending the Woman to the Seraglio, which was immediately executed; which act might seem to denote a natural cruelty in the Sultan, being in reality very severe, though the whole course of his Reign has been more gentle and mild than any of the Ottoman Emperours; only this fact proceeded rather from disdain than thirst of blood, being angry that this Girl should prefer the Love of one of his Vassals before the Honours of the Seraglio, and that her Mistress the Sultana should charm him with a love of her being free, when he was no other than a slave, and not long before bought for an inconsiderable price.

Not long after this, and towards the 11th, or 12th, of September, when the Sun was come to the Equinoctial, the Grand Signior prepared to depart. The rumour of which displeasing and making dail the peoples hearts, as much as his presence before comforted them, it was given out, That the Grand Signior intended to return with the Spring, and divide the consolation, which his residence produced, between the two Regal Cities, and for an evidence thereof, he ordered a Platform to be laid for erecting a new Seraglio at *Sentari*, and the Vizier designed another at *Beşik-yalı*, and the Palaces of the Pashas and great Men were all putting into a way of Reparation, which for some time amused and contented the minds of the Common-people.

About the beginning of October the Grand Signior set forward towards *Adrianople*, being accompanied with the Molays, which is his Favourite, and *Kara Mustafa* who was his Chisacim, taking his recreation by the way in Hunting; but the Great Vizier *Ahmet* Pasha continuing still sick of his Dropsie and Jaundice, took his Journey by Water as far as *Selçera* for his better ease, and thence proceeding in a Horse litter to *Churla*, which is the half-way to *Adrianople*, on the twenty third of October expired his last; his Dislike, though brightened by Wine and hot Spirits, yet was in some part hereditary, his Father dying of the Dropsie. His Body was on the twenty

fifth brought back again in a Coach to *Constantinople* with a small Attendance, and buried in the same Sepulchre with his Father. He was a Person (for I have seen him often, and knew him well) of a middle stature, of a black beard, and brown complexion, something short-lighted, which caused him to knit his brows and pore very intently when any strange person entered to his presence: he was inclining to be fat, and grew corpulent towards his latter days. If we consider his age when he first took upon him this important Charge, the Enemies his Father had created him, the contentions he had with the *Valide Sultana* or the Queen-Mother, and the Arts he had used to reconcile the affections of these great Personages, and conferve himself in the unalterable esteem of his Sovereign to the last hour of his death, there is none but must judge him to have deserved the Character of a prudent and politic Person. If we consider how few were put to death, and what inconsiderable Murders or Rebellions happened in any part of the Empire during his Government, it will afford us a clear evidence and proof of his gentleness and moderation beyond the example of former times; for certainly he was not a Person who delighted in blood, and in that respect of an humor far different from the temper of his Father; He was generous, and free from Avarice, a rare Virtue in a Turk! He was educated in the Law, and therefore greatly addicted to all the Formalities of it, and in the Administration of that sort of Justice very punctual and severe; He was very observant of the Capitulations between our King and the Grand Signior, being ready to do Justice upon any corrupt Minister, who pertinaciously violated and transgressed them, of which I could give several instances, but these being improper for this place, are only in general to be mentioned with due gratitude in honour to his Memory. As to his behaviour towards the neighbouring Princes, there may, I believe, be fewer examples of his breach of Faith, than what his Predecessors have given in a shorter time of Rule. In his Wars abroad he was successful, having upon every expedition enlarged the Bounds of the Empire: He overcame *Nemansul* or *Oynar*, and laid thereunto a considerable part of *Hungary*, which to this day continues subject, and pays contribution to the Turk.

He concluded the War with *Pomnie* after twenty seven years continuance, by an entire and total subjection of the Island of *Candia*, having subdued that impregnable Fortress, which by the rest of the World was esteemed invincible.

He won *Remenia*, the Key of *Poland*, where the Turks had been frequently beaten, and laid *Ukraine* the Empire, reducing the Cossacks, those mortal Enemies, to subjection, and to a desire of taking on them the Ottoman Yoke: and finally, he imposed a new Tribute on all *Poland*. After all which Glories he dyed in the 47th year of his Age, and 15th year and 8th day of his Government; a short time, if we consider it; for such great actions, however, if we measure his triumphs, rather than count his years, though he might seem to have lived but little in his Prince and People, yet certainly to himself he could not dye more reasonable, nor in a greater height and eminency

676. nency of Glory. *Vicarius Principi, & Republice parum, sibi certo satis suus, Glorie vicissim videbitur.*

The Great Vizier having in this manner expired, his last Will, the Seal was immediately carried by his Brother to the Grand Signior, who upon Receipt thereof, according to common expectation, conferred the same on *Kara Mustafa* Pasha, who had for so many years formerly exercised the Office of Chisacim, which is as much as Deputy to the Great Vizier, of whom in other places we gave a Character of being a wise and experienced Person, of a smooth behaviour, and a great Courtier; agreeable to which temper of mind, so soon as he attained this promotion, he sent an obliging and courteous Message to the Servants of the deceased Vizier, condoling with them the death of their Master, promising to take them and their Concernments into his Care and Protection; according whereunto he advanced *Solyman* Kahya (who was the late Vizier's Substitute,) and for some years had managed all Affairs to the Office of Embassador, which is chief Master of the Grand Signiors Horse, and is a place not only of honour, but of great security. He that was his own Kahya he made a Vizier of the Bench, and Chisacim in the same manner as he was to *Ahmet* Vizier; by which point of policy he seemed to have strengthened himself against all Enemies, for having two Creatures of his own well disposed; one near the Person of his Prince, who would be able to do him all good Offices, and the other (whenever the Wars or other occasions should cause him to be absent from the Royal Presence) might supply his place without attempting to supplant him. The Kapiler-Kahya, or Master of the Ceremonies to the late Vizier, he made his own Kahya, and all the other Agas which depended on that Court, he received into his own service; so that in effect there seemed, by this great chance of Mortality, to be little other alteration in the Court, than of the single person of the deceased Vizier; of whose Memory that the Grand Signior might evidence the love and esteem that he retained, he did not intermeddle or appropriate unto himself any part of his Estate, or disannul his Testament; but resigned all into the hands of his Relations, challenging no share or proportion thereof: And whereas the Vizier left no Children, the Evidence of his Devotion to Religion, and good will to the Publick, and to please the eyes of the envious World, conferred on *Mecha* the Rent of the new Custom house, the Belashten, and new Chan built at *Smyrna*, and finished in the year 1677.

At this first change there were rumors that the new Vizier had begun his Government in blood, having cut off several Heads lately in Authority; but all was false, and only grounded on a duplicity which he was known to have conceived against certain persons. Only one act he performed rather of justice than severity, having cut off one of the Pay-masters of the Exchequer for false Money. The occasion was this: Certain Mulctiers having received money from the Exchequer in Venetian Zechini, and finding several of them false, returned them again, but could not prevail to have them changed; whereupon having made

their Memorial thereof, they carried them to the Vizier, and upon examination, the Paymaster declared, That he received them from the Great *Ibrahim* Han-ogli, who being for that Cause sent for and accused, was put into a fear, which proved as dangerous to him as a Dislike, the apprehensions of Death being worse than the reality; but the Great *Tefdar* soon cleared him of this Accusation, having attested, That to his knowledge the money received from him was good, and disposed on other occasions; so that the whole blame lying now on the Pay-master, and upon farther search more of the same flamp being found in his hands, he deservedly suffered the punishment of Death, the which had likewise been inflicted on another Officer of the same rank, but not being found so culpable as the other, he was permitted to redeem his life with forty Purles of Money, or twenty thousand Dollars.

Thus far we have seen the gentle and smooth behaviour of the present Vizier towards the Friends, Relations, and Servants of the deceased, and with what Acts of Justice he began his Government. But, behold, on a sudden the face of the whole Court was changed, every Officer, perceiving, putting on a Countenance of fierceness, pride, and arrogance, beyond the manner and custom lately practised. For the Great Vizier took on himself the State and Grandeur of the Sultan, the access being as difficult to him as to his Master; his Kahya that of the Vizier, and to every inferior Officer advanced himself into a fancy of possessing the next and immediate Degree above him. This haughty behaviour had a more particular influence on the Ministers and Representatives of Foreign Princes, whose Intercessions were not admitted, as formerly, to private Audiences or Conferences about their Affairs, but only at the Publick Divan, where their Armes or Memorials were to be preferred in the same manner as was practised by the Subjects of the Country, and those of conquered Nations; who petition for Justice. The which abatement was not only call on the Interpreters, but on the Persons of the Representatives themselves: an example of which we have in the French Ambassador, who coming at the time appointed to receive his Audience of the Vizier, was forced to expect a long time before he could have admittance, and then entering into the Chamber of Audience, was rudely clouded, and rushed upon by a Crew of unmanly Chaouffis, who no otherwise regarded the Person of the Ambassador, than if he had been one of the Grooms or Lacquies. Being come to the Seat of Audience, the Ambassador observed, That the Stool for the Great Vizier was set upon the Sofa, and that for him below, or at the foot of it; the which being an unusual and unpractised diminution of the ancient honour given formerly to Ambassadors, he ordered one of his Servants, To sit again on the Sofa equal with that of the Vizier's, the which being done, was again brought down by one of the Viziers Pages, and placed as before; whereupon the Ambassador seizing the Stool with his own hand, carried it on the Sofa, and late upon which being reported to the Vizier, then in his retiring Chambers, he sent twice to him to remove, letting him know, That unless the Stool were returned into the Place appointed by him,

1676, he would not appear in the Chamber of Audience. Whereunto his Excellency returned this prudent Answer, That the Visier might dispose of his Chair as he pleased, but not of his Person. In which Interim the Chaoul-Bahee came in, roaring out, *Calder, Calder*, which is, Take it away, Take it away, (meaning the Stool) at which noise the Ambassador arising to see what the matter was, had the Stool taken from under him; whereat being greatly enraged, he threw out of the Room in a high passion, and causing the Presents which he brought to be again returned with him, he mounted his Horse, and departed.

Afterwards it was intimated unto the English Ambassador, That he might, if he pleased, receive Audience of the Great Visier; But his Excellency, understanding in what manner the French Ambassador had been treated, excused his going, on pretence of an Indisposition of health. However, the Venetian Bailo, and the

Residents of *Holland* and *Genoa* were contented to be admitted unto Audience on those terms which the Visier was pleased to allow. And though during the time that he was Chirmacani, and bore other inferior Offices, and Charges of Trust, his behaviour was gentle, affable, and civil; yet I fear, that now having changed his Office, he will have altered his humour, and that his Greatness will have increased his Pride, Avarice, and Perverseness: thus, no man knows what another will be, when he shall enter into power.

Dic mihi si fueris tu Leo, qualis eris.

And as *Magistratus indicat Virum*, so in the actions of his management the temper and constitution of this great Person will be discovered. And thus having given a short Account and Character of this present Visier, his future Acts and Monuments must be the Subject of other Pens.

FINIS.

THE HISTORY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE CONTINUED,

From the Year One thousand Six hundred Seventy six, to the
Year One thousand Six hundred Eighty six.

By Sir ROGER MANLEY, Knight.

THE HISTORY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE CONTINUED,

From the Year of Our Lord, 1676, to the Year 1686.

By Sir Roger Manley, Knight.

1676 **T**HE History of the Turkish Empire, having been transferred to us by Mr. Kneller very methodically and well, and continued by the deserving Pen of Sir Paul Rycaut, to the Year 1676, being the Twenty eighth of Sultan Mahomet the Fourth, now reigning: We have, as well by inclination, as to satisfy the desires of some Friends, thought fit to prosecute to laudable a Design, by extending the History of that great Monarchy to our present Times. And though we may be defective in skill for so Eminent an Undertaking, we shall notwithstanding add Industry to our Endeavours; and compensate our Failings by the candour and ingenuity of our Narrative.

Achmet, the great Visier, being dead in his way to *Adrianople*, was succeeded by *Kara Mustapha*, his Brother-in-Law, aged about fifty, and who had exercised the Office of *Caimacan* for many years. The Grand Seigneur, to incline him the more to him, married him to one of his Daughters, though very young, not exceeding five years of age, according to the custom practised by the *Sultans*, to be rid of their Daughters betimes, which are always numerous, by reason of the multiplicity of their Concubines, and by this means to ease themselves of the Expence which they are obliged to be at in maintaining them according to their Quality.

In the same Month of *January*, the strong Garrison of *Canisla*, having drawn out a Party to attack the Isle of *Sexin*, alarmed all *Croatia*, by their Military Executions exacting Contributions, and pillaging and burning such places as did not submit to their tyranny. The Turks of *Nembauzel* did also ravage the Country on their side as far as *Rysslat*. But before we enter upon this stage of Wars, it may be requisite to say somewhat of the Troubles of *Hungary* which preceded, and their causes, and how the Infidels came to be Principals in a War of Religion between Christians.

The Kingdom of *Hungary*, being subdivided into Counties, as in *England*, or Communities, have right to send their Deputies to the Dyets or Conventions of the Estates, which ought to be summoned every three years, according to

the Laws of the Kingdom. This Assembly is composed of the Clergy, the principal Lords, the Gentry, and the said Deputies of the Counties. It hath the right of choosing a Palatine, who ought to be an *Hungarian* according to the privileges of the Nation, and to have the intire direction of War and Justice. The great Lords have so great Authority over their Vassals, that they are look'd upon as so many lesser Sovereigns in their several Territories. They have also great Revenues, which enables them upon occasion to raise considerable Bodies of Men, the People in general being strong, active, and valiant, but covetous, vindictive, and inconstant.

The great Employments of the Kingdom were also invested in the Natives, and no Strangers were to be imposed upon them; and Foreigners enquartered amongst them; all which the Emperour, upon his Election to the Crown, was obliged to observe by the solemnity of an Oath. But on the other side, there being very many *Arrians*, *Calvinists*, and *Lutherans* in the Country, they added to the aversion the Natives have to the *Germans*, having been, as they thought, too severely used by them; complaining, that they were hindred in the free Exercise of their Religion, their Churches violently taken away from them, and their Ministers forced from their Duty. It was farther complained, that the *Grandeues* of the Kingdom were not permitted to enjoy their Privileges, of which one was, That none of them should for any Crime whatsoever be convicted before any Judges but those of their own Nation.

Notwithstanding all this, as the Emperour had sworn to maintain their Privileges, he had likewise promised to defend their Country, which could not be done against the Insults of so powerful an Enemy as the Turk, without an Army; and those strangers living ill with the Inhabitants, and they again thrusting their Towns against them, occasioned infinite Violences and Disorders on both sides, which Repugnancy was the source of all the Troubles in *Hungary*.

The Emperour, beginning to suspect the fidelity of the *Hungarians*, by reason of the obliquity wherewith they refused to lodge his Troops, began seriously to think of securing the Kingdom to himself, which being perceived, he augmented

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mented by that Precaution the hatred which the Nation had conceived against him; which was re-doubled by the refusal of his Generals to withdraw their Troops out of their Fortresses. These Grievances did so far agitate these Spirits, already jealous and diffident, that they at length resolved to shake off a Yoke that seemed to be insupportable. Many great Lords by their particular Interest were glad to entertain this aversion, which might serve for the Execution of the Designs they had already formed. And thus the Spirit of revolting did insensibly diffuse itself through the whole Kingdom, and the general aversion grew to that height, that they of the Religion said openly, that they would rather live under the Domination of the Turks than the Tyranny of the Germans, whilst one of their Preachers did dare maliciously to insinuate, That these Infidels would at least grant them the liberty of their Religion, whilst the Dutch would rack their Consciences, under pretence of reforming them.

The Emperor being informed of these murmurings, thought it expedient to secure the Lower Hungary, and to strangle the Rebellion in its birth. Their reiterated pressing to have the German Troops removed out of the Kingdom, gave him just cause of jealousy: and besides, he would not lose the expense of all his toils, and those vast charges he had been at in fortifying the Frontier places, and entertaining Armies capable to oppose the Invasions of the Turks. Finally, he judged it absolutely necessary, to reduce a Nation to their duty, that gloried in their disobedience to his Orders; being a King is no farther a Sovereign, than whilst he obliges his Subjects to pay obedience to the Laws, and his Commands.

And thus in short we have shewed the cause of this Revolt (which yet lasts) on both sides, and though perhaps this digression may seem foreign to some, yet, being the Turks have been so mainly concerned as to become Parties in it, we thought it reasonable to subjoin it to their History.

And now to come nearer to the matter in hand, we will say somewhat of the Maxims of these Infidels, which will give us some light into their Policies: And first, it is a fundamental one to keep their Men perpetually employed; for Idleness ingenders indigested Humours in the Politick, as well as the Natural Body, which renders it infirm. Another Maxim is, that they do never employ their Forces more than in one War at one time, unless against weak Princes. Nor do they desire to continue long in Arms against the same Enemy, unless constrained by their constancy, to the end they may not grow too warlike and expert; but leaving them by Treaties and Pacifications to their ease, keep themselves still employed, and consequently disciplined, and their Sabres from rusting, by continual managing of them. They moreover never break out into a distant War, before they have composed Affairs with their Neighbours. Thus when they transport their Armies toward the Frontiers of Persia, they make Peace with the Princes of Europe, and so on the contrary. But the unhappy Europeans, giving them more opportunities by their diffidence to enlarge their Empire than any other, they, as well out of Ambition, as an irreconcilable Enmity to the Name of Christ, pursue the same with equal violence and hate. Hence it was, that though they had a Peace with the Emperor, they did not cease to countenance and assist his Rebels in Hungary underhand with their Forces and Pro-

tections, receiving them, when closely pursued, into their own Quarters, where, being followed by the Imperial Troops, several Hostilities were committed by them, which produced in some time an open rupture between the two Nations. The Emperor, to hinder this Commerce betwixt them, dispatched *Menshi*, his Interpreter for the Oriental Languages, to the Port; with instructions to discover whether the Hostilities which were committed upon his Subjects, were done by command of the Ministers at that Court? But he could effect nothing. He had indeed had Audience of the Visier at *Andrinople*, who only told him, That the Grand Seigneur would send a Chief of his own, as his Imperial Majesty, who should inform him of his Intentions.

The Emperor hereupon dispatched an Express to Count *Schaffgots*, his Envoy in Poland, with orders to endeavour to break the Negotiation of Peace betwixt that Crown and the Sultan, though this Precaution proved of no effect, the Treaty betwixt those Potentates being signed presently after, and very easily on the Poles side, who, having an Army of 15000 Men, were surrounded near *Zaramo*, by well nigh 200000 Turks, who yet gave them Peace when they least expected it, tho' upon Conditions then not ungrateful, tho' afterwards quarrell'd at. The *Transilvanians* did also join with the Malecontents, for Prince *Abassi*, having discovered a Conspiracy against his Life, in April, and suspecting the Germans to have designed it, it concerned him, to engage him against them. About the end of this Month the Basha of *Buda* was strangled by order of the Grand Seigneur, perhaps by reason of his immense Riches; for they found two Millions of Money, which was brought into the Sultan's Treasury.

In the beginning of August, there happened an Encounter betwixt the Malecontents and the Croats, where the first were worsted; but the Turks at the same time pillaged a Town near *Kadi*, putting all the Inhabitants to the sword, and 4000 of these Infidels, having gained the Passage of the River *Hydrusk*, upon the Frontiers of Croatia and Syria, ravaged the Country even to the Gates of *Papa*, of *Pessin* and of *Legrat*, driving away a great number of Cattel, and burning a great many Houses.

Prince *Abassi*, finding that the Grand Seigneur did approve of the assistance he gave the Hungarians, sent them fresh Troops, with twenty pieces of Cannon. Their Army being commanded by Count *Weslini*, their Palatine, amounting to 16000 Men, designed to besiege *Zatmar* and *Kale*, which Major General *Smith*, who commanded the Germans, perceiving, he sent a Convoy with Artillery and Ammunition to the first of these places, which was defeated and taken by the Malecontents. But my design not being to describe this War, I shall only mention it, as far forth as I find the Turks, whose History we write, concerned in it. Upon conclusion of the Peace in Poland, the Hungarians had sent thither to engage part of the Troops which that King had disbanded, to their Service, and obtained 6000 of them, commanded by the Count of *Bobam*, who joining with the Hungarian Horle, defeated *Smith*, with part of the Imperial Army, who designed to obstruct their Conjunction with *Weslini*; which however being effected, they could scarce suffice to withstand General *Kop*, in so much, that being assured that the Peace was not only concluded betwixt the Poles and the Turks, but that the

Palatine

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Palatine of *Calm* was sent to *Constantinople* to see it ratified, they also deputed one of their principal Officers to endeavour to oblige the Grand Seigneur to turn his Arms against the German Empire. But being the Turks were in actual War with the Great Duke of *Moscow*, they would not (being already engaged against so powerful an Enemy) intangle themselves in a new War: And yet this Envoy obtained so much, that Orders were sent to the Bashes of *Buda*, of *Belgrade*, *Waradin*, and other Places in Hungary, to assist them with all their Power. And they were assisted by them, for these Infidels, not content to send Troops to join with them, they themselves made several IncurSIONS in their favour. Four hundred Men of the Garrison of *Nienhausen* took several Prisoners by *Neutra*, and beat the *Hussars* of *Conorra* who would have opposed them; two thousand Turks entered into Croatia, and having spoiled the Country about *Zakholm*, they defeated a party of Imperialists near *Carlsitz*. And thus these Infidels made War without declaring it, pretending they did not violate the Peace by these particular Encounters. But the Emperor being of another opinion, dispatched *Hoffman*, his Secretary of State and War, to complain to the Grand Seigneur, how his Bashes did daily assist his Rebels, against the purpose of the Peace betwixt the two Empires. Being admitted to audience by the Grand Visier, that Minister made him some propositions for the renewing of the Peace, but so disadvantageous to his Master, that it seemed apparent, that the Turks sought for nothing more than a pretence to break. And yet the Secretary effected as much for the present, that the Basha of *Waradin* was arrested, and afterwards strangled by order of the Grand Seigneur, who yet would give that satisfaction to the Emperor upon the pressing Instances of his Secretary, who also had made rich Presents to all the Ministers of the Port.

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Whilst *Hoffman* negotiated with so little success at *Constantinople*, the States of Hungary assembled at *Altenburg*, where it was resolved, that the Churches which had been taken from the Protestants, should be restored to them, and many other points remitted in their Favour, in hopes these concessions might oblige them to return to their Duty, and break those Engagements they had entered into with the Infidels: But this passed no farther, for the Ministers endeavoured to elude the said Article, though the most important of all, and therefore the more insisted upon by the Malecontents. This gave the Deputies of the Diet subject to believe that though the Ministers of the Emperor seemed to desire an Accommodation, yet they did not search the means to effect it. And now the Malecontents, instead of conforming to the Emperor's Intentions, resolved to elect another King, and some of them proposed one of the House of *Franzpani*, though it did not take, being they could not agree upon the choice of their Sovereign.

The Truth is, the Palatines and great Men of the Kingdom, being weary of the Crown as it were Hereditary in the House of *Austria*, made use of the pretence of Religion to stir up the People, and oblige them to take Arms for defence of their Liberty, both Spiritual and Civil. And this aversion was the true Cause of the War.

The Emperor was no less dissatisfied with the Turks; for General *Kop*, having sent complaints to the Basha of *Waradin*, for that he had given Quarters to the Hungarians in Places which depended on his Government; the Bas-

ha told him, That he looked upon them as Pafengers, who paid for what they took for their subsistence, and that consequently he could not look upon their Reception into his Territories as any violation of the Peace.

The Hostilities betwixt the Imperialists and the Turks did still continue notwithstanding their Negotiations. Five hundred Christian Horle, commanded by *Ago Hesus*, advancing towards *Erlau*, were cut in pieces by the Infidels. Another Party, commanded by Colonel *Wolping*, was likewise defeated by a Detachment from the Garrison of *Nienhausen*, with the loss of above 200, the Commander being also much hurt. A few days after this Encounter the Basha of that City died, which occasioned an Accident which did well-nigh make a rupture betwixt the Emperor and the Port. The Imperialists had undauntedly attacked the new Basha which the Grand Seigneur did send to *Nienhausen*, and defeated his Convoy consisting of 200 Horle, by way of Reprisal, as they gave out, for the Damages which had been done to them by the Garrison of that Place, without considering that this new Governor had had no share in these Violences. The Basha of *Buda* sent his complaints of this affront to the Imperial General, with threats that he would acquaint his Master with it, and exact satisfaction by all the ways imaginable. And they did so, for, drawing out strong Parties from the Garrison of *Erlau* and *Waradin*, they resolved to revenge the Insult done to the Basha of *Nienhausen*, and marching towards *Sand* near *Budapest*, which they pillaged, they returned with above 200 Prisoners. Count *Wourm*, the Emperor's General, demanded Justice for this Violence from the Basha of *Buda*, but received no other answer, but that what was done was by way of Reprisal.

During these Travels Count Paul *Weslini* dyed, who had commanded the Army of the Malecontents with great success, but is succeeded by Count *Tekely*, young, yet wary and brave; who, to this day heads the however broken discontented Party. The Emperor, who knew that the greatest force of *Tekely's* Army came from *Transilvania*, would divert *Abassi* by re-establishing the Party of *Radspitz*, who had formerly conspired for the Sovereignty of that Principality. To this end he obliged that Prince to send four Deputies to *Constantinople*, to implore the protection of the Grand Seigneur, but the Visier caused them to be put into the Cattle of the seven Towers, which extremely surprised the Emperor's Resident, who had orders to negotiate that Affair joyfully with them. The Emperor being informed hereof, sent *Monsieur Julles*, with secret Instructions to the Port, but he dyed by the way, which did not a little trouble his Imperial Majesty, being all this Envoy's Papers fell into Count *Tekely's* Hands, who drew no small advantage from the lights he received by them. *Hoffman*, Secretary of State, returning from *Constantinople*, was stopped at *Belgrade*, being the Basha of that Place refused to furnish him with necessities for the continuation of his Journey. But the Emperor, having dispatched an Express to the Basha of *Buda* to complain of this incivility, he obtained what he desired. Being upon his departure from *Belgrade*, he was informed that the Great Visier was arrived upon the Banks of the *Danube* with a great Army, and design to enter into the Province of *Ukraine* to fight the *Ruthenians*; he sent to demand Audience of him, but this Minister returned him for answer, That

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1678 he should have it at *Constantinople*, when the Campaign was ended. Many and great were the Encounters betwixt the Imperialists and Malecontents, the latter being for the most part successful, who also ravaged *Moravia*, being assisted by 2000 *Tartars*, and *Austria* it self, under the Command of Collorell *Jolua*, sometimes a Priest, known by the Name of Father *Joleph*, who turning Protestant, rallied 6000 Men at his own Charges, and joining with the Malecontents, grew formidable even to the Gates of *Vienna*. But the Imperialists had also their turn, and Count *Ellerbach*, Governour of *Papa*, attacked 2000 Janizaries and 500 Spahies, near *Velfen*: He took several Prisoners, and amongst them some Agas. As this Action might cause a Rupture, it mis-represented betwixt the two Empires; his Imperial Majesty dispatched a Courier to the Port, to inform the Grand Seigneur with the particulars of this Combat.

1679. The confliancy of the Malecontents, and their Intelligence with the Turks did not a little disquiet the Emperor, but he was more troubled when he heard that these Infidels were upon the point of agreeing with the *Muscovites*, which would put them into a Condition to turn all their power against him. He thought he could not do better than to divert them by obliging the King of *Perfia* to break with them, and therefore sent the Baron of *Miezberg* to *Istifaban* to negotiate that Affair.

The Diet of *Transilvania* being held at *Clawfsburg*, the Grand Seigneur, as well to secure his own Interest, as being dispirited with Prince *Abassi's* Conduct, sent the *Bassa* of *Warada* with a strong Army to pretide at that Assembly. But things being accommodated betwixt them to the satisfaction of the frongest; the *Transilvanian* and the *Bassa's* bordering upon his Principality, who had been at the Diet, had no other thoughts but of deliberating with the Deputies of the *Hungarians*, of the means how to assist them. The Emperor being advertised hereof, sent Doctor *Fering* to *Constantinople*, to endeavour to penetrate into the Intentions of that Monarch, and hinder that the *Bassas* should not succour the Rebels. There was also some under-hand dealing with the great ones of the Party, to make their particular Peace with the Court. Amongst others, the Proposition being made to *Palasti Imbre*, he found it little security in it, that to fliew his Companions he would never accommodate himself with the Emperor, he treated with the *Bassa* of *Buda*, to deliver all the Places that were in his power, to his hand and possession, the which also he put in Execution, tho' his Castle of *Devin* was in the mean time invoi'd by Count *Strafolfo*, before the Turks could enter it, and together with the City forced by him, 500 of the Garrison being made Prisoners.

The Grand Seigneur, to show the esteem and satisfaction he had of the Person of *Abassi*, sent him a Sable as a token of his favour, and gave Orders at the same time to all the *Bassas* of *Hungary*, to send Troops and Forces as oft as he should require them, being absolutely resolved to assist the Malecontents, which he also effectually did.

There had happened a great Battle between the Turks and *Muscovites* near *Czecherin*, when the first had beleiged. The Turks had been worsted at first, but rallying their Forces, they came before *Czecherin* again, where, after playing eight or nine Mines, they so furiously assaulted the Place, that they carried it, with the

slaughter of the Garrison, which was great; for all that, after many Skirmishes, they were forced to retire for want of Provisions. Hereupon the Great Duke of *Muscovy*, knowing that the Emperor, not without reason, apprehended that the Turks would declare War against him, sent him a solemn Embassee, with offer of making a League Offensive and Defensive with him against the Infidels; but the Emperor, contrary to the advice of *Montenescu*, who offered to Command the Army in Person, tho' his great Age might justly dispence with the Fatigues of War; did not think it advisable to break with the Port. The *Bassa* of *Buda*, being informed of the arrival of the Ambassadors, sent a Chaozou to *Vienna*, under colour of complaining of some Inroads which the Imperialists had made into the Grand Seigneur's Territories, but indeed to observe the motions of the *Muscovites*. Nor were they the only motives that exhorted the Emperor to Arm against the Turks. The King of *Poland* sent Prince *Radzivil* to assure his Imperial Majesty, that he would willingly enter into a League against the Infidels, if he could resolve to declare War against them: And however, two Nuncios of the Pope, who were then at Court, did press this Prince to determine to prevent the Enemy, who would not fail to attack him, when a favourable Occasion presented it self; they could not persuade him to embrace a Proposition so favourable for the repose of *Hungary*.

The Emperor, not finding himself in a Condition to reduce the Malecontents by force, resolved to grant what they demanded, provided they would permit him to levy in *Hungary* the same Contributions and Taxes which were exacted in the Hereditary Country. Count *Lefley* had several Conferences with Collorell *Jolua* thereupon; and having discussed this Affair, the principal points were agreed upon, which being communicated to *Reski* and *Tekeley*, they promised to procure the contents of the other Chiefs to agree to them. Upon this favourable disposition, *Lefley* had orders to send his Troops into Winter Quarters, but the precipitate departure of the Emperor to *Maziarzel*, and thence to *Prague*, by reason of the Plague at *Vienna*, this Affair was interrupted, and all the measures taken in it changed.

The Plague spread also into the Turkish Countries, and constrained 500 Families to quit *Constantinople*. There were scarce got a League from the Town, but they were surprised by five hundred *Hussars* or *Hindies*, who took from them all they had, of which the Turks made great complaints, which seemed the more reasonable, being they were so civil to Count *Lefley's* Troops; for he being obliged by the Contagion to change Quarters, encamped betwixt *Chemuz* and *Siriguntun*, for the better subsistence of his Army. The *Bassa* of the last place, to shew the Count that the Grand Seigneur did not approve of his Subjects joining with the Malecontents; permitted him to buy such Provisions as he wanted in the Territories of his Jurisdiction, and also presented him with several refreshments himself.

The *Muscovites* pressed the King of *Poland* to conclude a League Offensive and Defensive with them against the Grand Seigneur; this Prince being not averse to the proposition, commanded his Resident to represent to the Emperor, that being he would not engage in this Union, he ought at least to keep a standing Army in *Hungary* of 30000 Men, to oppose the

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1681. Malecontents, and keep the Turks in suspense on that side, and his Majesty promised to do it; but the want of Monies hindered him to execute a Design to honourable for himself, and to advantageous for Christendom.

However, he endeavoured by the Baron of *Kauwitz*, his Resident at the Port, to negotiate a Continuation of the *Trevis*; but the Grand Seigneur would not consent to it but upon condition, that he should be at liberty to assist the Malecontents at pleasure; which indeed had been to augment the Evil, not heal it. This Prince was at the same time advertised, that the Port had concluded a Peace with the Poles and the *Muscovites*, which gave him occasion to judge that he had a Design to turn his Arms against him.

Many were the Treaties betwixt the Emperor and the Malecontents, and his Majesty's concessions such, that the Grand Seigneur began to apprehend, that *Tekeley* had some inclinations to return to his Obedience to his Sovereign; to prevent which, he sent a *Bassa* to divert him, by offering him the Principality of *Transilvania*, after the decease of *Abassi*. This *Bassa* had several Conferences with him and with the other Chiefs of the Faction, and did so well manage them, with the pretended advantages that they would find by putting themselves under the Protection of the Port, that eighty of them did promise, in the name of all the Kingdom, to pay to his Ottoman Highness a Tribute of eighty thousand Crowns, provided he would powerfully assist them. This Intirgue being made known to the Emperor, he received it with much Indignation, commanding, that none of the contrivers of it should appear at the Diet. In the mean time he ordered the Marquess of *Baden*, and the Count of *Starenburg*, to cause *Kaab* and *Vienna*, whereof they were Governours, to be fortified to prevent any Designs of the Turks upon those Places. And now his Imperial Majesty did no more question but that the Infidels would transport the War into *Hungary*, especially, being informed by his Resident *Kauwitz* at *Constantinople*, that the Port, after many and long Disputes, had at length concluded a Cession with the *Muscovites* for twenty years, upon Condition, that besides *Kiovia*, they should enjoy *Tripoli*, *Sinai* and *Palestine*, which had always been dependent upon *Kiovia*. The Grand Vicer received these Propositions with joy, and writ to the *Coxa* thereupon, with very extraordinary Praises and Titles, assuring him in the name of the Grand Seigneur, that he would ratify the Conditions agreed upon, and that he might send his Ambassadors to finish the Treaty. In the mean time, the Vicer, to prevent the *Coxa's* refusal of sending another Minister before his, which resided at the Port, (who had been kept under restraint for some time) was returned into *Muscovy*, he forthwith dismissed him, with magnificent Presents for his Master. The Grand Seigneur, who seemed resolved to invade *Hungary*, staying his removal to *Adrianople* but till the return of this Ambassadors, did emit a Manifest or Mandate directed to Prince *Abassi*, in these following terms.

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Forasmuch as those of *Hungary*, who have received the Emperor of the Nazarian Nation to be their Lord, have spoiled of their Country and Castles by the Germans, and have therefore had recourse to our Clemency for Protection; it is our pleasure, in regard of their long and piteous miseries, and being thereunto moved by their reiterated Prayers and Supplications, graciously to affranchise them from the Yoke of

that Nation. "We therefore that We communicate this Design to you, as our faithful Minister, by the *Bassa* Caput, and the *Agas* Starra, with express Command, that you make your self forthwith ready to deliver the Hungarians from the Oppression of their Enemies; with all the Forces of *Transilvania*, which shall be immediately reinforced with those of *Valachia*, and of the *Bassa* of *Silistria*, 13000 Janizaries, and 20000 Horse; for We have promised them our Imperial Protection in consideration of the Fidelity which they have manifested to Us, which We have since had experience of. And therefore We Command you yet again to neglect nothing that may tend to the Execution of our Pleasure and good Will, to the end, that by the Assistance of the most High and most Mighty God, this People, so cruelly oppressed, may be forthwith delivered from the Bonds of the unmerciful Germans. In the mean time, you shall from time to time inform our great Ottoman Highness with what shall happen, and what you shall have done pursuant hereto. And you are farther enjoined to take heed that you do nothing that may be disadvantageous to our Incomparable Greatness.

Abassi, animated with this Mandate, and having received the Orders that were necessary, drew his Troops together, and joined with *Tekeley*, with the Turks, the *Valachians* and the *Moldavians*, emitting withal a Declaration, That he did not Arm against the Interest of Christendom, but only to deliver the Protestants of *Hungary* from the Oppression they laboured under, and restoring them in their Possessions and their Churches, and re-establishing them in their ancient Privileges. He added, that the Grand Seigneur had expressly commissioned him for this Expedition, which he also undertook with the consent of all the States of *Transilvania*. He had beleiged *Zatmar*, and pressed the place vigorously, to shew the Defendants that he was in a Condition to force them if they would not voluntarily Surrender. A few days after, he received a recruit of 8000 Men, which the *Bassa* of *Buda* sent him, who had already assembled an Army of 40000 Men, which he intrenched near the place of his Government.

Whilst *Abassi* was engaged in the formidable Siege, 3000 Turks made an Inroad into *Syria* near *Gratz*, where they took a 1000 Prisoners, which they made Slaves, and very much Pillage. And now the Grand Seigneur resolves not only to assist the Malecontents, but to assist them to force the Places of *Poland*, until they were in a condition to pay him the Tribute they were engaged to do. In the mean time, *Abassi*, having made his Circumvallation about *Zatmar*, divided his Army into four Bodies: The first was composed of the *Transilvanians*, the second of the *Moldavians*, the third of the Turks, and the fourth of the Malecontents; and he forced the City, but could not take the Citadel, which obliged him to raise his Siege. Many were the Discourses of this Action, and *Abassi* gave out, that *Abassi* had no mind to take the Place, upon a Surrender, that the Grand Seigneur pretended it should be delivered into his Hands upon Surrender. However it was, it is certain that the *Bassa* which commanded the *Osmanli* at this Siege, sent great Complaints to *Constantinople* against this Prince, which obliged him to return into his own Country, lest his Enemies should take advantage by his absence. This great Army vanquished, as well by the intelligence of the Chiefs, and the rigour of the Season, the Winter approaching; as by the Vigilancy of Count *Capard*, the Imperial General, who, tho' he was not able to fight the Enemy, did

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did notwithstanding perpetually incommode them with Parties and Detachments. *Tekeky* hereupon having pillaged and burnt *Kulu*, except the Citadel, which he garrisoned, put his Troops into their Winter quarters. But the Turks, to finish their Campaigna would surprize the Castle of *Pettinia*, upon the Borders of *Croatia*, but their design being discovered, the *Militia* of the Country drawing into a body, forced them to retire.

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On the side of the Christians, the Winter was spent in fruitless Treaties and Contellations betwixt the Ecclesiasticks and Seculars; gave that the Emperors was crowned Queen of *Hungary*, which was effected with great Magnificence and Pomp. On the other side, the Turks having agreed with the *Muscovites*, the Grand Seigneur retolved by the Council of his great Vifler, to carry his Arms into *Hungary*; in order to which, vast Magazines were made at *Belgrade* and other places of his Obedience. He sent such Bodies of Men thither, that the Souldiers were forced to live in Tents and Baracks. *Alii Basha*, being sent thither in the Spring with Monies to pay these Forces, behaved himself with little Prudence, that he had well nigh occasioned a great Mutiny amongst them. In his review of them he caused the *Spahies* to pass before the *Janizaries*, who being extream jealous of their rank, murmured, and threatened to kill him. To repair this fault, he would restore them to their Prudence, but the *Spahies* took also their turn to murmur; nor did he appease them but by a considerable gratuity above their pay. Besides these, the preparations for War through all the extent of the *Ottoman* Empire were so vast, that they did not suffice only to protect the *Malecontents*, but to attack that of *Germany*, and now they lay a Bridge over the *Danube*, and another at *Zallock* over the *Teyss* or *Tibiscus*, capable of bearing their great Cannon.

Tekeky, however well informed of the Designs of the Port, did notwithstanding agree to a prolongation of the *Trevis* with Count *Caprana*, which was ended the last of *March*, to the first of *July*; but the *Malecontents* slighting the Treaty, did in the beginning of *May* seize upon all the Corn which the Emperor had bought upon the Frontiers of *Poland* to furnish his Magazines withal. The Turks also attacked and forced a Commisary who conducted many Wagons loaded with *Cloriss* for the Imperial Army.

Tekeky, being so act as foot as the Treaty was ended joyfully with the Turks, judged it proper for him to take his measures from the *Bassa* of *Buda*, in order to which he went to wait upon him with a Convoy of 3000 Horse; the *Bassa* being advertised of his arrival, gave his Son orders to go and receive him at the Gate of the City at the Head of the *Spahies*, or Horse, to complement him in his Name, and to regale him with refreshments according to the Custom of that Nation. Being treated at the City, he was surprised by the *Bassa* at the head of all his *Janizaries*, and after reciprocal Civilities, he assured him of the Protection of the Grand Seigneur when ever he had need of it. His Troops in the mean time were lodged near *Posib* along the River side in Tents. The *Bassa*, causing *Tekeky's* Bonnet to be taken off, put another after the Turkish fashion upon his Head, enriched with precious Stones and a Heron's Feather. He further made him a Present from his *Ottoman* Highness, of a Sable, a Pole-arm, and a Colours. He gave him also upon his own account, some Horses richly harnessed, some affirmed that his Civilities passed further, and that *Tekeky* was de-

clared King of *Hungary* by the *Bassa*, who put the Crown upon his Head, and clothed him in Royal Habitments, in presence or all the Officers of the Garrison, and several *Bassas*, who had been expressly commanded thither to assist at the Ceremony.

Tekeky having fatished his Ambition, would now content his Love. He had sent his Secretary to *Vienna* to obtain the Emperours Permission to espouse the Princess *Rogotsky*. His Imperial Majesty thinking he ought to manage this Count in a time wherein he endeavoured to make him break his Engagements with the Port; and further perceiving that it was but a Civility done him, and that if he did not consent, they would effect it without him, granted his Envoy what ever his Master had desired. *Tekeky* gave immediately advice hereof to the Princess, and prayed the would not defer his Happiness any longer. She, who as she had not desired to see him a King, but to prevent her descent into a lower rank than that wherein Prince *Rogotsky* had placed her, sent him word that he might come to *Montcarz*, where, after his return from *Buda*, their Marriage was celebrated with great Pomp. This Lady was Sister to Count *Serna*, a Roman Catholic; but in some few Weeks after her espousals with Count *Tekeky*, the turn'd Protestant, and thereupon discharged all her Catholic Servants. This gave so much suspicion to the Imperial Court, that no more good was expected from that Alliance; nor were they deceived, his Attachments to the Port being too strict, and his jealousy of the Germans too great. He for all that treated still with Count *Sapana* the Emperours Envoy, but it was to amuze him, in expectation of the Turks taking the field to second his Designs. The Emperor did also employ Count *Serna* to his new Brother-in-Law, but he, instead of serving his Orders, entered into new Engagements, as shall be declared hereafter.

In the beginning of *July*, the *Tartars* made inroads as far as *Trinheim*, from whence they brought more than 18000 Slaves, killing all the old men, from whom they could expect no Service. The *Palatine* would have raised the *Militia* of the Country to oppose them, but the Protestants refused to obey his Orders, until the Emperor would give them Satisfaction upon all the points that had been proposed in their Name the last Diet. About the end of the same Month his Imperial Majesty received Letters from Count *Albert Caprana*, which signified to him that he had received Audience from the Great Vifler, and that he could not obtain a prolongation of the *Trevis*, but upon the following Terms, viz.

That Hungary should be put into the same state that it was in the year 1655;

That this Kingdom should pay his Ottoman Highness: a Tribute of 50000 Florins yearly;

That the Fortresses of Leopoldstadt and Gratz should be demolished;

That Neutra, Schults, Eckof, and the Isle of Schults near Presburg, with the Port of Muraan, should by a formal cession be delivered to Count Tekeky;

That a general Amnety or Act of Oblivion should be granted to the Malecontents, and that they should be re-established in all their Goods and Priviledges.

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These Conditions seemed so harsh to the Emperor, that he rejected them, preferring a War before such a sordid accommodation. The Cession betwixt *Tekeky* and the Germans being ended, he joynd Forces with the Turks near *Pult*, consisting of 40000 Men. He passed near *Cajshan* or *Cajovia*, and turning suddenly, surprized the Castle of *Zatnar*, and in a few days after took the City. *Cajovia* and other considerable Places ran the same fate. And now the Turks act by themselves, *Tokot* rendering it felt to them as soon as they appeared before it. The Emperor sent to complain to the *Bassa* of *Buda* of these Acts of Hostility; but he answered, that he did not pretend to break the Cession in attacking these little places, which were but receptacles of Robbers, the Inhabitants thereof daily pillaging his Highnesses quarters. Thus the strongest seldom fail of pretences to oppress the weakest.

On the other side, the *Bassa* of *Warduin* having besieged *Filek*, pressed it hard. He had already assaulted the place thrice, and though *Strafeldo*, *Caprana*, *Stonewyers*, and the *Palatine* advanced with design to relieve it; yet all these Generals, however brave, durst not attempt the Enemies Lines; and it might be said, that they were come for far but to be witnesses of the Victory, by the loss of the place which surrendered itself. The sixteenth of September, the *Hungarians* entered into the Turkish Service, but the Germans and all the Officers were made Prisoners, because they refused to sign the Capitulation. The Turks lost 2000 Janizaries in this siege, which obliged them to treat the Officers with so much Rigour, and perhaps the place which they demolished was therefore razed, or rather to prevent the *Malecontents* (who demanded the possession of it) from enjoying it.

The said *Bassa*, after the forcing of *Filek*, went with 40000 Men and invited *Leopold*, *Neutra*, which surrendered to him upon the demand: And *Tekeky*, taking advantage of the absence of *Strafeldo*, rendered himself Master of the High-Land Cities. The *Bassa* of *Buda* advanced also towards *Gran*, with design to make a Bridge there over the *Danube*, to the end he might open a passage into upper *Hungary*.

Tekeky, seeing himself Master of the upper *Hungary*, especially of the Cities thereof, which by their Mines of Gold made up a great part of the Revenues of the Crown, and now having revivified himself in these rich Quarters, he caused Monies to be coined, representing on one side his Effigies with this Inscription: *Emiericus Comes Tekeky Princeps Hungariz*; and on the reverse these words: *Pro Deo, pro Patria & pro Libertate*. The Winter being now advanced, he sent his Secretary to *Vienna* to offer a Cession of Arms. This proposal was not disagreeable to the Imperial Court; but they could not resolve to leave the said upper Cities in his possession; his Depuities represented thereupon, that their Master could not part with them without the consent of the *Bassa* of *Buda*, but that he would favour the Imperial Work-men, and suffer them to labour for his Majesties profit, provided he might be allowed a Compensation for his Protection, if not, he threatened to destroy the said Cities, worth 200000 Crowns yearly to his Imperial Majesty; after several altercation the Cession was again agreed upon, and the Directors of the Mines were obliged to pay *Tekeky* six hundred Crowns every Week; this *Trevis* did not hinder several Encounters betwixt the Christians and Turks. A Party of

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Hussars in November defeated a Detachment of the Infidels, commanded by an Aga, who was killed there. There were found in his Pockets nineteen Letters of the *Bassa* of *Buda*, writ to Officers of that Nation, ordering them to call the Grand Seigneur's Subjects to pay the Extraordinary Tribute, which his Highness was not accustomed to exact, but when he undertook some great War. Thus the Emperor was assured that the Turks design was to draw together all their Forces to attack him the next Summer. He was confirmed in this Opinion by Letters from his Ambassadors at the Port, who wrote to him, that the Grand Seigneur was gone from *Constantinople* on the twenty eighth of October to *Adrianople*; that the great Vifler followed him the next day; that Count *Tekeky* had complained at the Port of the *Bassa* of *Buda*, accusing him for having separated his Troops too far from him, and so hindered him from making such considerable progresses in *Hungary* as he might otherwise have done; and finally, that the said *Bassa* was summoned up by the Grand Seigneur to answer this Accusation.

The great Vifler, being expected at *Belgrade*, the Emperour sent *Sapana* to meet him, to obtain more favourable Conditions than those proposed to Count *Albert Caprana*. He sent also Count *Martiniz* to the Pope, and to the other Princes of Italy to solicit for Succours in this extremity. Count *Martiniz* was likewise sent to *Bavaria*, and many other principal Men to the other Electors and Princes of the Empire, to invite their assistance in so pressing an Exigence. To these Count *Wallstein*, a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, was deputed into *Poland*, to be present at the Diet of *Warsaw*, to negotiate a League with that Crown; and the Emperour commanded all his Regiments to be completed and augmented, his Garrisons to be fortified, and his Magazines to be filled for the better opposing so powerful an Enemy.

Whilst both parties are preparing for a War with great Vigour, it will be conducing enough to the design of our History, to subjoin an Accident which had like to have made an absolute breach betwixt the French and the Ottoman Port. *Monseur du Quefne*, having given chase to seven Corsairs of *Tripoly*, forced them into the Haven of *Chio*, placing themselves under the Cannon of the Fortresse, to compel themselves from the Enemy, but to purpose, although the Governour of the Place sent the French Admiral word, that they were under the Protection of the Grand Seigneur; for *Monseur du Quefne*, in prosecution of his Design, when he was come up with them, fired upon them, the Governour did the same upon the French, but to no great purpose, being they were so ill treated, that three of their Vessels were disabled, and all of them forced under the very Walls of the Fortresse, one of the Battions of the same being likewise almost ruined. *Du Quefne* not yet satisfied, blocked them up there, until the News thereof was come to *Constantinople*. The Alarm was great there, and they were upon the point of calling upon them of the French Nation, until their Ambassador there declared, that what was done, was in no wise acted against the Ottoman Port, but only against the afore said Corsairs, who took the Vessels belonging to his Masters Subjects, and therefore ought not to be received into the Grand Seigniors Ports. Though this did for the present in some sort appease them, yet the Captain *Bassa* was sent to *Chio* with eight and forty Gallies, to make a Peace betwixt the French and the *Tripolians*; much time was spent before

The French force the Tripolians into the Haven of Chio.

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The Grand Seigneur highly offended thereat.

For all this the *Ottomans* were highly offended with the damage *De Szeffe* had done at *Scio*, and demanded reparation from the Ambassador of *France* at *Constantinople*, who at first would give no hearing to such frivolous complaints, but fearing the *French* Merchants in *Turkey* might be incommoded by it, he since offered to make them a Present of his own accord, not by any order from the King his Master. The Turks judging the said Present too small, were in no wise satisfied with it; so that the Ambassador thought fit to make some addition to it, which did as little satisfy them. In the mean time *De Szeffe* being galled out of the *Archipelague*, there came an Officer to the Ambassador, telling him, that the Grand Seigneur was in no wise satisfied with his Offer, as being in no wife proportionable to the damage committed at *Scio*, adding, that the whole Empire was offended at it: But yet in consideration of the ancient Amity betwixt the two Nations, they would pass it by, provided the damage were repaired, alledging by way of similitude, that if our party fled a Thief into a Friends House, and that something were broke in it, the Pursuer would be obliged to pay it. The Ambassador replied, that the harm which was done at *Scio* might be repaired with less than what he had already offered of his own, which was more than that he could well bear, and that the Grand Seigneur and Great Visier ought to be satisfied, that he ruined himself to conserve the Peace betwixt the two Empires, because he much feared, lest the Present he had offered might not please the King his Master, to whom he never had made any mention of it. The Turkish Officer hereupon being angry, told him in the Name of the Grand Seigneur and Great Visier, that they were resolved to put him into the *Jewen Towers*, and the *French* Merchants in Prison; the Port knew very well that the Ambassador did never disapprove of what his Ambassadors did. The Grand Seigneur and his Visier were not to be mocked by a present of a few Clocks, Watches, Stuffs, and Diamonds of small value, in compensation of damages of seven hundred Purges, arising from the murder of 400 Turks, the ruine of a whole City, the destruction of many *Shippes*, and the Castle. The Ambassador replied, that he was not at all surpris'd at his Choler, but that he should have been afraid if he had spoke in these Terms to the *Chiaus*, whose substitute he was; that the lives of Turks had never been valued so high; that the number of the slain at *Scio* was not so great, and that there had not been one man killed, if they had not received the Pyrats there with the *French* Pirates; and finally, if they would put him into the seven Towers, he would not come out of it but by express order from the King his Master, and that he was ready to follow him thither. The Officer being moved with the Resolution of the Ambassador, assured him, he should not fail to be conducted thither the next Morning, whereupon he replied, he could not believe it, because he knew the Sultan was just, the Visier prudent, and his King a powerful Prince. The Turk interrupting him here, told him, that he talk'd as if he had 100000 men with him, to whom the other added, that his Master had 400000 men, and always victorious, and as for him, he spoke like one that would be as good as his Word. The Visier, highly offended with the Ambassadors Discourse, caused him to be

told by a *Kiaia*, that he must add to his Present, or that he should be obliged for his Reputation to send him to the seven Towers: but the Ambassador continued positive. Sometime after, it was signified to him, that the Visier had obtained a considerable abatement of the 700 Purges, and that he would be content, if besides the Clocks and rarities, he would yet give 40000 Livres in Diamonds; but the Ambassador refused answer, that in compliance to the Great Visier, he would yet add 1200 Crowns, and no more. Sometime after, the Visier let him know that he would speak with him himself, which the Ambassador denied, because he had already refused him the *Sefa*. However he did so far comply as to go to him about the end of *May*, where many Contentations about increasing the Present, the Turks desired to 350000, and afterwards to 100000 Crowns, and finally agreed upon 15000 Livres. The Turkish Officers having had the most trouble in the World to go to content the Grand Visier that the *French* Ambassador should not be displeased. A few days after, the Moneys, together with the Presents, consisting of a small thread of Diamonds, two or three *Penice* Looking-glasses, five Chamber Clocks, one Carpet, ten embroidered Habits, some pieces of Cloth, Satins, and other Stuffs were exhibited, whereon this affair of *Scio* was accommodated, but not the difference about the *Sopha*, which continues still.

The Emperor being sufficiently fatished of the Delights of the Mahometans upon *Hungary* and *Austria*, order'd all his Colonels to complicit their Regiments by the first of *May*, and gave out new Commissions for six Regiments of Horse, and several of Foot to be raised with all imaginable speed. These Levies were not only designed to reinforce the Army of *Hungary*, but also to incamp near *Vienna*, to cover that City and the Neighbouring Countries from the Invasion of the Turks. He further commanded the Peasants of all the Neighbouring Villages to cut down Oaks to make Pallisadoes, and to carry them to *Vienna* for the repairing of the Fortifications of that City. The Inhabitants of the Suburbs had likewise order to empty their Cellars, that they might be filled with Earth, but deferred the pulling down of the Houses until they were assured that the City should be besieged. Ambassadors being also sent to the Electors, the Circles, and Princes of the Empire, to invite them to join with his Imperial Majesty for the Preservation of *Hungary*. *Conte Albert Caprara* received likewise order to return from his Embassy, unless he could obtain a Prolongation of the *Trevis*; but the Grand Seigneur would not suffer him to depart, but obliged him to follow him to *Adrianople*, and thence to *Belgrade*, causing him to be observed with much exactness. In the mean time, as also the whole Winter, the Citizens of *Vienna* had been trained and exercised with great diligence, the better to enable them to resist, in case of a Siege, which their fears and the Enemies bragging gave them just occasion to apprehend. They also were commanded to lay up Provisions for twelve Months; and not only they, but all the frontier Places were stored with Magazines, the life of *Schut* was also fortified, where it was exposed to the Enemies Surprizes, and a Regiment of Foot added to defend the entry against the Infidels. There was also a great Redoubt made on the further side the *Danube* to cover the Bridge lately made, and to favour a retreat in case of necessity. At the same time there was a skirmish betwixt the *Hussars* of the Gattion of *Comara*,

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But is appeased.

1683.

1683. The Plague rages in Hungary.

Comara, *Papa*, *Vesprin*, and *Raab*, against a Detachment of the Army of the Turks, who lost 1200 men in the encounter. But if the Wars caused great ruines in *Hungary*, the Plague laid it well nigh desolate; it raged in *Calabria* about *Papa*, and in many places possessed by the Turks; inasmuch that *Tekely* was obliged to retire to *Montecas* to his Wife, and to chuse another Place than *Calabria* to convene the Diet which he had summoned. He had by Cessions and Treaties kept the Imperial Court in suspense, proposing his Mediation at the Port for a Prolongation of the twenty years *Trevis*, for which he sent *Schirmay* his Secretary with others thither. Nay, the Propositions he made were thought so reasonable, that the Baron *Zapozara* was sent with new instructions to carry on this Peace as well with *Tekely*, as with the Visier of *Buda*; but whether *Tekely*, instead of advancing this Affair, did not retard it, or that the Turks would not content to any further Prolongation of Peace with the Emperor, this commerce vanished. This last Obstacle was sooner believed than the other, by reason of the detention of *Caprara* in *Turky*, and the vast Preparations of the *Ottomans*, who would listen to no Cession but upon Terms to disadvantageous that his Imperial Majesty could in no ways assent to.

Zapozara, who had spent much time with *Tekely*, being returned the beginning of *January* to *Vienna*, reported, that the Count *Tekely* having been sick at *Montecas*, he had entertained many fruitless Conferences with him, and now he was well, and seeing no hopes of an accommodation with a man who was entirely engaged with the Turks, as was visible by all his advances, he could continue there no longer. And this gained credit by the appearing of a certain project granted by the Grand Seigneur to the *Hungarians*, which we will also insert, to satisfy the curious who dare not assure them that it was exactly such:

1. That the Count *Emmeric Tekely* of *Rismark*, of the illustrious House of *Gabriel Bechelem*, shall be installed King of *Hungary*, and in case he come to dye, the Grand Seigneur will take the Queen his Wife, as well for her Person as Goods, into his Protection.
2. That after the Death of Count *Tekely* and his Children, the *Hungarians* shall chuse such a King as shall seem good to them, provided they acquiesce the Ottoman Port with it.
3. That the Present, which the *Hungarians* have promised to give to the Ottoman Port, shall never be raised in any manner whatsoever.
4. That they shall entirely enjoy their Privileges, Liberties, Immunities, and *Franchises* for ever, without any diminution.
5. That they shall be protected by the Turks from all their Enemies, who, or whatsoever.
6. That the Turks will religiously observe the Conditions of Peace made with the Germans at *St. Gothard*, so far as they concern *Hungary*.
7. That the *Jesuits*, as disturbers of the publick Repose, shall be driven out of *Hungary*, and never received there again.
8. That the Tributes of the surrendered Places shall never be raised, but that what they have contributed to the Turks and to the *Hungarians* hitherto, shall continue to perpetuity in the same state.
9. That the Treasurers of *Hungary* shall have free passage through all the parts of the Ottoman Dominion.
10. And when they carry to the Port the Present of Honour which they have promised, or shall come to any other occasion, they shall be received magnificently.

1683. And finally, the Present of 40000 Crowns, shall, as is already mentioned, never be augmented.

These and several other Passages fill'd the Imperial Court with diffidence, notwithstanding *Tekely's* fair words, and yet the Negotiations he still continued, the Emperor having propos'd to an Officer that *Tekely* had sent him, to grant to his Master the Sovereignty of all he possess'd in upper *Hungary*, with several other Demances, he willing they were to have detached this subtle and brave Enemy from his intelligence with the Turks, who at length declared, that he could not separate his Interests from the Port, which obliged *Hoffman* and *Sapozara* to retire.

The 18 of *January*, 6000 Turks entered into *Canisla*, most Janizaries, and the Garisons of *Belgrade* and *Nerbanse* were also augmented with great numbers of this Militia. The 25th of *January*, 5000 *Tatars* arriv'd at *Buda*, who were sent to *Nerbanse*, and 12000 Foot came in their place, who by reason they could not lodge in the City, encamped at the foot of the Walls.

Upon this News order was given to break the Ice round the Isle of *Schut* to keep the River open, the better to oppose the irruptions of the Turks and *Malcontents*. The Ice, which was of an extraordinary thickness, broke the wooden Bridge at *Vienna*, with the loss of three Chaires laden with Wine and Oates, which fell in. The Inhabitants of the aforesaid Isle of *Schut* were by reason of the oppression of the Imperialists forc'd mostly to abandon it; the noise whereof being spread through the Kingdom, had like to have caused a general Insurrection.

The beginning of *February*, the Turks entered into the Isle of *Serin* in *Croatia*, where they committed great disorders. One of their parties detached a Convoy with Munitions of War, and other provisions designed for *Zemlin*, *Zassenitz*, who commanded the same, being slain.

The Turks, who provided all things necessary to attempt the siege of *Vienna*, laid in at *Buda* vast stores of Ammunition and Materials to make Bridges of; nor were they less vigilant on the other side, the Suburbs were demolished round within a hundred paces of the City, and the great Island was fortified and put into a Condition to lodge a whole Army. Redoubts were built at both ends of the wooden Bridge, which is on the side nearest the City, and the Bridge which traversed the great Arm of the *Danube* was taken down to build another on the other side of the Favorites, with several other small Ports for its security. Two hundred thousand pallisadoes were sent from *Nerbanse* to serve for the Fortifications of *Vienna*, whereof every Citizen undertook to maintain a Souldier well armed in case the City should be besieged. All Boats were also stopp'd at *Vienna*, being designed to transport Provisions and Ammunition into *Hungary*.

However *Tekely* continued to block up the Places which remained in the Emperours Obedience in upper *Hungary*, and to hup up the Passages that no relief might be sent to them; he did not cease howsoever to testify to the Deputies of the Loyal Countries, that he did desire with Passion that his Imperial Majesty would grant him reasonable Conditions, that might restore him to the obedience which he owed him; and to make it appear to all the World, that he had not taken Arms against him out of any animosity, he released an hundred German Prisoners without Ransom, and sent to assure the Emperor, that he had dispatched one *Adam Schirmay*, his two chief Ministers, to the Port to endeavour to ob-

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tain a prolongation of the Trevis. He spake to the same purpose at the Diet he had convened, and related yet again eighty Prisoners which he had taken at *Tobey*, and gave Count *Herberstein* his Liberty upon his parole.

The Turks, about the latter end of *February*, made a new attempt upon the life of *Schultz* with 12000 men of the Garrison of *Newbauffel*, commanded by an *Hungarian* Renegade; but the Ice which was not strong enough, breaking, a great number of them were drowned: the Imperialists took many Prisoners, and amongst others the Sub-governour of *Newbauffel's* Son. A Turkish Officer that offered ten thousand Dollars for his Life had his Head chopp'd off. At the same time several new Troops of the Infidels arrived, who lodged at *Effek*, and along the Rivers *Savos* and *Dranos*. They armed several Brigandines, which vogued upon the *Danube*, to hinder the Imperialists to send any Succours or Ammunition to their Garrisons. The Bassa of *Belgrade* received orders to repair an ancient Palace seated upon a Hill near the Town, to lodge the Grand Seigneur there, who designed to stay there during the Campaign.

In *March*, *Tekely*, with a considerable body of the Turkish and his own Troops, endeavoured to Surprize *Uman*, to cut off the Communication of the Fortrels of *Leopold*, with the River *Waagb*. But this Enterprize failing, this Count summoned a second Diet in upper *Hungary*, though those of the Loyal Counties were admonished not to appear there. At the same time Colonel *Albert Capara* advertised the Emperor, that the Grand Seigneur offered to prolong the Cession if he would surrender to him the Isles of *Schultz*, of *Savos*, and of *Raab*, with the Fortresses of *Raab* and *Comorra*; but his Imperial Majesty did not think it expedient to accept of such disadvantageous Terms, which rendered the Turks entire Masters of *Hungary*, and gave them an open passage to the very Walls of *Vienna*. After that, it was impossible for this Minister to write any more to his Master, for the Turks kept so strict a Guard about him, that he was suffered to have no Communication with any, for fear of informing the Emperor with the vast preparations of War which were made in all the extent of the Ottoman Empire.

The Turks at the same time surpris'd a Quarter of the Dragoons, kill'd forty, and took many Prisoners; they lodged 15000 men in the Neighbourhood of *Effek*, to hinder the Imperialists from burning the Bridge, and by that means hinder their Passage into the Province of *Gory*. The Emperor on the other side caus'd all his Forces on the side of the *Rhine*, except four Regiments which he left for the Frontiers, to march towards *Vienna* and *Hungary*. His Troops also that were in *Bohemia* under the command of Count *Taff*, were commanded that way.

In the beginning of *April*, the Grand Seigneur sent the *Basha Zanko*, who though he had but one hand, was one of the best Officers in the Turkish Army, to *Cassovia*, to command under Count *Tekely*. At the same time the Emperor made a great Detachment of all the Regiments that were in *Hungary*, to march toward *Tein-schin*, under the Command of the Count of *Schultz*, to go meet a great Body of Succours which came out of *Poland* under the Conduct of *Lubomirski*. The Count *Herberstein* had Orders to pass into *Croatia* with all the Troops of the lower *Austria*, to oppose the Enemy, who pretended to make an Irruption into that Province.

The Grand Seigneur flew to much passion for the War of *Hungary*, that to complement

him, all the Ministers of the Court would particularly contribute to it. Every one offered to entertain a certain number of Soldiers at their proper charge, and did. The Great

himself raised 400 men. And the Ladies no less forward, raised great sums for the Expedition, especially the *Affick* or Sultan Queen. His Highness was resolv'd to march in the beginning of the Spring to *Belgrade*, for the Emperor according to the Practice of the Sultans, a — to mark that he declared War against him. The Great Visier being ready to move, sent 1200 Camels loaden with Powder to *Belgrade* before him, together with Orders to the Bassa of the said Place, to build a Bridge upon the *Savos*, which was immediately put in Execution.

The Emperor received at the same time an Express from Count *Wallenstein*, his Ambassador in *Poland*, which inform'd him that he had concluded with that King a League Offensive and Defensive against the Turks. This News did most sensibly affect the Imperial Court with Joy, because they had doubted much of the Success of this Negotiation, the King of *Poland* having shew'd some Dissatisfaction, in that the Emperor would never assist him, nor enter into any concert with him, while he alone supported a War against the Turks; but Interest took place of Passion. The King of *Poland*, like a prudent Prince, foresaw, that if the Turks conquer'd *Hungary* and the German Neighbouring States, he should be scarce able to resist to powerful a Neighbour; which made him resolve to oppose his Designs, and to join his Arms with the Emperours. The Conditions of this mutual Alliance briefly were, that the Alliance should be not only defensive but also offensive against the Turks, and last till both found their assured repose; neither should make Peace without consent of the other; his Imperial Majesty should entertain 60000 Men, whereof 40000 should keep the Field, and the rest be put in Garrisons; the King of *Poland* will lead 40000 under his own Conduct: he shall be also obliged to recover his Places in *Podolia*, *Wallachia*, and *Ukraina*, whilst the Imperialists shall do the same by those Places they left in *Hungary*. The Poles shall furnish 6000 men to act against *Tekely*. Other Articles not immediately regarding the present War, are purposely omitted.

There had been ill observed Treaties and Cessions continued betwixt the *Tekelists* and *Germans*, and now the first siege of the Castle of *Donawitz* in the County of *Sepala* in upper *Hungary*, *Capara* having by message represented to *Tekely*, that it was a violation of the Trevis; He answered, that he only did it because *C. Joseph*, to whom the Place belonged, had refused to come to the Diet of *Cassovia*, so frivolous an excuse made it apparent to the Emperours Ministers, that they were not too much to confide in the Promises of this Count, and that he would take his advantages as often as occasions presented themselves. Some few days after, he had News that his Princeps was brought to bed of a Son at *Montcats*, whereupon he sent one of his chief Officers to Prince *Abassi*, to invite him to Christen the Babe, which he accepted of, and sent one of the principal Lords in *Transylvania* to supply his Place.

In the beginning of *May*, the great Visier came to *Belgrade* with the Van of the Ottoman Army, and more than 300 pieces of Cannon, besides Mortars to throw Granadoes of a prodigious bigness. At the same time the Troops that were to compass the Imperial Army, began

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All the Ministers of the Court contribute to the War of *Hungary*, as also the Ladies.

Moſſe d'Amſt.

March 31.

The Emperor and King of Poland make a League Offensive and Defensive.

1683.

to draw towards *Presburg*, where Count *Rabata* encamp'd them as they came, according to the orders he had received from his Imperial Majesty, who had chosen the great Plain of *Kirtzer*, joining to that City to take the general review of his Army, which being drawn into *Batalia* in two Lines, extended four Miles in length; seventy two pieces of Cannon, with the General of the Artillery, Count *Starenberg*, were placed at the head of the Infantry, which was ranged in Battalions, and in such order that they might be perceived on both sides; they were numbered 20000, and the Horse in two Wings amounted to 12000, besides 5000 *Hujars* drawn up on the Right of the German Horse with fourteen field pieces.

The Emperor arrived in the Camp about Ten of the Clock, preceded by his Guards, and riding between the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Lorraine*, being followed by many other Princes and Lords, and saluted with three Volleys of all the Cannon and Musqueteers of the Army. After Mass, the Archbishop of *Strigonium* read with a loud Voice the Bull of Indulgence, accorded to such who should fight against Infidels, and having given his Benediction to their Imperial Majesties, who received it on their Knees, and consequently to all the Army, this Prince caus'd 500000 Livres to be distributed amongst the Souldiery, which was no less acceptable to them.

The Command of the Forces being given to the Duke of *Lorraine* as Generalissimo, the Right wing was conducted by the Duke of *Sax-Lauenburg*, the Left by General *Capara*, and the Infantry and Cannon by the Count of *Starenberg*. With this Army thus compos'd, most of the Emperor's sold themselves Souldiery, and under to expect a General assault of *Lorraine*; the Court hoped for somewhat extraordinary, though as it will appear they were disappointed in their Expectation. In the mean time a Council of War was held to see what might be done before the arrival of the Turks, and after what manner they should act upon the Defensive when the Enemy did appear. All agreed that for the Offensive there was nothing to be attempted but *Gran* or *Newbauffel*, and that, as they ought to avoid those Enterprizes which would cost much Blood, and weaken the Army, so they seem'd to point at *Granas* most easie, though others were for *Newbauffel* for several Reasons. For the Defensive, it was concluded they must endeavour to defend the Passages of the Rivers *Raab* and *Waagb*. The result of this Council being related to the Emperor, he judg'd, that for the Reputation of his Arms, and other important Reasons, not to suffer his Army to lye idle the space of two Months time, which they had before the Enemy could take the field, but left the choice to the Duke, whether he would attempt *Gran* or *Newbauffel*? He only recommended to him, that when the Turks advanced he should take care for the security of the Garrisons, and oppose as much as him lay the Enemies ravaging of the Hereditary Countries.

The Army being advanced near *Comorra*, the Duke having no certain Intelligence of the condition of *Gran*, resolv'd in person to take a view of the Place, which he did, but being upon the point to resolve its Siege, he was adverted that the Turks were forming a Camp at *Buda*, and judg'd that they might from thence relieve *Gran* by Water, (as the Bassa of *Newbauffel* had already done upon the news of the Christians design to assault the place) and he perhaps cut off the Communication betwixt him and *Comorra*, by posting themselves betwixt this Place and

Gran, he quitted the thoughts of that Enterprize, resolving upon the Siege of *Newbauffel* as the only choice left him.

This Resolution being taken, he sent some Foot towards *Gran*, and arm'd Boats down the River, as designing to burn the Bridge, to gain a belief of his intent to besiege that City, but wheeling about with his Horse, he march'd all that Night and inveted *Newbauffel* the Day following. The Turks seeing this, let the Suburbs on fire to prevent the Christians approach, who notwithstanding planted their battery, and were advanced within an hundred paces of the body of the Place, with little loss save that of Count *Taxis*, and might probably have given a good account of the Siege, if the Court, which disapproved the Enterprize, had not sent orders for them to retire. This command was immediately obeyed, and not without some Precipitation, the Army returning to their old Camp betwixt *Raab* and *Comorra*. The sudden raising of the Siege seem'd strange to some, being the Turkish Army was not yet ready to appear, and that the Christians were so forward in their approaches. But the more differing thought otherwise, because this Town, being strong and well furnished with all things, the obtinacy of the Besieged might have wearied the Imperial Troops, and have reduced them to an Inability of being able to oppose the Ottoman Army when they came into *Hungary*, and that therefore it was better chusing the certain, than the hazard of that which was not so, as was the taking of *Newbauffel*, and to keep upon the Defensive, the rather being the *Philis* Army was not ready, nor yet rais'd; and therefore the Imperial Army, upon whose Valour depended the Preservation of *Hungary* and *Austria*, was in no wife to be weakened or baffled.

The Duke of *Lorraine*, having refresh'd his Army for some time, advanced with all his Forces on the side of *Raab*, having given orders to hasten the Works at *Leopold*, and repair the Fortifications of *Raab* and *Comorra*.

In the mean time, the Turkish Army, compos'd of all the Nations under their Obedience, consisting of 200000 Men, advanced into *Hungary* on the side of *Alba-Regalia*, sending 4000 Pioneers before them to dig Pits and Wells in their passage to furnish all the Army with Water; and the Grand Visier himself having pass'd the Bridge of *Effek* with the body of his Army, moved towards the Christian Camp by *Raab*, with a Resolution to attack it instantly, and oblige them to a general Battle. His Army was so numerous that they covered the whole Country from *Alba* even to the Mountains of *Raab*, and being come within a League of the Imperialists, he detach'd a great number of *Tartars* to spoil and ravage the Country out of which the Christians could receive any Subsilience or Forage, which extremely augmented their wants, which were already but too great.

The Grand Seigneur arriving at *Belgrade* the Third of *June*, the Sultan Queen would not stay behind, but accompanied his Highness in his Voyage of *Hungary*. At *Belgrade* he received an Express from the *Caimacan*, of a great fire at *Constantinople*, which had intirely consumed one of the quarters of the City, and that the Grand Visier's Seraglio had been quite burnt if the neighbouring Houses had not been pulled down to save that lumptuous Building.

Tekely having taken his measures from the Grand Visier, upon whom he had waited, and concert'd with him concerning the following Campaign, being returned to *Cassovia*, published

1683.

June 3.

1683. a Manifest in the Grand Seigneur's and his own Name, that all the *Hungarians* that would embrace his Party, should be maintained in their Privileges, Liberties, Goods, Laws, and Religion; but that such who refused to submit, should have no quarter. This Manifest had the desired effect, for the Cities of *Papa, Tis, and Isfria*, the most remote, immediately opened their Gates to the *Turks*. The Emperor, fearing that *Neutra* would follow the Example of these three Places, commanded Count *Schultz* the Governour, to draw forth the great Guns, the Arms and Stores, and to quit the Place. The same Orders were given to the Hilly Cities, and to the Officers of the Silver Mines, who all obeyed; a Conduct so extraordinary alarmed all *Hungary*. The Cities and Counties declared to the Emperours Commissioners, that they would open their Gates to Count *Tekely*, to prevent Fire and Pillage, being there was no hopes of Succours. To all this, the *Hungarians*, under their Palatine *Esterhazy's* Command, who guarded the Passages of the River *Waagb*, about 15000 in number defected likewise, putting themselves under the Protection of *Tekely*, and the *Turks*, so that this Palatine with scarce a competent Guard, was forced to retire to *Vienna*, because he would not violate his Faith sworn to the Emperor.

Whilst the two Armies did nothing material, but observe each other, a great Body of *Tartars* under the Conduct of their Cham, who was then in Persia, animated with the hopes of Pillage, having examined the Avenues and Fords of the River *Raab*, by following it towards its source, passed over by swimming their Horses, and guided by some *Hungarians*, they came to *Kermen* and *St. Gotsbard*, a place famous for the memorable Victory which the Christians gained from the *Turks* nineteen years past, far from finding any Obstacles to hinder them, every thing seem'd to favour their Passage. Count *Badami* abandoned his post upon the River, joyning with *Tekely* those *Hungarians* he commanded; so that the Enemy entered the Country like a torrent, putting all to Fire and Sword; and passing the *Rabnitz*, continued their Devastations. The Duke of *Lorrain*, finding the Enemy on both sides, and fearing lest they might cut off his way to *Vienna* and the Hereditary Countries, having reinforced the Garisons of *Raab* and *Comorra*, resolved to retire with the rest not exceeding 24000. And to the end the march of the Horse might not be retarded by the Foot and Artillery, they were separated, the Infantry and Cannon marching along the left side of *Sebur*, the way on the left side of the *Danube*, being exposed to little Danger; from thence they came safe to *Presburg* and *Thebes*, and passing the River *Mark*, arrived happily at *Vienna*. The Duke, having passed the Bridge of *Raab* with the Cavalry, marched to *Altenbourg*, where he rested some time, expelling this little Town to the Pillage of his Soldiers, as being loth to let their Cattel and Provisions fall into the Enemies Hands, which would infallibly happen. The Inhabitants however seem'd very dissatisfied to be so led by their Friends, though the Cruelty of the Enemy, who ravaged all with Fire and Sword, eased the other ill, as wholly disproportionate: from thence having passed the Streight there, they marched towards the Plains of *Kirz* or *Kirz*, where two Months before the general review of the Army was made.

Cara Mustapha, the Great Vicer, attributing this retreat of the Christians to their fear, called a Council, where it was deliberated whether

he should pursue them, or undertake the Siege of *Raab*? But judging, according to the appearances, that their retreat was no better than a running away, it was resolved to pursue them; whereupon he presently raised his Camp, and followed the way the Christians were gone, leaving a body of 12000 near the said *Raab*, to secure his Convoys and Provisions.

The Duke perceiving their design, and not judging himself in affurance in the Plains of *Kirz* against so formidable a power, resolved to march towards *Vienna*. He sent Count *Aenes Caprara*, General of his Horse, to acquaint the Emperour with it, and inform him of all things. The Duke following, had sent his Baggage before, but it happened, that a Troop of *Tartars*, mingled with *Turks*, and conducted by *Hungarians*, to the number of 3000 in all, having swum over the River *Leithe*, and hid themselves in a Wood betwixt the Villages of *Petrol* and *Elend*, fell suddenly upon them, and attacking some Regiments on the left Wing, which followed the Baggage, with dreadful cries and howlings, did so surprize them with the terror of so unexpected an irruption, that it brought them all into confusion, and by reason of the Dust, which was so thick, that they could not distinguish Friend from Foe, not knowing which way to turn, they broke their Ranks, and communicated their Disorder to the very Regiments that followed. In the mean time these *Barbarians*, taking the ordinary Advantages of their impetuosity, slew some of them upon the *Pedesters*, Carriers, and Servants, which they sacrificed to their Cruelty and Fury, whilst the rest plundered the Charriots and Baggage. Many Officers lost there their Equipages, and amongst others the Duke of *Saxon-Lauenburg*, the Prince of *Croy*, and *Aenes Caprara*, all General Officers, had all their Plate taken away.

This Accident put the Army into a prodigious Consternation, it could not be comprehended, that the Duke having left the Enemy behind him, this same Enemy should possibly have got before them, and by ways nearer and shorter intercept, and so boldly attack their Baggage, which was thought secure under the Convoy that guarded it. As soon as they had recollected themselves, and that the Duke had considered the disorder part of his Army was in, he sent fresh Troops to second the first, and to assist them to repel the *Barbarians*; yet so as to avoid a general Engagement, which he greatly apprehended. The *Tartars* being the Christians rally, began likewise to draw to a head, but the fear to see themselves deprived of their Prey, obliged them to retire, and to run away with no less precipitation and speed than they used in their Onset. The Duke caused them to be pursued by his Light-Horse, who took some Standards, being unwilling to engage with the gross of their Troops, as well being this Detachment was supported by the Avant-guard of the Army, as not to retard his march to *Vienna*, in which he continued afterwards without any interruption. The *Chevalier of Sassy*, Brother to the Count of *Sissoins*, was lost in this Confusion, for being too far advanced with his Dragoons that followed him, a *Tartar* knock'd him from his Horse with his Sable, and thinking him dead, did alight, and heaving him cross his Saddle, with his Breast upon the Pomel, prest him to the ground, that he might not rise. A little after, this Prince being relieved and conducted to *Vienna*, and however his Wound in his Head was not mortal, his dislocated Stomach could not be set, so that he died in a few days.

Prince

1683. Prince *Thomas of Aremberg*, and Count *Melini* were slain in this scuffle, though the common loss of either side was not great.

The Emperour, being informed of the present State of Affairs by Count *Caprara*, was greatly irrelolved, not knowing what to do upon so important and pressing an Occasion. He immediately caused his chief Ministers to be summoned to know their Sentiments, and all unanimously counselled his Majesty to retire from *Vienna*. They now only deliberate what road or way he ought to take, some advised he should go over the Mountains without passing the *Danube*, and so to trait to *Camplium*, being the shortest and easiest way to *Lintz*; but the Enemy being on the same side of the River, the other was preferable, as less subject to Danger, and the violent pursuits of the Enemies Cavalry, which would make more way in a day, winged with the hopes of such a purchase, than the Court could make in four. This last advice being approved, was ordered to be put in Execution, and all things as far as was possible in such Confusion, prepared for the Journey.

The Noise of this retreat was quickly made publick. The Waggon which arrived in Confusion to carry the Baggage sufficiently published it, and at the same time filled the City and Neighbourhood with so much Terror, that it might be thought no body would stay when the Emperour was gone. All the Horses and Carts that could possibly be found, were hired to fly away with, many Ladies of Quality being forced to put themselves into despicable Carriages, little conformable to their Condition. Houses were sold with rich and poor, and furnished with Wine, Corn, and all sort of Provisions, were abandoned, nothing but what was precious and most portable being saved. The Air was all filled with the Sighs, the Tears, the Lamentations and the Cries of the Multitude, as if the Enemy had already rendered themselves Masters of the City.

July 7. The same day, being the seventh of July, about eight at Night, their Imperial Majesties with the whole Court passing through the Palace Gate, went over the *Danube*, and lay that Night at *Gronenbourg*, a pleasant Town two or three miles distant from *Vienna*, being guarded by 200 men, who returned to *Vienna* the next Morning. The next day there followed such a prodigious number of Coaches, Carts, Chariots, Horsemen, Foot, &c. as if they had designed to render the City a Desert. They were thought to amount to 60000, pretending they were to avoid the danger that to commonly threatened them. And yet it was computed, that no fewer stay'd behind fit to bear Arms, besides the Garrison, the Women and the Children. This flight continued several days, but those that went last, fell for the most part into the danger they would avoid, the hands of the *Tartars*. Many others did so overload their Chariots, that they had scarce room to sit, the Bridge over the *Danube*, but their Wheels or Axeltrees breaking, they were left in the way in the Night, not knowing whither to turn themselves.

Count *Auersberg*, having been dispatched by the Duke of *Lorrain* to the Emperour, to inform him of the success of the Batel of *Petrol*, found him at *Gronenbourg*, and greatly rejoiced the whole Court. Upon the first News of the Regiments that had been baffled, they had published at *Vienna* that the General had been slain, the Horse defeated, and the *Tartars* at the Gates of the City. This all were greatly revived, that

the Evil was less than they had believed it to be.

Whilst their Imperial Majesties continued their Journey to *Lintz*, *Lorrain* entered *Vienna*, where his first care was to pacify the Disorders and Confusion there. Count *Stenberg* arrived there the same day, and immediately fell to work with the Countership, fortifying the whole Works, and to plant *Balldazos*. As works they had not apprehended a Siege, the Generals found the more to do. *Lorrain* endeavoured however to provide for all things before the arrival of the Enemy, who began since the 11th to shew their most advanced Troops near the City. The same day *Stenberg's* Regiment arrived, as also a thousand commanded Men, who advanced twitely before the rest of the Army, entered the City.

And now they burn the Suburbs, which was continued the day following, the Citizens themselves carrying Fire into their own Houses; and in the Evening there was a great Skirmish near the Palace called the Favorite, where the *Turks* advanced to discover. All the Infantry arrived the 13th, and *Lorrain* made them all march into the Countership, except eight Battalions which he retained in the *Tabor*, the better to defend that Post where he resolved to stay until the Powder and Bullets expected from *Lintz* were arrived; which being effected, and the Ammunition conducted into the Arsenal, he caused the rest of the Foot to be removed into the Town, together with *Dupuis's* Regiment of Horse, the whole composing a Body of twelve thousand Men.

The *Tartars* had committed infinite Ravages and Cruelties in that vast extent of Countries which he retained for several Leagues. It is their custom to run before the Army, armed only with a Javelin, and to burn and sack, and spread Terror over all where they find no resistance. They kill such as fall into their Hands, or traffick them away as Slaves with the *Turks*. No place escapes their Inhumanity, not the most retired Places of Forests, the impenetrable Dens of wild Beasts, or the most obscure retreats of Valleys. There is nothing these *Barbarians* do not discover by means of their Blood-hounds, the use whereof is common amongst them.

But now the gross of the Enemies Army approaching, a great number of Waggon, some with four Horses, and others drawn with Oxen, and very many Camels laden with Baggage, began to range themselves in form of a Croissant or half Moon about the City, extending from the *Danube* below *St. Marck*, along the Suburbs of *Leopolda*, and the neighbouring Villages even to *Neudorf*. At the same time the *Turks* opened their Trenches on the side of the Imperial Gate, and lodged there in sight of the Cannon of the Town that endeavoured to hinder them.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, having ordered Affairs at *Vienna*, retired with his Horse and Dragoons over the Bridges, and camp'd there; he would gladly have kept some Foot with him, but having considered the greatness of the Enemies Strength, the Works that were to be made, the distance of Supplies, and the diminution which the continuance of a Siege would make in the Garrison, he resolved to leave all his Infantry with the Governour, who most earnestly desired it.

The Duke, before he left *Vienna*, had designed to continue in the *Tabor*, (or Isle of *St. Leopold*) and to conserve the Communication with the City. *Tabor* is an Island of a League and a half long, environed with the *Danube*. This Isle

full

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full of Houses of Pleasure, Gardens, and Groves. But upon a true Survey of the Place, his Highness could not think it defensible, the Waters being so low, that the Arm of the River which formed this life was almost every where fordable, so that whole squadrons might pass at once without breaking their Ranks: for this and other Reasons, the life being likewise exposed to the Enemies Artillery, they were obliged to repair the Danube.

The Turks by this time had pitch'd an infinite number of Tents about the City, and making a lodgement in *Rottenbiffs* Garden, where they had first opened their Trenches, and raised a great Battery, they thundered without ceasing to favour their Works, which they continued winding and turning. The besieged on their side covered themselves with Gabions and sacks of Earth to hinder the effect of the Enemies Cannon; they also raised a good Battery on that side, and all the Engineers and most knowing Officers being distributed into the several Posts, were continually employed to render their Cannon serviceable, and fortify the Places the most exposed to the Enemies Fire, which cost many of them their Lives.

The Turks, moved to see that the Christians were Masters of the Bridges, made an attempt to force *Conte Serin* who held the guard of them. This General seeing his forlorn and advanced Guards pressed, he sent other Troops to sustain them; but the Infidels having already a great body in the life of *Taber*, the Christians were forced to fly over the Bridge. The Enemy planted their Standards there, but the Cannon laden with Carriages flanking that place, and the swift firing of the Dragons, ranged along that Arm of the Danube, constrained them to retire, though themselves were exposed to the Enemies great and small shot. The Dragons pressed them with so much violence in their retreat, that they took their Colours. The Turks upon this occasion lost a *Bassa*, and many of their Janizaries. General *Schultz* himself was wounded here, as also the *Conte of Salzburg*, and a *Polish* Major slain. In the mean time the Turks, having possessed themselves of *St. Leopold's* life, shut up the City on all sides. They made Brigades upon that Arm of the Danube which runs near the City, not only to communicate with their Camp, but to hinder the descent of Boats. They burnt the *Escurite*, and reduced all the Palaces of the Grandees to Ashes. As soon as the heat of firing began to cease in the Suburbs, the Turks filled them with Janizaries, so that none could enter or go out of the City, which much troubled the Duke of *Lorraine*, who could no more give or receive Intelligence from the besieged, though so near and in sight of them.

The Camp of twelve thousand Men which the Grand Vizier had left near *Raab* to favour the Convoys, continued there still under the command of the *Bassa of Buda*; but he was relieved by Prince *Abaffi*, being himself obliged to go to the Siege of *Vienna*. There was also a Camp almost always betwixt *Hicken* and *Altenburg*, upon the same account, that is, to keep open and assist the Passage of Convoys which came from *Buda*, and the Neighbouring Parts.

The Turks being posted in *St. Ulrich's* Suburbs, run their Trenches within fifty paces of the Counterscarp and Batteries. They also advanced their Cannon there, but before they discharged them, they caused a little Bag of Linen, carried upon the Spur by two *Spahies*, to be thrown into the Counterscarp. This contained a Letter from the Grand Vizier, written

in the Latin and Turkish Languages, the Explication whereof follows.

1683.

TO You, Generals, Governors, and Noble Citizens of Vienna, We make known by these Presents, according to the Orders we have received from the most Serene, most Mighty, most Redoubtable, and the mightiest Emperor of the Universe, our Father, the true Image of God upon Earth, who, by the Grace of the most High, in imitation of our holy Prophet Mahomet Multapha, to whom be Honour, Glory, and Benediction, hath rendered himself, by the multitude of his Miracles, the greatest of all the Sovereigns of the one and the other World, and most August of Emperors, who, having caused our innumerable Armies, protected always by Divine Providence, to come hither, We are resolved to take Vienna, and establish there the Cult of our Divine Religion; 'tis therefore, that before we draw our fatal Cymbals, as our chief End is the Propagation of the Musselman Faith, and that is expressly commanded us by the Laws of our Holy Prophet, first and before all things, to exhort you to embrace our Holy Religion, we do hereby advertise you, that if you will cause your selves to be instructed in our Mysteries, you will find the Salvation of your Souls therein: if you will deliver up your City without fighting, whether you are young, or more advanced in years, Rich or Poor, we assure you that you may all live peaceably. If any desire to quit the place, and go live elsewhere, no harm shall be done him in his Person or Goods, and he shall be conducted with his Family and Children whither he pleases. For such as will rather stay, they shall live in the City as they did before. But if you suffer us by your Obstinacy to take the City by force, we shall then spare no Body, and we swear by the Creator of Heaven and Earth, who neither bath, nor never will be his guest, that we shall put all to the Swords, as is ordained by our Law. Your Goods will be pillaged, and your Wives and Children will be carried away Slaves. We shall pardon only such who shall obey the Divine Orders.

Given at the Emperours Camp before Vienna, the 8th of the Moon Regeb, in the year of the transmigration of the Prophet, 1094.

The Turks continued to deepen their Trenches to four foot, and shot many Bombs, but without any considerable effect, most of them bursting in the Air, except some few, which falling near the Walls, burnt an old Play-house, which being of Wood, it was feared lest the Flames should reach the Convent and Church of the *Angulines*, which occasion'd its sudden demolishing.

There happened also another Accident, but more dangerous. The Fire having seized upon the *Spas* Church, consumed that stately Building, as also the House of *Frendorf*, lately petitioned by the Bishop of *Heliopolis*, Suffragan to the Arch-bishop of *Vienna*. The flame proceeded to the Arsenal, full of Powder and Munitions of War, which would have proved fatally ruinous, if *Conte Serin* had not caused the Gate, which they had in vain attempted to unlock, to be broken open, and immediately removed the Powder, which a few moments delay would have rendered impossible. But on the other side, they could not hinder the Fire to consume the Palaces of *Aversberg*, *Traun*, and *Palfi*, which were reduced to Ashes. A Boy of sixteen years old, habited like a Girl, was accused as guilty of this burning, being found thereabouts, who was by the enraged People immediately pul'd in pieces, so that the truth by this precipitated death could not be made known. The Fire continued three days, which if it had seized the Powder in the Arsenal, as in the year 1690, the

Turks

1683.

Turks might easily have entered that way into the City.

Since this Accident, the Infidels shor that way that they saw the flame appear, and endeavour'd to ruin the Court and the Lyon Bastions, with the Ravelin betwixt both; but the Besieged bravely opposed them with their Salies and Countermine. They wanted good Engineers in the City, inasmuch that *Isidorus*, a Captain of the Garrison, who from a private Soldier was by his Virtue come to that degree, being observed to note all the faults the Miners committed in their Works, the conduct of them was committed to him, wherein he acquitted himself with good success.

Count *Starenberg*, who was Governour General, was all this while busie in repairing the Walls, deepning and palisading the Ditches, and in raising the Earth which was drawn out of the Ramparts and Retraits, to cover themselves when the first Poles and Parapets were thrown down, which afterwards contributed much to the defence of the Place.

The Turks advanced their Works on the Court and Lebel Bastions side, carrying them on within thirty paces of the Counterscarp, notwithstanding the continued fire of the Besieged. They also discharged their Cannon and Mortars without ceasing, and intirely ruined the Emperours Palace, the Houses and neighbouring Churches.

Count *Starenberg*, who neglecting the danger, visited every moment the Posts, to see if his orders were faithfully executed; upon his going out of the Court-Bulwark was hurt in the Head with a Brick-bat, which a Cannon bullet had forced. He was immediately carried to his Lodgings, and to his surprise, that in three days he found himself able to quit his Bed and his Chamber; during his hurt, the Count of *Dava* was also incapable of acting, being dangerously sick of a violent Fever, which reduced him to extremity; so that he was not out of danger before the fourteenth Day of his Malady. But the Counts *Serin*, *Suches*, and *Schaffenberg*, Brigadiers of the Garrison, applied themselves with so much care for the defence of the Place, that the Enemy drew no advantage from this misfortune.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Lorraine*, finding himself obliged to remove farther from the City, his first care was to molest the Enemy. Count *Dunenald*, Lieut. Marshal of the Field, was sent to *Krems* with his Regiment, the two Regiments of *Lodron*, and *Keri*, *Gravats*, *Kempeles* Regiment of *Pulish* Dragons, were likewise dispatched thither, not only to keep the Bridge, which was of great Importance, but to hinder the Enemies Foragers, and oppose the Parties of *Tartars* which ravaged about. And here we may wonder at the Politics of these Microants, who burn and ruin all the Forrages, and all the Victuals, which should make them subsist, and which would have very much accommodated their Army in the distresses they afterwards found themselves.

Lorraine likewise sent Orders to Count *Hermelin*, who was in *Syria*, to advance to the Frontiers on the side of the Mountains, to attempt the Enemies. He gave also the same Orders to the Garrisons of *Raab* and *Comorra*, and to *Cassels* Dragons who were at *Nemphal*. He sent likewise to survey *Glosterneburg* which is an Abbey upon the Danube. The Turkish Camp was but two Leagues off, and according to the report made to him of the Place, he judged it necessary to confine this Post, which he did, by putting Foot into it, the which

might defend the Danube upon occasion, if the Enemy came to attack them with Cannon.

He dispatched an Officer to *Raab*, for the Regiments of *Grand* and *Baden*, which the Duke of *Key* brought him with so much diligence, that passing from *Raab* at Mid-night, they came in 24 hours to *Presburg* and the next day to the Camp. Count *Lejley* was sent to *Krems* to conduct the Artillery thither, and to expect the *Bavarian* Auxiliaries, those of *Saxony* and *Prussia*, and some other loose Regiments in the Empire.

After these first Dispositions, which depended on the Duke's care, his thoughts more nearly regarded the Court, and the relief of *Vienna*. He judged the safety of this Place of such Importance, that he thought it not fit it should be pressed, and reduced to Extremity, to search the means of saving it. He knew that the tediousness of Negotiations, and the distance from whence he was to expect things necessary for this grand Enterprise, would make him lose much time, whence he concluded that he could not begin too soon. He was not of the Sentiment of others, who imagined that the Garrison of *Vienna* was capable of defending it self against such extraordinary Troops, and cause the Grand Vizier's Army to perish, without any Success. But he knew that the want of Necessaries do sometimes produce great Changes in the best Resolutions, that no body could answer for the Governour's Life, nor for the principal Officers, nor for the constancy of the People, accustomed to an easy Life, and who had never seen the Wars but in paint. He knew that the Maladies inevitable in Sieges might occasion untoward Accidents. He saw the Detestation of the Emperours Hereditary Countries, which did daily augment. He heard no other Discourse but of the necessities, and People carried into slavery. In this Continuation of Cruelties and Violences, he judged it reasonable to use all means to stop the Rapidity of this Torrent. He perswaded himself, that being at the head of the Army, he ought not to defer representing all these Particulars to the Emperour by some Person of Merit and Trust. He gave this Commission to Count *Taffi*, whom he dispatched to *Huffin*, and he continued the same Offices during the Siege, for all the Obstacles and Oppositions which he encountered, whether by the Difficulties of Passages, or the slender success of his Negotiations.

The Besiegers, who had drawn two parallel Lines, the one on the Court Bastion, and the other on the Lebel side, joynted them with another of Communication, and placed above thirty pieces of Battery against them. And though *Vienna* was environed with eleven Bastions, the Enemy attacked and battered but three during the whole Siege, which obliged the Governour to use all his care for their defence.

The Grand Vizier took his Post on that side that regarded the Ravelin above-mentioned, with the Age of the Janizaries, called as he was, *Cara Mustapha*, his *Kiaia*, and the *Bassa of Romania*; this last was slain with a Cannon bullet. The Attack on the right side towards the Court Bulwark was committed to *Huffin*; the *Bassa Frontiers* on the side of the Mountains, to attempt the Enemies. He gave also the same Orders to the Garrisons of *Raab* and *Comorra*, and to *Cassels* Dragons who were at *Nemphal*. He sent likewise to survey *Glosterneburg* which is an Abbey upon the Danube. The Turkish Camp was but two Leagues off, and according to the report made to him of the Place, he judged it necessary to confine this Post, which he did, by putting Foot into it, the which

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1683. I shall designedly pretermitt the particulars of this Siege, as to the Approaches, Trenches, Batteries, Minings, Countermornings, Attacks, Salies, and Contrails, though carried on with admirable Valour and Constancy on both sides, as being particularised in the Journals of that Siege in all Languages, and of little or no use to my Country-men: And yet I shall omit no great Action, nor any thing that may be required of a just Historian.

Great was the firing on both sides, and a Grando falling on the Spanish Ambassadors Palace, reverberated all his Stables. It would have done yet more harm without the Governours Precaution, who had commanded 250 men, under their particular Officers, to march incessantly through the Streets to quench the artificial Fires occasioned from their Bombs or otherwise.

Being, as we mentioned, close shut up, Count Stenbergh was the more desirous to communicate Councils with the Duke of Lorrain; for which end he offered 100 Ducks to any that would but carry him a Letter, without the hazard of a return, but no man presented himself upon this occasion; and yet a Spy sent by the Duke arrived happily in the City, having traversed the four Branches of the Danube with his Letters hanged in a Bladder about his Neck; by these the Governour was informed, that he should certainly be relieved, and that the Troops of the Circles of the Empire, and the Hereditary Countries with which the King of Poland, who was at *Unitz*, was to join, did daily arrive. In the mean time some Detectors brought News, and it was seen from the top of St. Stevens Steeple, that the Infidels were making a Bridge of Boats over the Danube, a League off, to the end they might pass when they pleased into the Life of *Prater*. They knew also that this Commission was given to the Vayvods of *Wallachia* and *Moldavia*, who employed 6000 of their Nation in the Work; but being the Turks suspected them, as being Christians, and that they were forced, the Visier ordered *Admir*, *Bassa* of *Magretia*, a City in *Natalia*, who was camped in this Life, and *Gidier*, *Bassa* of *Bofus*, who had been *Kiaia* to the Sultana *Ayski*, to attend their Actions, and second them with six thousand *Egyptians*.

The Baron of *Kunitz*, who was the Emperours Resident with the Porte, being then in the Camp, sent one of his Domesticks with a Letter to Count *Stenbergh*, which was not very hard to do, though the Turks kept a very strict Guard, by reason that the Officers and Servants of all the Ministers which resided with the Grand Seigneur, are habited as Turks, and speak the Language of the Country. The business was kept to little secret, that the News became the next day the subject of every Conversation. This Indiscipline was the cause that they could no more profit by this Advantage, the Turks being advertised of this Commerce by their Spies. *Kunitz's* Servant being seized upon in his return, was brought to the Visier, and seen no more, but without his Letters, which being wrap'd in wax, he prudently let slip into a Ditch, when he saw the Turks come towards him.

An Order was published by found of *Trumpet*, commanding all Proprietors of Houses, to keep every one a Man in his Cellar, to hearken it they could discern any thumping or removing of Earth, because it had been noted abroad, that some Traitors had promised to bring the Enemy through Subterranean Passages into the City. The same day the Turks passing

1683. some great Pieces into *Loysellat* upon *Buda* and *Flores*, were discovered by the besieged, who play'd upon them with their Cannon from the Ramparts to lukely, that they sunk two of their largest, with a Mortarpiece; which yet did not hinder the rest to arrive at *Neudorf* and *Erdorf*.

The Cannon on both sides, together with the Mortars, play'd without ceasing, and though they ruined the prime Buildings in the Town, they hurt or killed but very few. The 24th, *Nitski*, one of the Engineers, came in great haste to the Governour, to tell him, that he had seen in one of the Shores of the City, somewhat that had the Figure of a Man, and that it was to be feared, that the Turks had found a Passage, and were entered through this Vault, which disgorges it self in the Danube, and that they designed to surprize the City that way. The Governour, not being yet well recovered of his hurt, sent *Nitski* back, with the Baron of *Wels*, his Son-in-Law, and *Collonel Rumbingens*, who was present, to examine the matter with care; but being they stayed somewhat long, the Governour, weak as he was, mounted on Horseback. Being come to the place, he alighted, and entered himself, notwithstanding the infectious smells, into the hole; having searched all about with Torches, he found that they were Carcasses that the Executioners men had fled. He very sharply reproved the Authors of this Inhumanity, having accidentally met some of them, and returned to his Palace, pleasantly rallying the *Pannick* fear with those that accompanied him.

The Duke of Lorrain had continued in his Camp by the Bridges of *Vienna* to refresh his harassed Cavalry, from the 16th to the 25th of July. He had there News of the defeat of 800 *Tatars* by a party of a Detachment which Count *Dunewald* Commanded, which rendered these Barbarians more reserved.

The Count de la Tour, the Emperours Envoy in Poland, came to the same Post to him, to assure him, that that Prince promised to come to the relief of *Vienna*, but that he could not be there before the beginning of September.

At the same time the Duke of Lorrain was advertised that *Tekely* having assembled his Troops near *Tirana*, designed to march to *Presburg*; that the Governour of that Castle wavered, and that the City was much sollicit to receive a Garrison of the discontented *Hungarians*, which obliged him to march along the *March* to oppose this design, and in the interim he sent 200 men with Major *Okelly*, to endeavour to put them into the said Castle with a Convoy of 300 Horse for his Security.

The Duke disamp'd from the Bridges of *Vienna*, having burnt them, leaving notwithstanding the Regiments of *Savoy* and *Riccardi* to preserve the Forts. Being arrived at the *March*, he was informed that *Okelly* with his Convoy were beaten by a party of the *Malcontents*; that the City had received a Garrison; that they were by order of the Grand Visier preparing a Bridge for the Communication of both Armies; that *Tekely* had 20000 *Hungarians*, and 8000 *Turks*, commanded by the *Bassa* of *Waradin* and *Pest*; and that he prepared to come and besiege the Castle of *Presburg*. This design appeared to the Duke of that consequence, that he believed himself obliged to march thither notwithstanding all the Obstacles that seemed to oppose him.

This resolve was however a great while contested. He considered the difficulty of the ways, the Enemies Forces much superior to his; the danger of receiving a check, in a time when the

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1683. Emperours Forces were to be preserved for relief of *Vienna*. On the other side, he foresaw that the Communication of the two Armies at *Presburg* did put the Enemies in a Condition to join their Forces to pass where they pleased, and to hinder the Conjunction of the Arms of Poland, or oblige them to tedious Circuits. These considerations made him determine to oppose the Designs of *Tekely*. He traversed the *March* the 28th of July with his Horse and Dragoons, being in all eight thousand Horse, and two thousand *Poles*, commanded by *Lubomirsky*. A party that appeared a League from the River, was forced back, the Imperialists continuing their march to the Lanes that descended to *Presburg*. Night being come on, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, and the Baron *Mercy* were detached with all the Dragoons to force the narrow Passages, and gain the tops of the Vineyards, which they did with any in the plain below. The General upon notice came speedily there, from whence he observed two Camps posted at some distance from each other. He caud his Horse to advance, which he had left behind the narrow Passages, to be ready upon Occasion, and in the mean time caud *Okelly* to enter the Castle with two hundred Men, commanded a-new for this Enterprize.

At break of day, the General commanded Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to inspect the Suburbs, where some *Malcontents* did appear. Upon his advance, the Enemy retreated into the City, and abandoned the said Suburbs without resistance.

This happy Success, and that in fight of the Enemy, seemed an Argument of their Weakness, and occasioned the summoning of the Town, which, in the surprize it was, seeing the Imperial Army at their Gates, and the great loss of the Castle reinforced, immediately surrendered, deliberating no longer than was necessary to give means to the Garrison of the *Malcontents* to retire to their Camp; which did not happen, for one part of them was cut in pieces when they were out, and the other made Prisoners in the Town.

After this advantage, the Duke was resolved to attack the Enemy, who were advanced in *Batalia* within three quarters of an hour of the City.

He gave Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* Orders to seize with his Dragoons the Vineyards and Gardens at the head of the Suburbs, and to extend on both hands from the Danube to the foot of the Mountain; whilst the Horse, commanded by Count *Caprara*, defended by the same Vineyards to embattle themselves.

The Enemy on their side made some motions of coming up to the Imperialists, and detached some Parties to begin the Skirmish; but the Duke would not engage them before all his Troops were in Battle-array. As soon as the second Line was formed, they began to advance, which occasioned the *Malcontents* to change their Countenance, for whereas they had appeared, as if desirous to bring the business to a Battle, much Dull appeared in the Rear of their right Wing, as also the left, and removed farther off, which seemed to be occasioned by retiring Troops, which also proved so; all the Line which stood opposite to the Imperialists, wheeling and separating into a perfect Retreat.

Those who were on the *Lorrainers* right, and had a Party of *Polanders* in opposition to them, finding themselves pressed by their A-yanguard were intirely routed, being chased

with considerable loss, until they had gained a Wood, and passed a Brook two miles off, where they rallied on the other side, and obliged the Troops that had pressed them to a stand. On the left, another detachment of *Poles*, seconded by some *German* Squadrons, and the Regiment of *Palfy*, charged the Enemy with much Vigour, that having broken them, they killed and took between five and six hundred of them. They lifted on above a thousand Waggon with Baggage, and purified them towards *Tirana* with much heat, that they forced some of them with great Confusion into the Woods, and others into the Danube. The fear was such, that they fled on all sides until they had passed the *Waigh*.

Tekely, upon the Advice he had of the march of the Imperialists, by the Party he had beaten the Night before, he retired in the Night with the greatest part of his Horse and all his Foot, leaving but few of his Men with the Turks, who would retire as he did, resolving to expect the *Germans*. This Action produced some misunderstanding betwixt the *Tekelies* and the *Isfidels*, who separated with little satisfaction from each other; but they re-united since by order of the Grand Visier, as was found by their intercepted Letters. The Duke in the mean time caused the Timber of the Planks, and the Boats prepared for the Construction of the designed Bridge to be destroyed; and afterwards returned to the *March*.

The Siege, in the mean time, as also the defence was bravely carried on; one Day the Turks diversified themselves with a concert of Flutes, Cymbals, and other Instruments of their Fashion, and the terrible howlings of the Assistants, which they account Melodious, denoting, as was supposed by their joy, some extraordinary Feast. The Besieged that were in the Counterchurch, but ten Paces off, could not forbear rallying these Barbarians, and ask them in scorn to give them part in the Divertissement of their Ball, being they had given them that of their Musick. And the Ball did truly follow, but the Leapers were on the Christians side: For these Infidels having sprung a Mine, which they had newly dug, under the Posts and Pallisadoes of the Counterchurch, the Earth, with a good part of the Pallizado, and about ten of the Defenders were blown up.

The Turks taking advantage of the Opportunity, used all their might to render themselves Masters of the Counterchurch, by the breach they had made in it. The Fight was hot, and the Slaughter great. The Confusion and Disorder grew high, but most amongst the Christians, which being perceived by Count *Serint*, and *St. Cruz*, Lieutenant Colonel to *Dupont*, they ran with a hundred Men to their Aid, and employed them to throw hand Granadoes, and other artificial Fires upon the Enemy, encouraged their Friends, that they fell with revived Courage upon the Enemy, beat them back and kill'd a great number of them, planting the Heads of the slain in rows upon their Pallisadoes, letting these Barbarians know that Christian Walls would not tumble with noise of Instruments and shouting, as the Walls of *Jeric* once did.

A Messenger being sent to the Duke of Lorrain a second time with Letters in Cypher, was unhappily taken by the Turk, and his Letters being eyed to an Arrow, were shot again into the Town, with Latin lines affixed to them, intimating, that they sent this Letter to the Besieged, being it was to no purpose to send it to Lorrain; being assured, that in the ill Condition

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27. The Governour published an Ordinance, whereby all Persons, of what Quality or Condition soever they were, being able to bear Arms, and had not yet enlisted themselves in the Companies of the University, or those of the Magistrates, should appear at the New-Market upon the noise of the Bells, to be inrolled, and form a fourth Body, which was done; In the mean time, many Christians taken by the *Tatars*, being shaved, and in Turkish habits, found means to save themselves, and escape into the City.

The Turks continued their Labours, and the Advancement of their Works; and to hinder the Effect of the Bombs, which were continually thrown out of the City, they covered their Trenches with great Beams and Trees, upon which they threw Sacks of Earth in abundance, which not only closed the chinks, but rendered it proof against Granadoes, as also Musket-shot. When this Work was finished, not only the principal Baffes, but the Vicer himself came to view the Trenches, and lodged in them, having their separate Apartments, pay'd with Brick, and divided into Chambers, with all the conveniences of great Houses.

Aug. 1. There arrived an Express in the Camp, which informed the Duke, that the King of Poland would not part from *Gracovia* till the 16th Instant; that the Troops of Saxony would have their Rendezvous at *Dresden* the 4th, and that those of *Franken* would not begin to march before the 11th. These Succours appearing remote, and the duration of the Defence of *Vienna* uncertain, his Highness resolved to approach the Enemies Quarters. He thought that he should be able by the Twentieth of August, with his Forces, as well Imperialists as *Bavarians*, and the Troops of *Poles* which should enter into *Silesia*, to pass the Danube at *Krems*, and advance with that Body towards the Heights near the Camp of the Enemies, with design to maintain himself there till the arrival of the Allies. During this, he might weary out the Infidels, animate the Belieged in their Defence, and hold himself in a Condition to force a Post for the relief of the Place, according to the necessity of Affairs. He sent Count *Palfi* to Court, to acquaint his Imperial Majesty with the Design, and press the march of the Troops, which might be got together by that time; and some other disposal of Boats and Provisions necessary for that Expedition.

After he had dispatched the Count, he was informed, that Count *Tekely* had sent Boats to the Turks, that he had passed the Danube, and that they were seen from *Ennsdorf*; a little Town seated upon that River where the Imperialists had some Magazines. The Duke marched thither with four Regiments, and thence to the Bridge of *Vienna*, where he learned that the Enemy had possessed themselves of a small Island, and that they had taken Boats from the Peasants, who had retired into the said Isle, he ordered the Baron of *Mercy* to dislodge them thence, and returned to *Ennsdorf*. *Mercy* caused his Cannon to advance upon the opposite shore to the Isle, with the Dragoons of Saxony which guarded the Bridge, and having broken the Boats with his great Shot, he reduced the Turks to an inability of being able to get out of the *Tabor* or *Leopold's* Isle.

As soon as *Tekely* understood that the Imperialists were returned towards *Vienna*, he summoned *Moravia* to pay him Contribution. The

Duke being advertised of it, returned to *Ancora* upon the Mark, to defend that Province against the *Malcontents*. He was informed upon his arrival there, that a party of them had repassed that River that day, and burnt some Villages. He detached presently 500 *Poles* to pursue them, fending them with some Horse and Dragons, who encountering them two Leagues from *Ancora*, laden with Spoil, they attack'd them so briskly, though far inferior in number, that they killed 500, released the Prisoners, recovered all the Booty, and took ten or twelve of their Standards.

The Siege was carried on with no less bravery than it was sustained; and being several who were out of Employment were necessary, an Ordinance was published, intimating that Monies and Provisions should be given to all such who would enroll themselves, with assurance they should not be obliged to serve after the Siege. Many accepted of the Condition, received three Patacons each advance Money, and were regaled with Bread and Wine, by the care of the Prince of *Smartenberg*, and by the Liberty of the Religious and the Citizens. Wine never failed, nor indeed fresh Meat for the sick, store of Cattel having been twice brought in by fally during the Siege. The Magistrate, that by the Governours Order taxed the Ecclesiasticks, the Cloysters, the Citizens, and the Peasants, who were refused in the City, to furnish for the use of the Souldiers the hundredth Pint, which was punctually executed, there being none that refused to pay this imposition: the greatest Lords and the Emperours Officers not exempting themselves upon this Occasion.

St. Stephen's Steeple, being very obnoxious to the Turks by reason of its height, and the great extent of its Discoveries, was much shot at by them, though *Solyman*, when he besieged *Vienna*, had declined ruining so noble a Fabric, upon no other Terms, but that they should put a Half Moon, the Arms of that Empire, upon the Spire of it, which was still up. The Centinel that was there the 7th, perceived betwixt the River *Mark* and *Moravia*, on the other side the Danube, Fire and Smoke, which lasted till eight a Clock; C. *Stareberg* judg'd they were C. *Tekely's* Troops, who in passing the *Waag*, had skirmished with the Imperialists, and it proved so, as he found by the return of one of his Spies, which he had sent to the Duke. The account he gave was, that the Turks having detached 3000 Horse to discover the Succors which were arrived in the Princes Army, out of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, and the Circles, these Infidels fell into an Ambuscade which was laid for them, and where most of them were cut in pieces; that an Aga, Count *Tekely's* Secretary, and an Hungarian Count, since dead of his Wounds, were taken Prisoners; that the Imperialists had taken a great number of the Enemies Waggon with Baggage, and that since this Advantage, many of the chief of the *Malcontents* were come in to the Duke.

Colonel *Heister* having passed the Danube at *Claffenburg*, took four hundred of the Enemies Horse. On the other side, the *Malcontents* continued to send small parties into *Moravia*, who set fire by Night on the Houses and Villages; and as it was a hard matter to remedy these Disorders by force of Arms, the Duke judged that the best way to repress them was by that of Reprisals. He caused *Tekely* to be advertised, that he would send Orders to *Zatmar*, and to all the Emperours Garrisons, to burn the Palaces and Houses of all them of his party. This threat,

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1683. threatening put a stop to these Incendiaries; for he thereupon sent a Deputy to *Claffenburg*, to *Poland*, to the end he might inform the Duke of *Lorraine* that he had not commanded those burnings, and that they should hear no more of them.

About this time, Count *Alburt Caparra*, the Emperours Envoy at *Constantinople*, had Permission given him by the Grand Vicer, to return to his Master, and having passed by *Turkey*, he had in charge to propose to his Imperial Majesty, that upon the Cession of *Radi* he would abandon the Siege of *Vienna*.

Kathinski, a Lieutenant, upon promise of the first vacant Company, had been dispatched from *Vienna* to the Duke, one from the Deputies of the Council of State, and the rest from the County *Caparra* and *Stareberg*. The first, for they were of several dates, marked the danger the Countership was in, others gave an account of the state of the Siege, minding him of the Necessities of the place, and the Accidents that might happen, and praying him to hasten the Succours, and these were writ by the Governour. *Caparra's* Letters particulariz'd the slain and wounded, finishing with earnestness for Relief, praying him to consider the Officers, their want of Granadoes, their lack being near spent, and the Disposition of the Citizens not to be relied upon. The last Letter marked, that C. *Stareberg* was sick of a bloody Flux, and could answer for nothing, unless the Succours were great and quick.

The Duke, who was careful in informing the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the Elector of *Saxony*, of all he could learn of the state of the besieged, failed not to quicken the Auxiliaries, to communicate his Intelligence and Letters to them. He dispatched Count *Caraffa* to the King of *Poland* with them, and hasten'd the march of General *Sharski*, who was come into *Silesia* six days since. This Count had also in charge, to pray his Majesty of *Poland* to come with the first Troops, as well for the esteem he had of his Merits, as because he believed that upon the Kings advance the grofs of his Army would follow with more diligence. After he had dispatched C. *Caraffa*, he sent the Count *Moffe* to the Elector of *Saxony*, to provide Waggon and Carriages for the Auxiliary Troops by the way as they should pass. As he did not doubt but that these pressing Letters would quicken the advance of the Troops, he thought he was obliged to provide also for the passage of the Danube, and in order to it resolved to go to *Krems*, whereof he advertised the Emperour by an Express. About the same time C. *Stareberg* had News from *Presburg*, as also of the taking of a great Convoy that was going to the Ottoman Army, and that the King of *Poland* was upon his march to succour the Place. This good News infused Joy into the whole City, and was welcomed with all the Artillery, and the ringing of all their Bells. As every little Success encourages Souldiers at least to hope, so it far'd here. A Scholar having killed a Janizary, and ripped open his Stomach, found ten Ducks in Gold upon his Back, and a Souldier having after a stiff Combat slain a Janizary, cut off his Head with his own Sable; Searching him afterwards, he found a Girdle about him full of Monies, which he hid so well that his Comrades did not discover it: Being returned into the City, having unfittid'd his purchase, he found an 100 Sequins of Gold. He was transported at the

1683. fight with Joy, that he ran like a Mad-man through the Streets clapping his Hands, and shewing his Gold to every body, making it appear by his Extravagancies, that he thought himself happier than the Emperour. His good Fortune gave Courage to his Companions, upon hopes of the like Adventure, making them good Anatomists and diligent Waiters.

The Duke of *Lorraine* left *Ancora* encamp at *Volgordor*. He received Letters from the Count *Caparra* and *Stareberg*. The first pressed strongly for Relief; by reason of the Diminution of the Garrison, and the Ammunition of War. The Style of the second Letter was upon the brave, and seemed of a Person not greatly concerned; but in the three last Lines, being in Cypher, he besought the Duke for speedy Succours, because the Retrenchments and Cuttings off in the Lebel Bastion were very slight; that his Ammunition and Officers failed him, and that he every day lost many of his Men. His Highness return'd him answers full of comfort, advising him of the state of the advance of the Auxiliaries, and the certitude of his Relief. In order to it, he quits *Volgordor*, and march'd to *Stokerau*, the better from thence to discover the Isles of the Danube, and chuse a place for making a Bridge for his Passage.

Some of the great ones were of Opinion, that *Vienna* ought not to be relieved by the Plain, passing the Danube at *Presburg*, this Opinion found many partisans, their reason was, that the Army posting it self above the City, would cut off the Communication of the Beliegers with those Countries from whence they drew their Provisions; which being done, they judg'd the Turks would retire, without the Christians hazarding of a Battle. This reasoning did not want appearance, if it could be done before the Belieged were too much pressed; but the Enemies main force consisting in Horse, that of the Imperialists in Foot, the Duke thought Inclosures preferable to the Plains; besides, the Allies not being able to meet at *Krems* before the Month of September, many days would be spent in marching thence to *Presburg*, and laying a Bridge over the River there, in a time when the condition of the Siege demanded all their haste. Moreover the Construction of a Bridge in that place was difficult, especially if the Enemy detached any strong Parties to oppose them, as they might easily do; inasmuch that the Duke, who had in the beginning of the Siege looked upon the Mountains of *Kalenberg* as the surest way for the Relief of *Vienna*, without any farther amusing himself, resolved to pass the Army at *Tah* and *Krems*, disposing all things accordingly for the Execution of this Design. He did not believe the Enemy would come thither to oppose him, not only because part of his Army, and of that of the *Bavarians* was already on the other side of the Danube, and maintained themselves there, without attempts of the Turks to dislodge them; but also because it would be dangerous for these Infidels to engage themselves with a great Body of Horse beyond the Straights or narrow Passages of the Forest of *Vienna*.

Many were the Messengers and Spies which pass betwixt the Duke and Belieged, his Highness being careful to encourage and inform them. He now again affures them, that the Army composed of *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, *Poles*, and the Imperial Troops approach'd *Krems*; That the King of *Poland* Commanded it in Person, and that he was accompanied by the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*; That the Emperour

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was removed from *Paslaw* to *Linz*, to be near *Vienna*, so that now there was nothing more required for the saving of *Christendom*, but a little more resistance, being all the Troops were ready to march. He added, that he himself was going to *Krensb*, to prepare the Bridges and every other necessary thing, to the end that nothing should retard the Succour of the Place, affixing moreover the Governour, that he would expose himself to all dangers to force the Enemy from the Siege. Fortune did begin now to favour them, being *Tekeky* had been defeated at *Presburg*, and by the River of *March* with great loss. This News caused a sensible Joy in all the Inhabitants, and particularly the Ecclesiastics, whereof many were troubled with bloody Fluxes, and very many considerable Persons had been dead of it. The cause of this Disease may well be attributed to the ill Diet, the richest sort being forced to eat salt meats, differing from the Delicacies of their former feeding, besides the Meal they made their Bread of was neither clean nor well ground.

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The Duke in the mean time caused some Troops of the Regiments of *Grana* and *Baden* to secure *Tula*, where there was a stone Wall and a Ditch, for he designed to preserve that Town, and make it one of the heads of his Bridge: the next day he went to discover the Ilets of the *Danube*, and having found them useful for his Design, he commanded ways to be made in them, and Boats to be brought thither. Upon his return he found Count *Pasli* arrived from *Linz*, with orders from the Emperor, that it was necessary he should expect the arrival of all the Allies before he approached near the Enemies.

About this time a noise was spread in the City, that the Turks, who incessantly mined and moved the Earth, had made a Subterranean passage which should open into the Emperours Cellars, by which they pretended to surprize the Town. The Governour, howbeit he believed nothing of it, ordered the Emperours Guards which were left for the Guard of the Palace, to keep watch and Centinels in the Cellars, which they did with no great regret. The same day there happened an accident, which for the rareness of it may well be recorded. *Kimpler*, an able Engineer, working in a Countermine under the Castle-Gate, encountered, deep in the Earth within a walled Vault, a Coffin of Tin, wherein he thought to have found a dead Corps, but opening it, he was dazzled with the lustre of a great many pieces of Gold and Silver, where-with this Coffin was filled; he saw moreover rich Jewels enriched with precious Stones. Having secured this Treasure, he found in the bottom a Box of Tin, wherein was a Parchment where the following words were traced in ancient Characters.

GAUDEBIS
SI INVENERIS, VIDEBIS, TACEBIS,
SED
ORABIS, PUGNABIS, ÆDIFICABIS,
NON HODIE
NEC CRAS, SED QUIA
UNIVERSIS EQUIS,
TURRIS ERECTA ET ARMATA,
DIVERSA ORDINATA ARMA
SUBSCRIPTIO
ROLLANDT HUNN. MOG. POSUIT.

Those who would divine the Sentinences of *Rowland Huns of Metz*, who had deposited this Treasure in the Earth, pretended he had some Knowledge of the future, and that by this In-

scription he would manifest that he knew this Treasure would be found during the Siege of *Vienna*, and that the Infidels should be obliged to abandon it. Their Sense of the words follows. *Rowland* speaking to *Kimpler*, says to him. *Si invenieris*, If thou dost find what I have hid from all others, *videbis*, tacebis, thou wilt consider these words, and discover thy good Fortune to no body. *Jed orabis, pugnabis*, but thou shalt render thanks unto God for relieving thee Riches for thee, and, as obliged in gratitude, thou shalt fight against the Enemies of his Name, *ædificabis, non hodie nec cras*, Thou shalt employ the Motion of a besieged City for the building Churches, but it shall not be when thy Native Country is defoliated by War; it shall not be neither to day nor to-morrow, *Jed quia universis equis, tuos* would it ill take thy time whilst the Ottoman Cavalry surround the Walls of the City; *Turris erecta & armata*, but fear nothing, the Ramparts raised for the defence of the City, and the brave Soldiers that Garrison it, will preserve it from the vain attempts of the Enemy. *Diversa ordinata Arma*, The Arms of the different Nations that thou shalt arrayed in these Plains, shall only serve to render the Victories more glorious, their Triumph more splendid, and the flight of the Turks more infamous.

Aug. 24.

Count *Starenberg* received new assurance by his Spies from the Duke, of being relieved in eight days, which caused an universal Joy, redoubled the Care, and augmented the Courage of all men. On the other side, the Infidels prepared for a general assault, whilst the Governour on the contrary did every day invent new Engines, as *Freitz* Horfes bearded with Iron-turd Pikes, and the like, to oppose in the Breaches. Five hundred Horfe of the Besiegers passing the River, burnt some Villages, but they were encountered and defeated by a party of the Imperialists, commanded by Colonel *Heister*, who cut in pieces the greatest part of them, the rest endeavouring to save themselves by swimming being drowned in the River.

We left the Duke of *Lorraine* marching towards *Tula*, but upon advice that the *Malcontents* were designing to make Incursions into *Moravia*, he detach'd *Lubomirski*, and two Regiments of the Emperours Horfe to march towards the Frontiers of that Province. This Report was grounded upon the Grand Vissers Order, who upon the Knowledge he had that the Imperialists and Auxiliaries took the way of *Tula* and *Krensb*, had commanded Count *Tekeky* to enter into the Hereditary Countries with Fire and Sword, thereby to oblige the Imperialists to return back to their defence. But the *Malcontents* having no mind to engage with the Duke, *Tekeky* was contented to encamp upon the *Markt*; however, in obedience to the Grand Vissers Order, he caused the *Tartars* and *Turks* that were with him to enter into *Austria*, having promised to follow and second them with his Army.

The Duke being advertised that the Infidels were burning the Villages towards *Ennsdorf*, changed his march, having first orders to *Lubomirski*, who was in the Avant-guard to halt, and instead of marching towards *Tula*, he went to meet the Turks, leaving his Baggage at *Stokereu* with the Regiment of *Rokinski*, leaving to Count *Leffley* the Care of the Execution of those things which he had resolved in order to the Passage of the *Danube*, and the Conjunction of the Auxiliary Forces. The Duke coming to the height of *Pisfenberg* about two of the Clock, he could see the continuing of the Fires; he there-

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thereupon sent Parties out, who made some Prisoners. They were questioned, and answered, that the preceding Night they had passed the *March* with a Body of twenty five thousand *Turks* and *Tartars*; that *Tekeky* followed them, and their Camp was but half a League from the Bridges of *Vienna*.

The Duke hereupon immediately commanded Baron *Mercy*, with some Troops, to the top of the height to discover the Enemy. Upon his report he put the Army in Battalia, extending his right Wing towards the Wood, under the command of the Counts *Capara* and *Rabotta*, posting the Dragoons there, and some small Field-pieces; and the left Wing was extended along the Plain under the Conduct of Prince *Lewis of Baden*. He drew the whole into two Lines, and a reserve, on the right whereof *Lubomirski's* Poles were posted. The Imperial Army was composed of thirteen Regiments of Horfe, and five of Dragoons, besides *Lubomirski's* two thousand Poles. Whilst the Imperialists formed their Squadrons, the Turks likewise ranged theirs, leaving the grofs of their Troops in the bottom of the Plain. They began a line upon the heights extending to the left, as if designing to gain the flank of the Imperialists. As soon as they were approached each other, they began to skirmish, and as the Armies grew near, the Infidels detach'd two great Troops, the one of *Turks*, which moved easily, and the other of *Tartars*, who advanced towards the left. Some Volleys of Cannon which the Emperours Dragoons had on their right, did somewhat disorder the Turks whilst they advanced, but did not hinder them to charge the Poles with much firmness. They immediately routed two Squadrons, and with a surprising Vigour, or rather Temerity, passed even to the second Line, as well by the way they had made, as by the interval which the Imperial Horfe had left, receiving in their Passage the fire of all the Neighbour Squadrons which flank'd them in this charge. Notwithstanding that, some of them penetrated even to the Relieves, and endeavour'd to return by the same way they came, and after the same manner, but few of them came off.

On the left Wing, the *Tartars* having endeavour'd by small Troops to gain the flank of the Christians, were not more lucky, for those that past were cut in pieces by others that were sent against them, or obliged to return to their main body; after which, the Imperialists advancing always in good order to attack the whole front of the Turks, the Enemy separated before they could come up to them. One part took the way towards the *Markt*, and the other towards the Bridges of *Vienna*, but most of these were drowned, and the rest all kill'd or taken. The Night being come on, the Duke camped where he was. On the morrow he was presented with several Standards, Timbals, and Drums, and some Prisoners of note were likewise brought to him. The Turks lost, as was discovered by their own intercepted Letters, from a thousand to twelve thousand Men, ma-

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ny were killed upon the place, but many were drowned. The Chams Son was hurt, but saved himself by swimming upon his Horfe. The *Bassa* of *Esrlon* was slain, with many Officers. The next Morning some Prisoners were taken, found hid in the Hedges and Bushes. Their Army consisted of near fourteen thousand *Turks* and *Tartars*, all Horfe, but that of the *Malcontents* stayed at the *Markt*.

The Duke came the same day to *Cronenberg* to refresh his Horfe which had been upon Service twenty four hours, with design to go and fight the *Malcontents* if they continued in their Post. He sent, for this purpose, to General *Stenawski*, who was come to *Nekelburg* with a body of Horfe, being the King of *Poland's* Avant-Guard, to meet him the next day upon the way to *Petersdorf*, but being upon his March, he had News that the *Turks* were retired to *Tinnau*; that the King had sent order to his General to attend him at *Nekelburg*, and that his Majesty would be at *Krensb* the first of September. The Duke hereupon returned to his Camp at *Cronenberg*, to expect the arrival of the *Polish* Army.

They seem'd in the Town in much distress, for the Governour had caused forty Rockets to be fir'd from the top of *St. Stephens* Steeple, to advertise the Duke of the straits they were in, and the necessity of being suddenly relieved. The Grand Vissier seem'd to scorn these signs, answering them with two hundred Cannon shot. And yet it was observed, that the Infidels sent many Camels laden with Baggage and several Servants towards *Presburg*, probably to secure them in case they should be forced to raise the Siege.

The same day, the Duke sent the Chevalier *Lubomirski* to compliment the King of *Poland*, who had also orders to inform his Majesty of the measures they had taken for the relief of *Vienna*; and that it seem'd to require all their haste, as the Counts *Capara* and *Starenberg* signified by their Letters, the Place being reduced to Extremity, but writ in such Terms which made it evident they would defend it with their Lives, but could answer for nothing else.

The Grand Vissier did in the mean time order the *Wallachians* to endeavour to rebuild the Bridges of *Vienna*, to the end that they might, by a diversion that way, retard the march of the Imperialists, or employ a considerable body by that means. As the Waters were grown extremely low since the bridges were ruined, inasmuch that the Pillars which had been then burnt level with the Water, appeared now three or four foot above Water, which gave room for this Enterprize. They were furnished with Timber out of the Neighbouring Villages, and the Work was carried on by the *Wallachians* and *Moldavians* with so much diligence, that near a third of the great Bridge was laid in two Nights.

The Duke having notice hereof, caused Posts to be prepared for the retaking of those Posts which he had quitted in the Iles. The Count *Archinto* and Colonel *Heister* were employed herein, who on the Night of the 31th of August re-entered their old Retrenchments, planting there some Pieces of Cannon. Upon break of day they began to play upon the Turks, who of these were drowned, and the rest all kill'd or taken. The Night being come on, the Duke camped where he was. On the morrow he was presented with several Standards, Timbals, and Drums, and some Prisoners of note were likewise brought to him. The Turks lost, as was discovered by their own intercepted Letters, from a thousand to twelve thousand Men, ma-

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Forest of Vienna. After Noon, those who were upon the Ramparts heard several Musket shots the way that these Infidels marched, which made them guess that they were skirmishing with the *Pickereers* of the Christian Army, and that consequently the Successors were near hand.

At the same time, the Duke of Lorraine being advertised that the King of Poland lay at Heilbronn, left the command of the Army to Count Caprara, and went to give this Prince a visit. He met him at the Head of his *Hussars*, and alighting from his Horse, when he was come within twenty five paces of him, moved towards him, which his Majesty perceiving, he likewise dismounted, met him and embraced him, and after some obliging discourse, he would have him to be his Servant, as he was, and that he had brought him to him to teach him betimes to serve the Emperour. The Senators, the Palatines, and the principal Officers of the Crown, did likewise complement the Duke. The King and Duke mounted on Horseback, and having passed the Troops, continued their march, discoursing the whole time together. When they arrived in the Camp, they entered the Kings Tent, together with the Prince and the Grandees of Poland, where the Duke entertained his Majesty with the main Discourses that tended to the Affairs in hand.

The Prince of Waldeck, who had no Opportunity to speak with the Duke in the Kings Tent, went to attend him at *Stokarcza*, where he communicated all his Thoughts, and agreed with him of the Manner and Method they were to use in relieving the Place.

The Duke dined that day with the King, sitting at the upper end on the Right-Hand of the King, the Prince being seated on his left, all three in Chairs with backs. Some Palatines and Officers of the Imperial Army were also placed at the Table by the Kings Order. After this repast the Duke returned to his Camp very well satisfied with the Civilities done him by his Majesty, who likewise approved of all what this Prince had proposed to him, and upon his reiterated Instances he made to him for hastening the Conjunction of his Forces, he sent Orders to his Great General, who was stayed behind, to hasten his march. The King himself resolved to be at *Krensb* the second of September, where the Emperour was to come to agree about the Conjunction and Passage of the Armies.

In the mean time the Emperour, who should have come to *Krensb*, not only to animate and authorize the Expedition by his Presence, but also to allay the infinite Difficulties which the Competition of so many Princes would occasion, was retained at *Lintz* by an Indisposition of Health. Thus the Care of all was left to the Duke of Lorraine; as also to regulate the Pretensions of the Auxiliary Armies. Having at length found Expedients for all these Difficulties, he went and acquainted the King of Poland with what he had designed, which being highly approved of, he went thence to *Oleßhoff*, where at his intreaty the Duke of Saxony, and all the Generals met him. After some Contentations, the Passage of the Danube, and the Conjunction of all the Auxiliaries was resolved upon, which was to be September 5. in the Plains of *Tuln*. It was determined that the Polish Army, with that of the Emperours, should pass where they were. That the Saxons should traverse the River upon the Bridge at *Krensb*, and whereas the Bavarians with some German Troops camped there under the Command of Count *Lesley*, they should

all march in body to *Tuln*, to join the Imperial Army, and that of Poland.

The Princes upon Consultation deferred the Execution of this Design till the seventh. The King began to pass the sixth, in the Evening. The Duke of Lorraine, after having detached the Countes of *Lodron*, *Riscanti* and *Heberstern*, with their Regiments, and two Battalions of *Lorains*, to join 3000 *Poles*, which the King ought to add to them to form a Body to cover *Moravia*; he sent Colonel *Hessler* with 600 Horse to *Clusternburg*, with orders to make Fires upon the heights of *Khalenberg*, to advertise the besieged by this sign, which was concerted betwixt them, of the approach of their relief.

The besieged had been extremely puffed, for the Turks had finished their Galleries, and attacked the two Bastions of *Lebel* and the *Court*, so that the besieged did daily by Messages and Rockets advertise their Friends of the extremity they were reduced to, the Enemy being now attacked to the very body of the place, having made a great breach in the Court Bastion. The sixth at Night they were greatly encouraged by the firing of five Fuses or Rockets upon the Mountain of *Kalenberg*, which made them judge their help near hand, and which they answered by the like Signal.

The Grand Visier, not ignorant of the Christians motion, on the seventh commanded a review of his Troops to be made, which upon enquiry were represented to him by his Officers to amount to 108000 Men; a List whereof was found in his Tent, as also in that of *Rex Effendi*, or chief Secretary, the which we have omitted here, not to puzzle the course of History with hard Names; but shall however, to satisfy the more curious, subjoin not only that, but an exact account of the Christian Army that raised this celebrated Siege, and also of those Worthies who deserve to have their Memories transferred to Posterity, for defending their City with so signal Bravery and Constancy.

It did not seem that the Christian Princes in the Turkish Army did serve them with any great good will. *Tekely*, who had been but once in the Camp to salute the Grand Visier, left but a thousand Hungarians with him upon his departure; and *Abassky*, though often invited to the Port, excused his attendance by manifold Pretences. However the Visier being entreated *Hungary*, he could not dispense with his waiting upon him at *Jasarin*, though but with few Troops. He was notwithstanding well received by this Minister, and sent back to guard the Passages between *Raab* and *Rannitz*, and the Bridges which the Turks had built upon those two Rivers, to secure a retreat in case Fortune proved their Enemy. The Vayvod of *Walachia*, already mentioned, caused a Cross of Oak of a prodigious bigness to be planted before his Tent in the Camp at *Vienna*; it is seventeen foot in length, with this Inscription in Latin upon it;

Crux exaltatio est conservatio Mundi. Crux decor Ecclesie. Crux custodia Regum. Crux confirmatio Fidelium. Crux Gloria Angelorum, & vultus Denonum.

Nos Dei Gratia servamus, Canthacrenum, Valachie Transilvina Princeps, ejusdem perpetui heres & Dominus, &c. Exercimus Crucem hanc in loco quovis die devotione Populi, & sacro honorato in perpetuum sui Juramento Memoriam, Tempore obsidionis
Maho-

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Mahometanæ à Vizirio Kara Mustapha Bassa Viennensis inferioris Aultrix. Mensis Sept. die 1. Anno 1683.

Viator Memento mori.

The Infidels, upon the approach of the Christians, were in no little disorder, their whole Camp being in a tumultuous Motion, their Horse moved confusedly, and the Servants were sent to load their Camels with Baggage, which made the Besieged judge, that they designed to march to meet the Successors; notwithstanding this Disorder, they did not discontinue their Approaches, and the following day redoubled the firing of their Cannon and Mortars. That Morning a Prisoner being taken, reported, That the Turks were in a great Consternation, because the Christians were already upon the Mountain of *Kalenberg*. Those who were upon the Ramparts saw the Enemies all down their Tents, and go and join their Companies, who were advanced to oppose the Passage of the Christians, and about Noon they saw a great Body ranging themselves in Battalia at the foot of the Mountain, whilst others joined them, carrying with them all their Baggage and Provisions upon Waggon and Camels, as if they designed to change their Camp, where they also planted their Pavilions in the same manner, as if they intended a long stay there, probably to refresh themselves to be more brisk, and in a condition to fight the Successors when they should defend from the Hills. During all these motions, the attack was carried on with redoubled vigour, and though the defence was yet braver, yet at Night they fired many Rockets to advertise their friends that the place was reduced to the last extremity, and that they could hold out no longer.

But now the Christians were seen to cover the Mountain of *Kalenberg*, and to salute their Enemies with several volleys of Cannon. To comprehend well the joy of the besieged at so charming a spectacle, we need but represent to our selves, how they had been close shut up the space of nine Weeks, being every hour, indeed moment, in cruel apprehensions for their goods, their lives, their Wives and their Children; and to see themselves now upon the point to be delivered from these terrible alarms.

The Christian Army being assembled, as is already said, at *Tuln*, and that the Duke of Lorraine had put an end to several difficulties which were again started about the Rank, and the command of so many Princes and Generals, he brought it to a conclusion, that they should march the next day, being the 9th, towards *Vienna*. As soon as this resolution was taken, he sent Baron *Mercy* to *Morbach* with 2000 Horse, to observe the countenance and motions of the Turks. The 9th, at the point of day, he marched with all the German Army, and came and encamped betwixt *St. Andrew* and *Königsfeld*. In this Post he received advice of the Cities being reduced to its last extremity, and that they fired with nothing but Muskets. He sent to advertise the King of Poland, who was yet at *Tuln*, with the news, and caused the Prisoners to be conducted to him, who confirmed the advice. He wrote also to him, beseeching him to advance and join with him.

The 10th, the Duke caused the Germans to enter the Mountains by three several avenues, and left a fourth for the March of the *Poles*. He camped at *Wiblung*, and the *Poles* rested an hour behind to the right. The King himself came

to discover the heights where the Imperialists were camped. The Duke shewed him *Kalenberg* from thence, whether he would march next morning; and his Majesty returned to his Camp. By favour of the night the Duke went in Person to discover the passages of *Kalenberg*, and to take possession of those Posts he judged necessary to assure their march. He also visited the Chappel of *St. Leopold*, and having put 300 men into it to secure it, returned to his Camp, having first to inform the King what was done; after this the Army was set in Battel-array to possess *Kalenberg* by five differing ways, according to the directions given by the Duke, and concluded to by the King. The way on the right was left to his Majesty, as the day before.

The Prince of *Sax-Lauenburg*, General of the Horse, took the next passage to the *Poles*, conducting by that way the Right Wing, consisting of eight Regiments of the Emperours Horse, two of Dragoons, and one of Cuirassiers, of all the Horse and all the Dragoons of *Bavaria* and *Francia*.

The Infantry of *Franconia* and *Bavaria* took the third way, which was the middle-most, being commanded by the Prince of *Waldeck*. The Elector of *Bavaria* placed himself with the said Prince that day, and continued there all the day following, advancing with much firmness in places of most danger, but without any Function or command, he having declared at first, that he would only serve as a Volunteer.

All the Emperours Infantry, and that of *Saxony*, took the other two passages to the left, whereof one was that of *St. Leopold* the Chappel, being the high-way, and the other went along the *Danube*. Prince *Herman* of *Baden* and Count *Lesley* General of the Artillery were at the head of the Foot. Count *Caprara* General of the Horse followed immediately by the same ways with the left Wings, which contained seven Regiments of the Emperours, *Lubomirsky* *Poles*, to which the King had joyne some Squadrons of his, and all the Cavalry and Dragoons of *Saxony*. The Elector of *Saxony* commanded the Auxiliary Troops, which, however of differing tempers and Bodies, marched in Battalia, in as much as the ground would permit it, and were computed to amount to 65000 men. About eleven of the clock, the first Squadrons had gained the tops of *Kalenberg*, without any opposition at all. They there extended the Front of the Army above a league and a half, camping on the declivity of the Mountain towards *Clusternburg*, in three lines, and some places more, as the ground would permit them, seizing thereby seven or eight Avenues, by which they might descend and range themselves for the combat.

They brought at the same time some small Field-Pieces to *St. Leopold*, and to the Monastery of *Canaldoli*. The remainder all of the day and all the night was spent in advancing the *Tuln*, which was not effected without great trouble, the Mountain being so steep, that none but small Field-Pieces could be brought up, nor they but in some time doubling and tripling the draught Horses.

The Turks seeing the Christians appear about the Chappel of *St. Leopold*, and the aforesaid Monastery, drew out on their right, advanced to the foot of the Mountains and extending thence to the brink of the *Danube*, they seized the Hedges, hollow-ways and heights, from whence they might incommode the Enemy at the descent of the hills and first filings out of their firegrazes.

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1683. The Cannon being arrived at St. Leopold and *Camaldoli*, they quickly obliged the Turks to quit the Posts which they had taken, and remove out of their fort. The Troops which they had advanced, consisted in Horse, and another fort of Militia, which fought like our Dragoons on Horse-back and on foot. Of these the number was great, and they had brought but few Foot out of the Camp, and without Cannon in all this detachment which they opposed against the Christians.

The space betwixt *Vienna* and the Army of the Wood is reckoned a League and a half, the Country being very difficult, trenched with the Vineyards, Ravines and hollow ways. The Vineyard was enclosed by a great Dike which covered the Turks Camp on the side of *Helestat*. The Duke of *Lorraine* had chosen this march, to make use of the advantage of the heights, and judging that in a situation of this nature, he might secure his Flanks. His design was the next day to coast the *Danube*, and to attack the Turkish Camp on their right. It was for this reason, and because of the cuts in the ground, that he placed a great Body of Foot to the left, this Wing being designed first to charge the Enemies.

The King of *Poland*, who staid an hour behind, having encamped, came to St. Leopold's Chappel, from whence the Duke shewed him the descent of the Mountain, the Camp of the Turks, and the Troops which were advanced to oppose the descent of the Christians. Their Countenance made his Majesty of opinion, that they would dispute all the passages, and that the Duke should do well, if they could the next day, he moreover desired some German Foot to join with his in the descent of the Mountain. Having obtained four Battalions, he caused them to advance on that side, whereby the Poles were to defend. Towards the evening of that day, the Duke having surveyed the ground at the foot of *Camaldoli*, ordered Count *Lesley* to command some Troops to take post at night at the going out of the Wood, and to raise a Battery there, the better to secure the passage of the Army the next day. At first there were but two Battalions sent Count *Lesley*, desirous to find any greater number till it was with the Artillery. They laboured all Night at this work; but the Turks being aware of it, before it was finished, they sent some Troops very early to hinder the Labourers, and posted themselves near them behind a Curtain, and behind Planks, which well-nigh shut the descent from the Mountain before the Christians Battery. Count *Fontaine*, who commanded the Post, was quick in opposing their effort, and having called the men from their work, and got his two Battalions together, he posted them betwixt his Battery and their Barricado, yet so as not to be compassed by them, who at the same time began to stretch to the right and left, to gain the Christians Flanks.

The Duke, who observed from St. Leopold's Chappel the Turkish motion, sent some Battalions of the Regiments next hand to the relief of his men. These being commanded by the Duke of *Groy*, arriving in time, the Imperialists extended their line, and took a resolution to attack the Infidels in their Post behind their blind. This was executed with so much vigour, that the Enemy were forced to give way. They abandoned their Post, and retired to another, where the grofs of their Body remained. The Duke of *Groy* having his shoulder pierced with

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The Duke perceiving that the Turks made all that Body move which had camped beyond *Neudorf* to support their advanced Troops, he first commanded all the left Wing to march, and presently after he gave order to Prince *Waldeck*, and to the Duke of *Sax-Lauenburg*, to rush out of the Woods upon the Enemies, who were at the head of their Camp. Hence to advertise the King of *Poland* of all this, and understanding that his Majesty came to St. Leopold's Chappel, he went to meet him there, and shewing the motions the Armies were in, he acquainted him with all the orders that he had given upon this occasion. After they had agreed upon all things, the King having performed his devotion at the Chappel, mounting on Horse-back, he went from Rank to Rank, exhorting his Officers and Soldiers to do well, and to spare to them after this manner.

Generous Polish Cavaliers, It is not only to defend the glory which your Ancestors, and your courage have acquired to you, of being esteemed the invincible Bulwark of Christendom against the Ottoman Power, it is not the defence only of your own Country, which the loss of Vienna by an infidel conquest will expose to the cruel Invasion of those against whom you are going to fight; but it is the cause of God, and to save the Empire of the West which does us the honour to have recourse to our Arms, an honour which our Ancestors did never presume to hope for, and which is reserved for your valour. Think then of nothing but conquering, or to die nobly in this occasion, to which the glory of Martyrdom is concomitant. Think that your King fights in the head of you, to partake with you of your perils and your victories, and rest assured that the God of Battles, whose cause we are going to defend, will not fail to fight for us.

Whilst this Prince endeavoured by his discourses to inspire his Troops with that generous ardour he was himself agitated; the Citizens of *Vienna*, who had been advertised of the approach of their relief, saw with inexpressible content, the Army of the Christians descend from the Mountains of *Kalemberg*, being afterwards by the noise of the Cannon which was fired against the Turks, who had perpetrated the Passages with earth and stone, thought to no purpose, that their deliverance was near. And they would also contribute all they could to it, by the discharge of all their Artillery from the Battions and Curtains of the wall. There was also an infinity of small shot discharged on both sides, with many Granadoes. The Turks had not as yet shot so many Bombs since the beginning of the Siege, as they did this day, to reward the Christians that defended justly the Plain, and to annoy those who crowded upon the heights of the City, to observe the descent of their friends and the combat.

Whilst the King of *Poland* continued his march at the head of his Army, the Duke of *Esperie* caused *Heister's* Regiment of Dragoons, and another of *Saxony*, which Count *Caprara* posts to the left at the foot of St. Leopold's Chappel, to defend. That of *Heister* received orders at eight of the clock to go and attack the Enemy, who had possessed a place to the left, from whence they troubled the Imperialists, and the Infantry had likewise order to advance upon the Turks, who were retired behind their curtains and

1683. and hollow ways. This motion was made on both sides at once. The Turks made some resistance at first, but not with Vigour enough to hinder the Christians advance, who obliged them to retire behind another blind.

Count *Lesley*, who had brought down some Cannon, planted it at the head of the Infantry. The Duke of *Groy* was also returned, for having used the first Applications to his hurt, he had force enough not to quit the fight the whole day. This advantage gave both time and room to extend the front of the left Wing, as it defended and issued out of the Straights. In the mean time, the first Line of Infantry, which in their march against the Infidels gave continual fire with their Muskets, mingled with that of Field-pieces, beat them out of another Post, and a Line or Curtain which reach'd from the *Danube* Hill over against the *Carthusians*. The Duke about ten a Clock made a halt, and whilst the rest of the left Wing filled the ground which the first Troops had taken, and that Count *Caprara* extended it to the Banks of the *Danube*; he sent orders to the Prince of *Waldeck*, who began to appear upon the first heights to the right, and to the Duke of *Sax-Lauenburg*, who was also got out of the Wood, to continue their march until they were equal with the front of the Troops commanded by the Duke of *Groy*, and to advance extending to the right, until they came within shot of the Poles, upon their issuing out of the Avenues which were on the right hand of all.

These Orders being given, the Duke returned to the head of the left Wing, to make the great Body of the Germans move at once. The Great Duke of *Saxony* came and joined him, and continued always near him in the places the most exposed. At Noon they saw the King at the Head of his Troops, who came and joined with the right Wing of the Imperialists. The Duke in the mean time took care that in marching to the Enemy, the Subaltern Generals should rally and re-establish any Disorders which might have happened by the Difficulty of the Passages, and that all should advance with equality, firing continually with their great and small foot.

The march was in this order, though slowly, by reason of the roughness of the way, and the opposition of the Enemy, the left moving along the *Danube* as far as the Village of *Neudorf*, carried it, after a considerable resistance. To the right, upon the same Line, there was another Hill guarded by the Turks, at the attack whereof a Dutch Battalion being disordered, was succoured by *Saxons* Dragoons, ordered by Count *Dunewald*. This Battalion recovered, took the Post, and continued to advance.

The success of this march, the Christian Armies order of Battle, and the situation of the Place, which made the Imperialists appear as in a kind of Amphitheatre, presented a great and formidable object to the fight, which astonished the Turks, and did not a little contribute to the Victory.

The King of *Poland* being yet behind, the Army halted near *Neudorf*, until he was advanced upon the same Line, after which they continued their march. The Imperialists carried, without very great resistance, the Post the Turks had at *Helestat*, and the Prince of *Waldeck* obliged those that opposed him to retire.

In the mean time the Infidels, who were in Battalia in their Camp, moved as if they had designed upon the left Wing, but perceiving the Army of *Poland* upon the heights, they moved that way, so that the Poles and Turks faced each other almost in the same order, making

1683. more depth then front. The Poles seemed back'd by the Wood, and the Turks by their Camp.

The King, who was in the head of his Troops, detach'd some squadrons of his *Hussars*, who charged the Turks, being all Janiziers, with great Vigour they bore before them those that opposed them; but engaging themselves too far, they drew so many Enemies upon them, that they were forced to run. The Turks followed them to a Place where Prince *Waldeck* had opportunely posted two Battalions of *Bavarians*. The fire of these Foot cooled the pursuit of the Enemy, and gave the King of *Poland* time to caufe his first Line to advance to re-establish the Disorder of his *Hussars*. Count *Robata*, at the Kings desire, joined the Emperours *Rabats*, at the same time. But this body of Turks detach'd from their Troops, did not dare to stand the shock of the Christians, but retired to a height where they had Foot and Cannon, with more diligence then they were come.

After this advantage, the King continued to march with all his Army, and the Turks endeavoured to obstruct their Passages from the several Posts they had. The fire of their Artillery and Muskets did some harm to the Poles, but did not break them, and so they advanced still gaining Ground intently upon the Enemy.

In the mean time, the Duke being far advanced towards the left of the Enemies Camp, to divers their Endeavours upon the right, the Turks put themselves in battalia upon the Ravine or — before their Camp, and planting some great Guns against the Christians, they made many shot, and seemed by their mean to resolve to defend that Post which was the strongest of all, and served for a Retrenchment for their Camp, but their firmness did not last long. The Imperialists being advanced within about five in the Evening, and left them the convenience of passing it without disorder, and entering into their Camp.

It was then that the Duke, making use of this Advantage, wheeled all his left Wing, and instead of continuing his way by the *Danube*, he caused it to march to the right, to enter into the Enemies Camp, no Soldier quitting his rank to pillage their Baggage which they had abandoned, and their Tents standing. This motion being perceived by the Turks who were engaged against the Poles on the right Wing, quite dismayed them, and they began to retire for fear of being charged in the Flank. The King thereupon passed the Ravine with his Troops, notwithstanding the firing of some Janizaries that defended it, and purified the Enemies. About eleven a Clock he entered their Camp some little time after Prince *Waldeck*, who passed into it with his *Bavarians* and *Frisconians*. Half an hour Count *Charly*, commanded Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to advance towards the Trenches of the Turks with some Troops, that the Baron of *Mercy* conducted, but this Prince could not come there so soon, but that the Janizaries that were in guard there had leisure to make their retreat by favour of the Night that came on. They had begun it as soon as they saw the Christians approach their Camp. They retired with no great loss, having had the bravery before they abandoned their Trenches to attempt another attack against the City, and to turn and fire the Cannon of the batteries against the Army. The Night suspended the Victory, and obliged the Troops to make halt in that part of

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The Duke of Lorraine sent to complement the King, upon the happy success of that day, which was owing to his presence. This Prince returned his complement, confessing that every body had a share in it, but that all the honour was due to his Conduct, and to the valour of the German Troops, who first entered the Camp, and the Enemies works.

During the Night the Turks passed the River at Schunket, making their retreat by the Rear of their Front, and then quitted their Camp with so much precipitation, that they left behind them in the great Vissier's Quarters the Standard of the Ottoman Empire, and the Horie Tayle, the ordinary Ensigns of their dignity. They left also all their Tents, and the greatest part of their Equipage, all their Ammunition and Provisions, which they had in great abundance, all their Artillery, amounting to 180 pieces of Cannon and Mortars, and they hastened their retreat with so much diligence, that their foremost Troops had the next day passed the Raab.

The Christians lost no body of consideration except Prince Thomas of Gro, the Count of Transjandorff, young Polocki Captain of a Company of Hussars; and the wounded, besides the Duke of Gro, the Counts Fontaine, Tilly, and Schalenburg, were inconsiderable.

The 13th early, the Duke having appointed his Army to be ready, went to wait on the King of Poland to regulate their march, and the immediate pursuit of the Victory. But finding him little disposed to it, he omitted no instances to persuade him to it, proposing to him to march with all the Army, or with all the Horie only, or else with a great detachment; but the King opposed the weariness of his Troops, and the necessity of refreshing them some hours. The King thereunto being unwilling, the Duke entered into the City.

The Grand Vissier, before his flight, caused the Heads of five of the Women of his Seraglio to be cut off, for fear they should fall into the hands of the Conquerors. The Baron of Kaunitz, the Emperors Resident at the Court, who was at present in the Vissier's Quarters, was in danger of the same fate, as being habited after the Turkish fashion. By day there was not a Turk left, though they were traced during the obscurity of the Night by the Villages on fire, the Infidels having marked their retreat with this last cruelty, after they had first burnt their Camp, as far as the precipitation of their flight, and the fear which obliged them to be gone would permit them.

By favour of their lower Bridge, the upper Bridge which they had layed being possessed by the Christians upon their arrival. The same evening many Cavaliers and Souldiers entered the City with great Droves of Cattel, which they found in the Camp and near it, which continuing the following days, Beef became so cheap that they were sold for five and six Florins each.

The Duke of Lorraine being now assured that he had no more Enemies to combat, dispatched the Count of Auerberg, Son to the Prince of that name, to the Emperor, to inform him with the happy success of that day.

On the morrow of the fight, being the 13th, the fire took in the Powder which the Turks had left a League from the City, and consumed

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After the Souldiery had pillaged the immense Riches of the Camp, which amounted to many Millions, the King of Poland entered into the City, accompanied with Count Starenberg the Governour, many Commanders, and a great number of the Polish Nobility, where *Te Deum* being sung, he, the Duke of Bavaria, and several Grandees, were sumptuously treated by the Governour, the People by their joyful acclamations echoing the praises of their Deliverers.

In the mean time, the Duke of Lorraine was employed in giving the necessary Orders for the Army, part of it beginning to disband, and all together with the Poles, designing to go in pursuit of the Enemy, which favourable conjuncture was omitted in expectation of the Emperour, who also arrived that evening at Vienna, where he was received coming out of his Boat, by the two Electors, and the principal Officers of War and Justice. Having taken a view of the Enemies works, he called *Te Deum* to be sung with all the solemnity possible in the Church of St. Stephen. That done, he caused the Crescent and Star, the Ottoman Arms, to be taken down from the Spire of that Steeple, placed there since the time of Solymans, being these last Turks did not cease shooting at it, and raised the Cross in their place.

Wednesday being the 15th, the King of Poland sent his Grand Chancellor to the Emperour with a numerous Train to complement him, and offer him a part of the booty which he had found in the Grand Vissier's Tent, and amongst other things, the Standard which was always carried before him when he marched. It was made of Horie-hair work'd with the Needle, and embroidered with flowers, the staff of it was gilded, as also the Apple which was of brass. They call it *Tagh* in their Language, which is to say *Horie Tayle*. The Chancellor made a very elegant Latin Speech, and the Emperour answered it with Sentiments of esteem and acknowledgment for his Majesty of Poland. After a quarter of an hours conversation with this Envoy, and hearing Mass in our Lady of Loretto's Chappel, he took Horie to ride to the Camp, where he was to visit the King of Poland. There was some difficulty about the upper hand. This Prince pretended it, and there were examples contrary to this pretension. In the mean time what he had done deserved particular consideration. To conclude, it was resolved, for the removing of these obstacles, that the Emperour should go see the Troops, that they should be ranged in Battalia, and that these two Sovereigns should advance with twenty steps of each other, which was performed in the manner following. The Emperour, having seen the Bavarians in Battalia, continued his way to Ebersdorf, where the first Squadrons of the left Wing were drawn up, and thence he went to Smech where the right Wing was posted, and where the King of Poland expected him. Being within Pistol-shot of each other, the King, with the Prince his Son, upon a little gallop moved forwards, and then both Princes uncovered at once, saluted and covered again in a moment. The Emperour spoke first, and told the King,

1683. That he was extremely obliged to him, for leaving his Country, and undertaking a long and painful voyage, to come and combat his Enemies and deliver Vienna; that all Christians should be in the obligation, and that he had covered himself with glory by so generous an action.

The King of Poland answered him, that it was to God alone that he ought to render our thanks for this Victory; that he had done nothing but what every Christian Prince was obliged to do upon the like occasion; and that he would endeavour for the future to do yet more for the Interest of Religion, that all his displeasure was, that he was not in a condition to pursue the Enemy upon their retreat, but that his Troops after a march of three days required some rest, especially his Cavalry, the Horie being extremely tired. Prince Alexander, who by order of his Father was clothed that day after the German fashion, killed the Emperour's hand, who thereupon returned into the City, and the King further into his Camp. His Imperial Majesty in his return observed that all the Villages and Palaces were burnt around, except the place where Solymans had formerly camped, when he besieged Vienna; he caused a house of pleasure to be built in that place, with Towers, which were covered with gilt Copper in the same symmetry or figure that the Sultans Tents were; so that the Turks being informed that this building had been made after the Model of Solymans Camp, would not ruin it during the Siege, but had made a Magazine of it, where was also found a great quantity of Bread and Biscuits.

The Emperour employed the rest of the time that he stayed at Vienna, in visiting the Retrenchments and Fortifications which Count Starenberg had made behind the Bastions and the Walls, to defend the Ground foot by foot. The Prince Elector of Saxony parted the fifteenth with all his Troops. His retreat seemed precipitated, and supposed to be upon account of the Protestants of Hungary, thinking perhaps he had done enough in saving Vienna, whereto he nobly contributed. The Emperour, willing to recompence Count Starenberg's Services, made him Marshal General of the Field, and of his Privy Council; he gave him 100000 Florins, and writ to the King of Spain to send him the Order of the Golden Fleece. He also conferred the same Employments and Honours upon Count Castler, and having preferred Prince Alexander, the King of Poland's Son, with a Sword richly adorned with Jewels of great value, He returned back to Linz. The greatest part of those who fled upon the approach of the Turks, returned to the City when they knew the Siege was raised. They began to rebuild the Houses that were ruined, and amongst others the Emperours Palace and Sore Church.

During the Triumphs at Vienna, the Grand Vissier, sensible of his misfortune, and the malice of his Enemies, and knowing that the Bassa of Buda would render him no good Offices at Court, upon the raising of the Siege of Vienna, resolved to prevent him, and informed the Grand Seigneur, by an express he dispatched to him to Belgrade, that he had disposed all things to check the first onset of the Christians, and engaged them in Battle, which would undoubtedly have been accompanied with Success; but that he was forced to change design, because the Bassa retired with his Army, the Wallachians, the Moldavians, and the Hungarians, which did so mainly abate the Courage of his Troops, that it was afterwards impossible for him to bring them to fight; that so he had been obliged to retire to conserve the rest of the Army, and not to

1683. hazard the Person of his Highness. Nevertheless the Grand Vissier, having well examined the Consequences which the ill Success of his Enterprise might have, did scarce believe himself secure by this precaution, and he perwaded himself that he must immolate the Bassa of Buda's Life to preserve his own. He caused him immediately to be arrested, together with the Bassas of Eszack and Pöltega, who he knew were of Intelligence with the former, and caused them all three to be strangled. Their proceedings furnished his Enemies with Pretexis to destroy him, chiefly the Killer-Aga, a Creature of the Sultana Valide, to whom the had recommended upon her Death-bed, to revenge her upon this chief Minister, which he also did.

After the Death of these three Bassas, the Grand Vissier continued his march, but in his Passage by Raab, that Garrison fell upon his Rear-Guard, and kill'd near 600 of them. At Son he was joyney'd by a body of 15000 Turks, who were going to Belgrade. The remains of the Ottoman Army were dispersed some at Gran, some at Newhaufel, at Buda some, and the rest entrenched near Altemburg.

On the other side, the Christians discomfited of the rest of the Campania; but as part of the Allies did think they had done enough in contributing to the relief of Vienna, thought of returning home, many Councils were held to examine by what means they might be stayed. The Duke of Savoy continued inflexible in his Resolution, and was marched for his Country. The Elector of Bavaria consented to leave his Troops with the Emperours, but the Prince of Waldeck gave them to understand, that he should want new orders for the undertaking of new Enterprises with the Troops of Franconia, which he commanded. But the Duke of Lorraine perwaded himself that these difficulties had not happened, if by a quick engagement he had hurried the Allies to pursue the Victory, and this was one of the chief reasons that moved the Duke to press the King in it.

Several Projects were made to divide the Army for different Occasions, many Conferences were had with the Allies, and all the time was consumed in Councils. In the mean time, the Duke, who thought of nothing but improving the rest of the Summer, proposed every thing that he thought favourable, either for the Reduction of Hungary, for the Siege of Newhaufel, or that of Gran, or to take the Posts of Barcam, and that of Pest for the feeding of their Winter Quarters, and made it appear that nothing of all this could be done without great Forces, the Army of the Turks not being wholly defeated, however routed, and that the Rebels Army was still entire.

He determined nothing, because he knew not what measures the Turk would take. He only affirmed, that they ought to march forthwith into Hungary with all the Dispositions necessary to act as the Enemies should direct.

The Emperour having approved his Propositions, and the King of Poland conforming to them, they marched the 18th towards Presburg, and they encamped the same day with all the Imperial Troops near Fichen; from thence they went to Heimburg, and the 20th they approached Presburg, where the Duke expected the Boats from the Bridge of Tull according to orders. However the Bridge could not be finished till the 25th, by reason of the great Winds; and the Difficulty of getting Boats in a desolate Country. The Frangians continued to camp near Kienin, and the Bavarians came the 19th to Fichen. The

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The 22th, news came that Count Budini, who upon the arrival of the Turks had abandoned the passages which he kept upon the *Raab*, and embraced the party of the Malecontents, after having warred against the Emperours Troops with a Body of *Turks* and *Hungarians* of his Generality, burnt and pillaged a great number of Villages upon the frontier of *Syria*, had been priſed and cut in pieces thoſe ſame *Turks* to which he was united, and had afterwards joynted with the Count of *Alpremont*, to endeavour to incommode them of the great Army in their retreat towards *Buda*.

The Bridge upon the *Danube*, to paſs into the Iſle of *Schütz*, being finiſhed the 25th, the *Poles* began to file over the ſame day, and being followed by the Emperours Army, they encamped the 27th at *Gersdorff*. The *Marquis of Barch*, who in the Prince of *Waldeck's* abſence, now ſick at *Vienna*, commanded the Troops of *Francia*, advertiſed the Duke that he could not follow him with the Troops of his *Circle*, and ſent him the copy of an Order from Prince *Waldeck*, dated the 26th. He received at the ſame time another Letter from the Elector of *Bavaria*, dated the day following, from his Camp at *Ort*, two Leagues from *Vienne*, which gave him notice that the *Francia* would not leave their Camp before they had received Orders from the Princes of their *Circle*, which he judged would be rather to recall, than cauſe them to advance. He added, that his Infantry being extremely weakened and diminiſhed by bloody Fluxes, and his Cavalry ruined, his Troops could not ſo ſoon follow the Army of the Emperour; And yet if they would undertake any great action, where they thought it neceſſary, he would ſuch as were in condition to ſerve immediately to march.

The Duke apprehending that this ſeparation might put him out of condition of undertaking any thing conſiderable, ſent Prince *Lewis of Baden* to the Elector, who was gone to *Bis*, to change *Ayr*, by reaſon of ſome indiſpoſition of health; he was charged to perſwade him to let his Troops follow, remonſtrating to him, that it would be a great matter, now that the Forces of the Chriſtians were diminiſhed, to hinder the *Turks* to take heart to oblige part of *Hungary* to ſubmit themſelves, to take Poſt for Winter Quarters in the Enemies Country, and thereby encourage the *Francia* to follow their example.

In the mean time the Seaſon advanced; theſe Negotiations conſuming much time, and the Duke could make no ſtay upon the command of the Troops he was not ſure of, and willing not to loſe the ſeaſon, he perſwaded the King of *Poland* to continue the march of the Army towards *Komorra*, without the Allies. The King advancing always an hour before the Imperialiſts, they arrived near that City the ſecond of *October*; they camped at *Wiſmar*, and a Council of the Generals of the Army was held there, to know what the Imperialiſts might undertake, independent without the Allies, in caſe of delay or being abandoned.

Intelligence was brought, that *Tekely* with his Army encamped at *Lewentz*; that the groſs of the *Turkiſh* Army lay about *Buda*; that the Grand Viſier had ſent a Detachment towards *Gran*, that he had put 4000 men into *Nembaufel* to fortiſie that Gaſſion, but that there were in the Enemies Army a great many diſcontented Perſons at the conduct of the Grand Viſier, by ſo much the more diſſatisfied, becauſe that upon his return near *Raab*, he had cauſed the Vi-

fier of *Buda* to be ſtrangled, as alſo ſome other *Baſſas*, and more than fifty Subaltern Officers, whom he accuſed of not having done their duty in the late *Battel*; beſides that, he had alſo facrificed a great number of thoſe *Run-aways*, who had preceded his retreat.

After the Council held at *Wiſmar*, they were not of opinion to attempt the Siege of *Nembaufel* in a ſeaſon ſo advanced, and in a Country full of *Marſhes*, the Gaſſion being ſtrong, and a great Army in the Neighbourhood; neither was it thought reaſonable to propound the Kings going againſt the Enemy, becauſe the Troops of the Empire had not followed, and that they ſhould be oblig'd to paſs through a Country where Forrage would be wanting.

The attack of *Gran* ſeemed but little feaſible before they were *Maſters of Barcam*, that the communication might be cut off. This inclined the Duke to attempt the Fort of *Barcam*, which is the head of the Bridge of *Gran*, after which they would further deliberate to paſs to *Peſſ*, or beſiege *Gran*, according to the convenience of the Enemy. The Duke acquainted the King of *Poland* with what had been reſolved, whereunto his Majesty aſſented.

On the 3d of *October*, the King began to paſs that branch of the *Danube* at *Komorra*, called the *Waag*. The Emperours Horſe followed, and all the Cavalry marched to *Moſe*, where the Count of *Starenberg* was to be on the 7th with the Infantry, the King having promiſed to ſtay for him there. The 7th day, which ſhould have been a day of repoſe, to give the Infantry time to join the reſt of the Army, the King ſent to tell the Duke of *Lorain*, that he would march towards *Barcam*, deſiring him that he would do the ſame. The Duke, ſurprized with the change, having thereupon ſounded to Horſe, ſent Count *Dunewald* to his Majesty, to repreſent to him the neceſſity of expediting the Foot, and the danger there was in ſeparating in the neighbourhood of the Armies of the *Turks* and *Rebels*, and in the middle of their Gaſſions. The Count found the King already on Horſeback, who answered him, that having advice that the detachment of the *Turks* towards *Barcam* was not great, he ſaw no inconvenience to continue his march. They ſeeing the Kings reſolution followed him, leaving but one Company of *Granats* to accompany the Infantry, which that day were to be at *Moſe*.

The King being come within a League of *Barcam*, was advertiſed by his advanced Parties, that ſome Squadrons of the Enemy did appear. He ordered a detachment to charge them. They did not ſtand, but being relieved by a greater Body, the *Poles* who attacked them were repelled.

The King commanded other Squadrons to ſecond them, which being engaged, he advanced himſelf with all his Horſe. The groſs of the *Turks* Cavalry, which had continued hitherto covered by a great hill, unexpectedly appeared fix or 7000 ſtrong, and brifkly charging the *Poles* in Flank and Front, put them to flight. The *Turks* charged them hotly in the diſorder they were, and killed above 2000 of them, and amongſt the reſt, the Palatine of *Pomerania*. They took Tymbals and Standards, and ſome Baggage, which by being intermingled with the march of the Troops, did ſomewhat contribute to their defeat.

The Count of *Dunewald*, who had marched all day with the King, ſeeing the encounter of the firſt Squadrons, ſent to tell the Duke, that the *Poles* and the Enemy were engaged, whereupon

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upon he marched ſwiftly, and filing through a narrow paſſage betwixt him and the Plain, he ſaw upon his arrival that the *Polifh* Horſe was quite broke, and that the *Turks* were cloſe in their purſuit. At this fight, his firſt care was to put the Emperours moſt advanced Troops into *Battalia*, leaving room for the flying *Poles*, to avoid their running upon him. As ſoon as he had ſome Squadrons of his firſt Line formed, ſeeing the *Poles* ſtill in diſorder, he advanced upon the Enemy with his firſt Squadrons, leaving Prince *Lewis of Baden* to embattel the reſt. This motion ſtopped the Enemies career, after which they retired with ſome ſpeed under *Barcam*, to avoid the Imperialiſts charge; whiſt the Duke advanced, the Queen of *Polands* Brother came to him, and told him, that he believed the King was loſt, becauſe his Majesty was in the head of all in the places the moſt expoſed, to animate his Men by words, and inſpire courage into them by his example. The Duke ſeeing the Enemy retired, advanced towards the *Poles*. He found the King, who having advanced with the firſt, would be the laſt in retiring. He told the Duke how affairs had gone, and it being near Night, they thought of nothing but encamping.

Fear and Terror had ſeized upon the *Poles*, as is uſual in ſuch Encounters, they could ſcarce be perſwaded to keep the Right, becauſe of the Neighbourhood of *Barcam*, whither the Enemy was retired; inſomuch that the King, for the greater ſecurity of his Troops, made them take the Left, deſiring the Duke to march into the right with the Emperours Troops, which the laſt had always pretended to; before they diſcamped, the Duke ſent Orders to Count *Starenberg* to make haſte and come and join him with the Foot. The next Morning he was advertiſed that the *Poles* continued diſquitted; that the loſs they had ſuffered was extremely ſenſible to them, that they would perſwade the King not to advance any further, but to retire to the Places deſigned for their Quarters; that the principal Officers were much divided, and finally that many Difficulties were alledged to the King to hinder the Execution of the Reſolutions which had been taken.

The Duke, who knew the Conſequence of retaining the *Polifh* Army, and in caſe it ſeparated, they ſhould loſe the Fruit and Honour of the Campaign, the which he deſired to ſee finiſhed with ſome handſome Action, and not upon a loſs, went to the Kings Quarters, and having found things as they had been repreſented, he endeavoured to perſwade his Majesty to continue in the Terms they had agreed upon. He demonſtrated to him and his Generals, the unlucky conſequences, that were to be feared if they changed deſign, how eaſe it was to torce this detachment if they did not delay to attack them, the importance of doing it ſuddenly, for fear all the Forces of the Enemy might rejoin them, and he inſiſted that they ſhould advance and charge them as ſoon as the Foot were come up. The King explained this Diſcourſe to the Senators and Officers of the Army that did not underſtand the Language, and in order to it, agreed to march the next Morning, irreſolute only upon the ordering of the *Battel*.

The Duke, who had been viſiting the Ground, made a Deſcription to the King of it, and the Condition of *Barcam*, and afterwards diſcourſed of ſeveral forms of embattelling. He propoſed that which they had held at *Vienna*, offering the right to his Majesty, or to march as they were camped, and divided the *Poles* into the two

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Wings, which laſt propoſal was accepted, and the Reſolution to march was taken.

The Army being put into *Battalia* with the Day, Prince *Lewis of Baden* commanded the right Wing, and under him Count *Gondola* and Baron *Mercy*, Count *Dunewald* was in the left, and with him the Counts *Palf* and *Taff*, Count *Starenberg*, Maſtall of the Field, conducted the Infantry, with the Prince of *Croy* and Count *Seſia*. This done, the Duke went to the King for the dividing of his Army. His Majesty having been informed that the Enemies detachment had been augmented by ſeveral Troops conſiſting of *Haly Baſſa of Aleppo*, and by the *Baſſas of Syllifria* and *Caire*; and apprehending that theſe Troops were followed by the reſt, deliberated a new upon the Enterpriſe; but the Duke repreſented to him many motives which made him believe the Army could not yet be come thither. He added, that if it were, he believed the Ground whereon they ſtood was ſo advantageous, that they ought not to change their Deſign, being the Imperial Army poſſeſſed all the Plain, the *Danube* on the right, and the Mountains on the left, and that the Ground growing narrower towards the Enemies, they could not make uſe of a great body, though they had it; theſe reaſons being approved, the *Polifh* Army was divided. The King with a party of his *Huſſars*, of his Foot, and of his beſt Horſe, placed himſelf in the right, betwixt the Emperours Horſe and his Dragoons. The Great General *Jabloriski* did the ſame in the left, and the reſt of the *Polifh* Army made a third Line; they marched for half an hour in this Order. About nine a Clock they ſaw the *Turks* drawn up in the Plain before them. The *Turks* moved ſuddenly, and by their firmitie their Forces were judged equal with thoſe of the Chriſtians. Being come near the Troops that appeared, made a motion, putting themſelves into three Lines, leaving only two great Squadrons on their right. They then came and charged the left of the Chriſtian Army with much fierceſs, and ſearching the *Poles*, they attack'd the *Huſſars*, which the Great General commanded.

At the ſame time the groſs of the *Turks*, who were in the middle of the height, advanced towards the adverſe Foot, as if they would have charged them, and being come within half Muſquet-shot, they declined to the left of the Chriſtians, expoſing their Flank to relieve their own men. The Duke, who was gon towards his Infantry, ſeeing this motion, ran along the Line of the Horſe of the left Wing, and with all the party of his firſt Line, which had not yet engaged, he himſelf advanced at the head of the Squadrons, and charged the Enemy in flank, which put them to a general rout, incapacitating them to make head again. He ordered *Dunewald* to purſue with the whole firſt Line, and with all the *Poles* of the ſame Wing, who followed them Pell-Mell to the very Gates of *Barcam*, and the *Marſhes of Gran*, where many of them were ſlain.

Whiſt Count *Dunewald* charged the Enemy, the Duke cauſed the Army to advance in *Battalia* towards *Barcam*. The King having ſeen the flight of the *Turks*, was come from the right Wing to the left, to complement the Duke, the Generals and Senators who accompanied him, did the ſame. Amongſt the reſt *Jabloriski*, the Grand General of *Poland*, in preſence of all, avowed, that his People reſuſing to advance to ſuſtain the *Huſſars*, the readineſs of Count *Dunewald* to ſuccour him, and the Vigour of the Emperours Horſe had repaired that fault, and could

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nor be sufficiently commended. And now in the disorder the Enemy was in, they resolve to attack *Barcam*.

The King caused some of his *Cossacks* to advance, and the Duke added five Battalions of *Starenberg*, of *Grana*, and *Baden*, all under the conduct of Count *Starenberg*. This detachment was scarce ordered, when the Duke, who was approached to the Fort to inspect it, was advertised, that the Bridge upon the *Danube* was broken by the precipitate flight of the first Run-aways, and that the crowding in *Barkum*, and upon the side of the River, were so great, that they seemed to be packed upon each other. He halted thither, and would lose no time upon such an occasion. He gave Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* orders to dismount the Regiments of *Dragoons*, of *Schultz*, *Comfettein*, and *Castell*, and to march to the Fort on that side to make a second Attack. The command was instantly executed, and having sent some parties of Foot by Water, and five pieces of Cannon charged with Cartridges; he ordered that the Fort should be assaulted, whilst the great and small foot plyed their Volleys upon the Banks of the River. The Turks seeing themselves thus pressed on all sides, could not withstand the Attack, the place being forced, the Foot and Dragoons entering at the same time by the ways they attempted it. The slaughter was terrible, though most of the defendants, to save themselves from the fury of the assailants, precipitated themselves into the *Danube*, some leap'd in with their Horles, others tried to pass by swimming, holding by the Mane and tails of their Horles, or some plank or piece of the broken Bridge, and there were some who crept over the dead bodies which were held by the cordage and pieces of wood remaining where the breach was. This slaughter continuing long, the number of the dead was very great, all that part of the *Danube* near the shore, not being very rapid, being filled with them; all the surface of the River, where largest, being covered with cloaths, and the equipage of Men and Horles, and there did not escape above seven or 800 of all this multitude, who found their preservation in the kind of a Redoubt which was at *Barcam*, where they had put themselves, and from whence they demanded quarter, and had it.

The Town being garrisoned with *Dutch* and *Poles*, Count *Starenberg*, seeing these two Nations were ready to murder each other for the booty, removed the Imperialists, having only the *Poles* there, who while at burnt *Barcam*, and all the Palliads that followed it, because the Turks had placed the *Poles* slain in the late Engagement upon the tops of them.

Count *Tekely*, who had orders from the Grand Visier to join with the *Bassa* of *Buda* at *Barkum*, was advanced upon the Mountains within two miles of it, but being informed by those he sent to discover what the Christians did, of what was passed, he retired with much diligence.

By Letters from *Grana*, as also by the relation of Prisoners, there were 3000 men of all this detachment of 14000 Horle, and 1200 Janizaries saved. They were the flower of their Army, commanded by the *Bassa* of *Buda*, *Italy* *Bassa* of *Alleppe*, the *Bassa* of *Silifria*, and some *Agas*. The booty was great, above six thousand Horles being taken, and the Tymbals and the Baggage which the *Poles* had left, were recovered.

This Victory did not only re-assure the *Poles*, but put the Malecontents into a despondency,

and did so strongly increase the disorders in the Turkish Army, that the Grand Visier, unable to master them, was obliged to retire.

The next thing the Christians undertook, was the Siege of *Grana*, though the Duke had need of all his Reasons and eloquence to persuade the King of *Poland* to it, but having at length consented, and the *Bavarian* Forces being come up, three Batteries were forthwith raised; and ten great Guns were by force of men, as also eight Mortars drawn up the Mountains of *Merita* and *Thomas*, defended by the Enemy. The *Castle* was strongly battered on the Gate, on the *Buda* side great quantity of Bombs were thrown in, and the shooting lasted all day. The Imperialists advanced to the Ditch, and lodged there on the side of the *Bavarian* approaches. They advanced to the foot of the Wall, which looked towards *Barcam*, and about five in the evening, some commanded Battalions of the Imperialists, attacked the City on the other extremity, and carried it without resistance; for as much as the Enemy having retired, contented themselves to defend it by their great firing from the *Castle*, from whence the very falls of the Houses are discovered.

The Imperialists being masters of the City, the *Bavarians* in the Night gained the foot of the *Castle*, where they fell to Mining, whilst the Imperialists leaped into the Moat, and lodged there. Several men were lost there by the defendants Bombs, Granadoes, Stones, &c. which they continually threw amongst them, whilst they were covering themselves. The Cannon beginning to make a breach about Ten a Clock, and the Miner at work, a Summons was sent in by a Turkish Prisoner, with offer of goods and life, if they would surrender the place before the day was ended. The besieged demanded till the morrow, which being refused, the firing of the Artillery, Musquet, and Bombs were redoubled. They passed the Moat, made two Lodgments, by favour whereof they attacked the Miner in a second place on the *Marinberg* side. This advantage obliged the Turks to send an Officer about Eleven at Night to declare, that they accepted the offer which had been made them, demanding Hostages whilst the Capitulations were a making, and offering theirs.

The 27th, the Hostages being delivered, it was agreed, that the Garrison should march out with Arms and Baggage, and that it should be conducted in safety to *Buda* and *Vicgrade*; that the Artillery and Munitions of War and Victuals should remain in the place, and that the Turks should deliver up their Christian Prisoners.

The impression that the battle of *Barcam* had made; the vigor and readiness wherewith they had gained the foot of the Walls, the Grand Visier's retreat, the Bombs which were thrown without ceasing, into a place so full of People as this, had caused so much terror and so much confusion, that though there were above 4000 effective men in the Garrison, commanded by two *Bassas*, a Bey, and many Officers, we have seen a place reduced in five days, which in the two former Sieges had held out several Months, with weaker Garrisons, against more numerous Armies.

The season being too far advanced for further action, the Allies returned home, and the *Poles*, together with the Imperialists marched into their Winter-Quarters.

In the mean time, the Grand Visier being come to Count, told the Grand Seigneur the same things he had writ to him against the *Bassa* of

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of *Buda*, and persuaded him to approve of the rigor wherewith he had treated him. He also accused Count *Tekely* of having ill seconded him; and finally, he knew well to justify his conduct with his Master, that he hindered the Widow of that *Bassa*, who was his Highness's Sister, to complain against him for so barbarous an action, and procured an Order to be sent her from the *Sultan* to go immediately to *Adrianople* without seeing him. When his Princess arrived there, she found the *Sultana Valide* dead, which caused her a sensible displeasure; because she had relied much upon the credit of this Princess, who having a great aversion for *Kara Mustafa*, would not have been wanting in countenancing the vengeance she would take of this Minister; but she learn'd from *Kisler Agasi*, or the chief of the black Eunuchs, that *Sultana Valide* had charged him upon her Death-bed, to tell the Grand Seigneur, upon his return to *Adrianople*, that *Kara Mustafa* had a design to make himself Emperor of the West, grounded upon a Prediction told him, that he should one day be Master of one of the greatest Empires of the World. But whether this Prediction were true, or that the *Sultana Valide* had invented it to destroy the Visier, the news of it did extremely comfort the *Bassa* of *Buda*'s Widow, who waited the return of the *Sultan* with impatience, to execute the design which he had against this Minister, and revenge the loss of her Husband by his death.

The season being far advanced, the Grand Seigneur, leaving *Kara Mustafa* at *Belgrade* to take care of his Army, and the places in *Hungary*, during the Winter quarter, returned to *Adrianople*.

As the Christians got every day some new advantages over the Turks, and that the Grand Visier did nothing to expel them, his secret Enemies, and principally the *Kisler Agasi*, and the *Kaimazan*, who was jealous of his greatness, took occasion hence to decry the conduct of the Grand Visier unto their Master. At this time Count *Tekely*, who was accustomed to receive great Subsidies from the Port, and who had his Spies near his Highness, by whom he was faithfully advertised of all that happened, knowing that he had been rendered suspect to his Highness, and that there was no more mention of sending him Supplies as usual, did by his Letters omit nothing for his justification, but to no purpose. His Letters did not dissuade the Grand Seigneur, who entirely believing what he had received from *Kara Mustafa* at *Belgrade*, was persuaded that this Count was of Intelligence with the Imperialists. *Tekely* seeing no middle betwixt his ruin and his justification, took the most dangerous Party. He went *Inognito* to *Adrianople*, and having by the credit of *Kisler Agasi*, who was his particular friend, found means of admission to the *Sultan*'s presence, before whom, prostrated with his face upon the Earth, he declared to him that he brought him his Head, and that he would rather lose it, than be exposed to the calumny of his Enemies, and to the disgrace of his Protector. *Tekely*'s boldness looked well. The Grand Seigneur gave ear to his reasons; and judged by the relation that he made him, that all the misfortunes that happened at the Siege of *Vienna*, and since, ought to be imputed to the ill conduct of his Visier. He permitted *Tekely* to return, assuring him of the protection he demanded, and engaged himself to send him such powerful Succours, that he should in a little time be in a condition to repeat with advantage all the losses he had suffered.

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And now they begin to make complaints against the Visier, and the loss of *Grana* did not a little contribute to his ruin. The Janizaries, that the Visier's secret enemies had caused to assemble tumultuously, and demand his Head, under pretence that he had abandoned their Companions in the Trenches at *Vienna*, and this was a killing blow, for that the death of *Kara Mustafa* was resolved in a Divan, which the Grand Seigneur had caused to be assembled to that purpose.

This fatal Communion was given *Chinaga Bassa*, and to *Kapigler Iskai*, who immediately took Post for *Belgrade*. They arrived there the 25th of December, and addressing themselves to the *Agas* of the Janizaries, they communicated the Emperours Orders to them, which implied that he should give them all necessary assistance. The *Agas* dispersed such as depended on him to obey, and sent with their two Officers into the Grand Visier's house, *Kara Mustafa*, who perceived them from his Chamber, did quickly suppose that his Enemies had taken advantage of his absence to ruin him, and thote that he saw coming were to execute the Arrest of his death. Some Officers, who owed him their fortune, being then with him, and having heard him say what he thought, propoled to him to remove the Door to the *Agas*, and them that accompanied him; they represented to him that he was beloved by the Soldiers, and if he appeared but in his defence, he would instantly see a number of brave men for his defence.

But this great Minister, whose life seemed odious to him after the affront which he received before *Vienna*, and who knew well, he could but defer his death for few days, being incited by the Enemies of his Religion, who would not fail to profit by the division of his troops, believed that his last submission to his Highness's orders, ought to dissuade those who believed him little attach'd to the Law, or rather he found himself so irresolute in pressing a danger, that the *Sultans* three Officers entered his Chamber before he had taken his last resolution. He endeavoured to hide the disorders of his Soul, and after he had returned them their civilities, he asked the cause of their coming. The *Agas* taking that word, told him, that his Highness had sent for the Seal of his Empire, which he had entrusted him with, and shewed him the order in Writing. At the same time the Visier opening his bosom drew it out, which he presented to him with respect, asking whether they had any thing else to require from him? he was obliged to render the Standard, which he did in the same fashion; and having yet again demanded, whether they would have any thing else, the three Officers answered him only with tears, letting him at the same time see in writing the *Bayazid* or Command, whereby the Grand Seigneur would have his Head. *Kara Mustafa* was not affrighted, being already prepared for it. He only asked, if he might not be permitted to say his Prayers. The Officers answered him, that they had no orders to refuse him that consolation. He ordered his People to retire, that he might pray with less distraction, and when he had finished, they re-entered again. He then drew a Paper out of his bosom, which he gave to the *Agas*, to render it to his Highness. It is believed that it was a Bill, by which the *Sultan* promised him never to put him to death, which he would make no use of, judging it useless, being he was too far from the Grand Seigneur to understand his intentions: He then sat upon the brink of the Se-

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The Viliers Corps was carried out of his Chamber, and expoled under a Pavilion to be seen of all Men. At the same time they seized on his principal Officers, who were brought to *Adrianople*. Of these the *Reiz Effendi* was hang'd, *Muza Conlati* his Interpreter put in the Castle of the seven Towers at *Constantinople*, having first been spoiled of his Money and Jewels.

There were found in the Treasury of this Minister, ten or twelve Millions in Money, Moveables and Jewels, which is very considerable, if the prodigious Expences of Pretences considered; these Spoils, and those of some of the Viliers Officers, and of the Teitender, who was likewise traugled, amounted to fourteen Millions, which came all into the Grand Seignior's Purse. He refused to consent that this Money should be employed to pay the Troops, and re-establish the Affairs of *Hungary*, although all the Divan was of that Opinion. The Sultan would neither suffer them to open his Treasury, which is the great resource of the *Ottoman* Emperours, and replied to them that represented to him the necessity of doing it, that they must make use of the accustomed Revenues, and if that did not suffice, it was for his Council to search out other ways to supply it. And yet he was pleased to give all the Viliers immovables to his Children. This Humour of his Highness, and the Difficulties which were foreseen to settle the Affairs of the Empire, diminished the heat of such who might pretend to the Employment of Grand Viliers. The *Kisler Agasi*, who was always in Viliers. The *Kisler Agasi*, who was always in Viliers, and who fancied, though without great Credit, that the Grand Seigneur had thoughts of placing him in this Post, declared before hand, that he would not accept of this Office, knowing that he had not Capacity enough to bear the weight of it.

Solyman Aga Seliatar, who was his Highnesses true Favorite, and who judg'd he should be as true powerful enough whilst he had his Masters Favour, signified to the Sultan, who offered to make him Grand Viliers, that all his Ambition was to please him, and that he esteemed more the waiting upon his Person, than to divide his Cares betwix his Prince and the State, as he should be obliged to do, if he accepted the charge wherewith he would honour him. So obliging a denial augmenting the esteem and affection which the Grand Seigneur had for him, disposed him to name *Ibrahim Aga*, who was *Kazimacan*, and formerly called *Kara Kisai*, for this high Employment.

The Christians continuing their Progress in *Hungary*, obliged this new Grand Viliers to assemble the Divan very often, to find a way to re-establish their Affairs. He proposed the making of a Peace with the Emperour, and to continue the Trevis which *Kara Mustapha* had vio-

lated without any lawful pretence, and to carry the War into *Poland*, to revenge themselves on King *John*, for the ill success of the Siege of *Vienna*. But the Sultan, who had promised Count *Tekely* that he would not abandon him, was of a contrary sentiment. *Kara Kisai* urging his Opinion with too much heat, the Sultan grew so angry with him, that he was judged lost, which gave room to that false report that ran of him that he was traugled, and that *Kara Hoxelou Camakan* of *Constantinople* was put in his place.

Most of the Officers of the Garrisons being changed, the new Viliers employed all his diligence to raise fresh Forces against Spring, as might serve the disgraces of the last Campaign, which yet they could not compass, the People being dejected even to Contemnation at so many losses.

On the other side, the Christians having happily finished their Campaign, and taken their Quarters in *Hungary*, used great diligence to procure Money, to separate the *Hungarians* from the Port, and to make new Alliances.

There was but the Pope that could travel effectually in the first of these things, seeing the other Princes of the Empire had enough to do for themselves, as long as the differences with France were not accommodated, besides the Protestants could obtain no advantage for their Religion.

To effect the second point, a general Act of Oblivion was published by the Emperours command, with pardon to all that would return to their Obedience, and Commissioners being sent to *Presburg* to receive their Submissions. Very many of the Nobility, Counties, and Towns were returned to their Duty as at the beginning, though *Tekely* would not, and the chief Towns in upper *Hungary* for fear of him, did not as yet dare to declare themselves.

But the third design had better Success, for however the *Czars* of *Moscovia* would not give ear to the Emperours Invitation and Propositions of Alliance made him by his Ambassador *Blomberg*, yet the *Venetians*, shewing a great Inclination to be revenged of the losses they had suffered by the Wars of *Candy*, easily consented to the accomplishment of the League between the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the *Venetians*.

This Alliance was to be offensive; none of the concerned should treat separately upon any Conditions whatsoever; that this League shall tend to no other thing but to make War against the Turks; the Emperour and the King of *Poland* shall aid by Land with all their Forces, and the Republick of *Venice* with a Naval Army at Sea, and a Land Army in *Dalmatia*; that the War be made by diversion, the Emperour shall endeavour to recover *Hungary*, the Poles *Kaminie*, and all the *Ukraine*, and *Venice* all she has lost, &c.

Whilst this was in concluding, there came News to the Imperial Court, of a very great defeat the *Cossacks* had given the Turks and Tatars, the Chiefs of the Tatars being both slain, and *Haly Beg*, who commanded the Turks, taken Prisoner, who, though he offered a hundred thousand Crowns for his Ransom, was slain by the quarrelling *Cossack* in the heat of their content about him.

But now the Season did invite both sides into the Field, where the Christians were chiefly Aggressors. The Christian Army in the beginning of June assembled at their general Rendezvous betwix *Schinnia* and *Stella*, to the num-

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But the Turks, follicitous to sufficiently relieve it with small Parties, resolved to attempt it with an Army, and being advanced as far as *Vacia*, the Duke resolved to oppose them. To this purpose he set forwards, and found them drawn up in *Bartala* upon the heights near the Town. The place was of difficult access, having on the left the *Danube*, and a large Morass, and the right secured by a Wood. The Duke having assembled his men, moved directly towards the Enemy, and about noon, the stroke of the Clock passed the Morass, without any great opposition, till being come upon the heights, they were then charged with great fury, but the Turks not being able to break them the first time, they bravely attacked them the second, and third time; but with like success, still repelled, especially the third time with great loss, and forced to save themselves by flight. The Foot saved themselves in the Castle, but were forced to surrender at discretion, after three hours resistance. *Naisgrade* was hereupon quitted by the Turks, and soon possit by the Imperialists.

This Victory animated the Christians to prosecute their march to *Pest*, whither being come, they cast a great number of Bombs into the Town, with that success, that the fire taking in several places of it, frightened the Garrison, that taking their belt moveables with them, they fled into *Buda*, after they had also reduced some Heights in the Town to ashes, and fired the Bridges behind them. But the Christians taking possession of *Pest*, quenched the fire, repaired the fortifications, and battered *Buda* with the Artillery they found in the place.

Hitherto fortune had been so favourable to the Imperialists, that they began to think nothing insuperable to their courage. This opinion made them pass the *Danube* again, and undertake the Siege of *Ofen*, or *Buda*, the Capital of the Kingdom, sometimes the Residence of the Kings of *Hungary*, and now of the *Baia's*, that govern that wealthy Kingdom with no less authority. After some rustling and skirmishes, the City was invested, and the Suburbs taken without any great opposition. The Turks likewise quitted *St. Gerards Hill*, and the besiegers began to batter the Walls with their Artillery.

The Turks abroad were not idle, for having got twenty thousand Men together, they were resolved to attempt the relief of *Buda*. But the

Christians having left all their Foot, with whar Horse was necessary to continue the Siege, they marched with the rest of the Cavalry, one thousand Foot under the command of Count *Auersberg*, and two thousand five hundred *Hussars* of Count *Esterhazy*. The Duke marched all Night to find out the Enemy, who, though well entrenched, at sight of the Christians came out of their Camp, and embattell'd themselves for their defence. The dispute lasted near four hours, the Turks making several motions to gain the Flanks of the Enemy, which being perceived, the Christians used all possible diligence to prevent them, and engaging at length, after a sharp fight, the Infidels being disordered, were put to flight, and so closely pursued, that not only their Camp and Cannon were taken, but at least four thousand of them slain, and the great Standard, the badge of the Grand Viliers' dignity also surpris'd.

After this Victory, the Duke returning to the Siege, summoned the place, but received for answer, that the Governour had in the presence of his Messengers caused forty Christian Slaves to be hewed in pieces, saying, he wished he could do as much to all the Christian Army. In revenge of this, the Christians assaulted the place, but in vain, though upon a second attempt they carried the lower Town, with their Swords in their hands, notwithstanding the opposition they found was great. They raised a Battery there of twenty four Cannon, and seventeen Mortars, from whence, as also *St. Gerards Hill*, they battered the City. Nor were the besieged idle, who made a brave rally upon the Besiegers, wherein they slew some hundreds of them, with several considerable Officers, besides the wounded.

The Christian Army beginning to want Forrage, they made a Bridge to pass to the life of *St. Margaret*, from whence they might be the better provided with all things. Many were the attempts, the batteries, the sallies, and endeavours on both sides. The Christians endeavoured to hinder the Turks, though in vain, from watering at the *Danube*. The Christians sprung a Mine by the great Tower, which did indeed take effect, but it was found that the Turks were too well provided to hazard an assault. About mid-August, the Governour, or Viliers of *Buda*, *Kara Mehemet*, was kill'd with a shot he received in his face, a Person very brave, and very knowing. *Ephraim Bafia* succeeded him in the Government, but did not enjoy it long, being likewise slain with a Cannon Bullet, so that the Chief command was devolved upon the *Aga* of the Janizaries.

As the attack was vigorous, so the defence was brave, the Turks continually vexing the Christians with their Alarms and Sallies, who on the other side continued their approaches with great resolution, but their Foot being much spent, it was judged advisable not to hazard a General assault, before the *Bosporian* Forces, which were daily expected, were come up.

In the mean time the *Seraskier Bafia* formed a design to make a diversion some other way, in order to which he marches towards the frontiers of *Croatia*, where General *Lexley* was camped, who had besieged *Virovitza* in July, beaten the relief designed for their succour, and thereupon had the place surrendered to him upon compulsion. Having now notice of the *Seraskier's* design, he went and posted himself within half a League off his Camp, near a Bridge that was lay'd over the *Danube* at *Turagorin*. A while after the Turks approached, who charged

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with great fury eight hundred Croats, newly come to the Imperial Camp, but with their accustomed mistortune. They however returned immediately to the fight, and forced the Croats to retire, leaving them three Standards for prize, to that being animated with this advantage they would attempt more, and attacked the Imperials, but they were so ill received, that they were obliged to retire with the loss of five hundred men, which were killed upon the place. The Christians lost two hundred.

Though this Siege, for the Greatness and Fame of it, deserves to be described in all its particulars, the Approaches, the Attacks, the Mines, the Battels, the Batteries, the Breaches, the Christians being carried on much more Valour and Constancy, that amazed the wondering World; yet the Greatness of the Garrison, the Situation and Strength of the Place, the reiterated Succours that were brought in, a potent Army commanded by a *Seraskier*, within the noise of their Guns, yea, oft-times their view, a vigorous and intrepid Courage in the Detachments, frequent and furious Salles. Countermine, and the advance of a wet Season so favourable to the Defenders, all the Endeavours of the Beseigers fruitless, and forced them to a Retreat.

The Duke of *Bavaria* had indeed brought with his Person, a considerable recruit to the Imperialists, and they performed all that Courage could suggest; but being the fatal moment of the reducing of this Capital City of the Kingdom was not yet come, when the fame great Achievements were in a manner acted over the heads of the Christians, but with better fortune.

The Siege had lasted from the fourteenth of July, till the first of November, at which time the Christians having transported their Baggage, their sick, and some pieces of Artillery to the Isle of *St. Andrew*; the Army sending their great Cannon, their Ammunition, and the rest of their Baggage by Water, for want of draught-horses, though well convoyed, followed themselves in a Body uninterrupted, and marched to their Winter Quarters, the *Bavarians* into upper *Hungary*, and the Imperialists into both the upper and lower *Hungary*, *Bonemia*, *Silesia*, &c. according to their Repartitions.

The Turks attempted nothing upon the Army in their retreat, but brought near a thousand Prisoners, which were left in the Isle of *St. Margaret*, into the City, not singly triumphing for to signal a deliverance.

Such was the end of this bloody Siege, where, following the common Opinion, the Emperor lost twenty thousand Men, and amongst them a great number of Officers. Of those of most note were the Counts of *Altheim*, two of the *Sarabergs*, *James* and *Lewis*, *Carlsberg*, *Richartz*, *Hohen-Zollern*, *Fuerstburg*, *Najda*, *Durbach*, *Chrimm*, and the young Counts of *Harrah*, and great quantity of others.

The Turks recovered their Garrisons of *Pest* and *Vacia*, without any great difficulty, but in exchange the Count of *Zober* took the Castle of *Suran* near *Nemheusel*.

The Republick of *Venice* had a more fortunate Campaign. Their Doge or Prince being dead, *Marc Antonio Justiniani* being elected Duke in his place, the Senate sent orders to their Secretary *Capello*, at the Ottoman Port immediately after the conclusion of the Alliance made with the Emperor and *Poland*, to declare War against the Turks, and to save himself as well

as he could, which he did; for having scarce finished his Declaration, he retired from *Constantinople* in the habit of a Sea-man, and embarked himself upon a French Ship. But two of his Domesticicks, and six other servants, had the misfortune to be taken, whilst the Merchants of his Nation took Sanctuary in the French Embassadour's Palace. The *Kaimacan* of *Constantinople* would search whether *Capello* was not there also, but the Ambassadour answered him, if he came to re-search there without express orders from the Grand Seigneur, he should repent it, which he discomposited him, that after some excuses, he proceeded no further.

The Council choosing their great Officers, made *Morjini* Captain General, *Mocenigo* Procurer General of *Dalmatia*, the Prince of *Parma* General of the Infantry, &c. General *Sirozolo* passed out of the Emperor's service, to that of this Common-wealth.

The *Morlacks* did likewise, for the most part, embrace the Party of the *Venitians*, holding the Turks in perpetual Alarms, making oft-times very considerable Booty, perpetually pestering them with their ravagings and excursions.

The General Rendezvous of the *Venitian* Fleet was at *Corfu*, where the Gallies of the Pope, of *Malta*, and of *Tusany* joining with them, consisting in all of forty-six Gallies, six Gallies, thirty-three Men of War, besides other smaller Vessels, manned with above twenty thousand Foot, and five or six hundred Horse. A General Council of War being held in presence of all the Chief of the Auxiliary Squadrons, it was resolved to attempt the Island of *St. Maurice*, in pursuance whereof, arriving before the Island about the 20th of July, the Army entered the Port of *Daneta*, on the East side of the Island, where also they made their descent. *Seignior Mocetta* landed first with one hundred and fifty Men, being followed by General *Sirozolo*, with two *Venitian* Regiments, the Pope, and the Infantry of *Malta*, the rest of the *Venitian* and Duke of *Tusany's* Forces landing on the West side. Having taken their Posts, the Generalissimo sent a Summons to them in the Fort, to surrender it, which they with contempt refusing, the Christians began to batter the Town from their Gallies and Gallies, whereby the houses and fortifications of the City were greatly endangered, as also a Mosque, which was ruined; and however the Turks were not wanting in their defence, yet they would hinder the Christians to lodge in the Suburbs, and to raise Batteries, which did greatly prejudice the Walls, besides that the Bombs did very great harm in the City. The first of August, a great Breach was made in the Wall, one of their bulwarks being much ruined, and four of their Pieces of Cannon rendered useless to the Besieged; besides, the Town flamed in several parts, being fired by the Bombs; by favour of which advantages the *Venitians* advanced their approaches so well, that they began already to fill the Ditch, and making every thing ready for a general assault. Things being at this pass, General *Morjini*, by an unaccounted kind of Clemency, sent them a second Summons, which they accepting off, hung out towards evening a white Flag, and about one in the Morning, sent three Deputies, to notify they were content to surrender, upon condition they might carry all their goods with them, but they could obtain no more, than to march out with their Families, and what they could carry. Hostages were next Morning delivered on both sides, and all the Slaves were released, save that they were obliged

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St. Maurice taken.

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obliged to serve as Sea-men in the Gallies of the Common-wealth for a year. The Garrison with their Army, seven hundred in number, marched out that evening by the West Port, and the *Venitians* entered by the breach into the City, where they found store of Provision, and eighty Pieces of Ordinance, twenty whereof had the Arms of *St. Mark* upon them. During the time of the Siege, which lasted seventeen days, the Christians lost four hundred men, and the Turks near three hundred.

And thus this Nest of Pirates, (the *Leucade* of the Ancients) about twenty miles round, and well peopled, and in the possession of the Turks ever since *Mahomet* the second's time, was re-taken in less than three Weeks, with no considerable a loss. The General caused the Mosques forthwith to be re-consecrated, and *Te Deum* to be sung in them for to happy a Victory, which was also celebrated in *Venice* with great magnificence.

After the fortifications of this place were repaired, and the Garrison provided with all necessities, the Government of it being given to *Laurence Venier*, as extraordinary Provider, and to *Philip Paridiz* in ordinary, both Gentlemen of *Venice*, the General chose two thousand *Venitians*, the remainder of those which were in a condition to march, by reason of the manifold sicknesses that reigned amongst the Souldiery, and dispatched them with Colonel *Angelo*, to assemble all the *Grecians* he could get together, and transported himself to the haven of *Petada*, in expectation of the said Colonel's enterprise. He went thence, and anchored in the haven or Port of *Dragomiro*, where landing with two thousand *Venitians*, and one thousand of the Auxiliaries, he joyntly him with fifteen or sixteen men of War, and six hundred Souldiery of the Country, chased the men which *Saba Bassa*, Governour of *Prevezza*, had posted to observe the Christians. Having allured the said *Bassa* into the field, burnt some Villages, and pillaged the Country five days together, they re-embarked at *Petada*, and sailed thence to the Haven of *Daneta*. There, at a Council of War, the resolution of attacking *Prevezza* was taken, it being the only place that covered the Island of *St. Maurice*, being some twelve miles distant from it. In order to this design, the General sent five Gallies, and six Gallies towards the Castles called the *Gomenizze*, within sight of the Fortresses, to oblige the Turks to divide their Forces, which also happened; for upon a supposition that the Christians would attempt the Towers, they sent most of their Men thither: The Army parted from *Daneta* the 20th of September, and came to anchor that evening at the mouth of the Gulph of *Arta* or *Ambracia*, that City being famous for the Residence of King *Pyrrhus* and its Gulf, for the Victory of *Augustus* against *Marc Anthony*.

The next day the Captain *Monetta*, who was come with twenty four Barks and Brigantines, landed his Troops, being assisted by the approach of the Gallies, which hindered the Turks from daring to appear upon the shore, before the *Venitians* were drawn up into *Barralia* by General *Sirozolo*, and had forced five hundred *Spathis*, who came to charge them, to retire. They took the Castle without difficulty, and posted themselves upon a height which commanded the City. The General thereupon summoned the place, but the Officer who commanded in chief in the absence of *Saba Bassa*, refused the Letter and Messenger, shooting at the latter, upon confidence of being relieved by his Go-

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vernour. Several Mortars and Cannon were landed, and Batteries being raised, the place was sorely canonaded, in so much that all the Enemies Pieces but one were dismounted. The twenty fourth, they carried their Approaches into the Moat, and by Favour of the Obscurity of the Night, carried their Mine under the great Tower. The twenty eighth they made a Lodgment in the Ditch, and the Breach being very large, Order was given for the Assault as soon as the Mine had played, but the Turks, sensible of their Danger, prevented it by hanging out a Flag of Truce. They demanded the same Conditions with them at *St. Maurice*, though but thirty of the principal were suffered to go out with Arms and Baggage, the rest being only allowed what they could carry about them. There were found in this place forty six pieces of Cannon, and much Provision. The Winter advancing apace, the Auxiliaries returned to their several Homes, and the *Venitians* to their kites to pass the Season there.

In *Dalmatia* the *Venitians* happily ended their Campaign with the taking of *Narenta*.

The King of *Poland* did not take the Field this year before mid-August, after the Troops which had been last year in *Hungary*, and a party of *Brandenburg* had joynted his Army. He took a review of his Army near *Buck*, from whence he sent a strong Regiment to invest *Jassy*, but two miles off, whether he also came towards Evening with the rest of his Army, and summoned the place; but the Commander having answered, that the place being intrusted to him by the Grand Seigneur, he would keep it to the last Extremity; but he was not as good as his word, for after having been battered two days, the Turks demanded a Parley. Hostages were given on both sides, and the Army was then signed, according to which the Garrison marched out with their Arms, to the number of five hundred men. The King turned hence towards *Swanice*, near the *Niester*, over which he caused a Bridge to be lay'd, and his Army to pass it. But he quickly repassed it again, upon the advice he received, that thirty thousand *Tartars* had passed this River, with design to make an irruption into *Poland*. His Majesty going in quest of them, had the luck to cut four hundred of them in pieces, but he could not engage them in a formal battle, being they fled to where, for this reason, and the season being passed, he resolved to send his Army into Winter-Quarters.

The successes of the *Cossacks* last year in *December*, which we have already mentioned, encouraged them with their General *Kutnyky*, betimes in the Spring, to go in quest of new Adventures, and being reinforced with *Moldavians* and *Wallachians*, they marched towards *Stravino*, where the *Danube* discharges it self into the black Sea, but being assailed by the *Hopodars*, they were obliged to retire, and their General fled out of the Field with the Horse, but the Infantry standing firm, recovered the day, routed the *Turks* and *Tartars*, took *Tes*, the *Hopodars*'s Residence, and himself Prisoner. But not being satisfied with their General *Kutnyky*, they deposed him, and put *Mobila* into his place, and however that afterwards the old General was restored by the intercession of the King of *Poland*, and that the new had but a subaltern command under him, yet the *Cossacks* mortally hating him, kept at length assassinated him, and gave the entire command to *Mobila*, after which they still continued their excursions, without engaging before any strong Place.

And Narenta in Dalmatia.

The Polts take the Field.

Go into Winter Quarters.

The Cossacks assassinate their General.

The Venitians declare War against the Turks.

The

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The state of the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Empire had been in no small diffraction before the relief of *Buda*, and that seeming in some sort to compensate their loss at *Vienna*, they at least made use of it as an incentive to raise the well-nigh desponding spirits of their People. It had been given out that the Grand Seigneur himself would in Person come into the field, at least to *Belgrade*, to countenance his Armies, though he was pleased to remain at *Adrianople*, and being the Forces he had ordered from the several Provinces of the Empire were defective in the numbers he expected, he caused several of their Leaders to be strangled. The Troops of *Asia* did likewise mutiny, which so retarded his preparations, that the Christians got into the Field before him, and necessitated him to a defensive War. The Rendezvous of his Forces was at *Belgrade*, from whence they passed by the Bridge of *Ejlek* to *Buda*, whose fortifications they took care to repair, for fear left the Enemy might attempt a second Siege, placing twelve thousand men there in Garrison, with Victuals and Ammunition for its defence. The numerous Hordes of the *Tartars*, which never failed to attend their Contests, refused now to march, the *Chan* having sent the Grand Seigneur word, that he could spare none of his Troops this Summer, having himself need of them, to secure his Country against the invasion of the *Cossacks*.

Nenheusel had been block'd up all the Winter by the Christians, under the command of Colonel *Heufler*, to that most of the attempts for its relief from *Buda*, *Agria*, and other of their Garrisons, proved fruitless. The Turks seeing no good to be done with small Detachments, drew a great Body of Men together, betwixt *Pest* and *Vizegrad*, and having provided a great Convoy of Provisions, resolved to attempt the relief of the place, which occasioned Colonel *Heufler* to be daily re-inforced with new Troops; who, ten thousand strong, posted his Men along the River *Gran*, having taken care to secure all the Fords and passages of it. His numbers daily increasing, the *Ottomans* who were gathered together betwixt *Pest* and *Vacia*, having intelligence of it, retired, having sent the Provisions, designed for the relief of *Nenheusel*, back to *Buda*, fearing they should be attacked by the Imperialists, if they stay'd there.

The Christian Army, composed of the Imperial Troops, and their several Alias, being much more forward than the Turks, had renounced, and were now encamped betwixt *Nenheusel* and *Barcan*, where, upon the Duke of *Lorraine's* arrival, it was resolved at a Council of War to attack *Novigrade*, to cut off by that means the communication betwixt *Buda* and *Nenheusel*, and afterwards formally to besiege *Nenheusel*. But he afterwards altered his mind, being it might take up too much time to besiege *Novigrade*, by reason of the distance, and would but little contribute to the Siege of *Nenheusel*. Besides, this last place was represented very defective, through their wants and distempers.

Nenheusel the *Oymar* of the *Hungarians*, is a large Hexagon, well bulwarked and moated, the Plain about being Moorish and Fenny. The River *Neptra* runs within Pistol-shot of it, furnishing the Town-Ditch with its Water, by a cut or trench, which conveys it into it.

Jul. 7th.

The resolution of attacking this important place being taken, it was invested by the Imperial Army, the Lines of Circumvallation were made, and a resolution was taken to attack the place with vigour and conduct. Two lines of approaches were advanced towards two Batteries;

that to the right by the Imperialists, and they of *Lunenburg's*; and the other by the Imperialists, and the *Bavarian* Troops; the one commanded by the Princes of *Hanover*, and *Croy*, byturns, and the other by Count *Serini*, with each three Master Generals to assist them. The same night the Trenches were opened by three thousand Foot, and the Approaches carried on seven hundred paces. Those on the *Bavarian* side towards the *Mosque* were enlarged and deepened, so that three Men might pass a-brest, and be covered. On the Imperialists' side, the Duke caused two Batteries to be raised, both on the right of his Approaches, whereon they worked the whole Night; and though the Enemy continued to shoot their Cannon without ceasing, there were but very few killed or wounded. In short, the Approaches on both sides were carried on with quick care, and industry, and courage, the Duke seldom leaving the Trenches till very far in the Night, but assisting and encouraging the Soldier by his presence and authority, that maugre all the brave opposition of the Garrison, and their perpetual firing and sallies, the works were continued to the very Moat on both sides, strengthened not only with Lines of Communication, with Redoubts, and with multiplied Batteries, but the Water also began to be drained out of the Ditch, by a Canal made for the purpose. The Besieged seeing themselves so poorly pressed, amongst others made a Sally about three a Clock, with two hundred Men, and surprised a Redoubt, wherein there were three hundred of the *Sudban* Troops, who together with their Officers were all cut to pieces. The Turks were so joyed with this success, that they fortified it by a comfort of *Musick* after their mode, that Night. The Besiegers had endeavoured to pass the Ditch in Boats, and so carry over their Minery, but the fine Boats were sunk by the Defendants, and many slain; and now they began to fill the laid Moat with Faggots, and Sacks of Wool, and several Gallies were in making for the securer passage, but they were often burnt and broke by the Besieged, who omitted nothing in their defence. They set fire on the *Bavarian* Gallery with their Arrows, at the sharp ends whereof they had fastned a mixture of Sulphur and Pitch, which did not only burn it, but communicating its flames to the Carriages of four of their battering Pieces, notwithstanding all the diligence and care to the contrary.

It was now the beginning of *August*, when the Besieged made a brisk Sally upon them that worked in the advanced Posts over against the Gate of *Gran*, killed fifty and hurt many, among which was *Gallenfels* Lieutenant Colonel, *Pugersell* a Captain, and several other Officers. The disorder was so great, that the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Lorraine* ran thither, the latter wounding some of the Run-aways to stay them, and ill treating their Officers for their negligence. Colonel *Burgdorf* was killed the Night following in the Approaches, and Count *Souches* dangerously wounded in his Neck. The Besieged had filled up the Canal which the Christians had made to drain their Moat, but it was opened again. And now the Approaches, the Galleries, and filling the Ditch had been carried on with such violence, that the Cannon of the Town were well-nigh all dismounted, and the infinite numbers of Bombs and Cartridges which had been thrown into it, had well-nigh consumed it. The Besieged had indeed made new Retrenchments in the attack'd Batteries, where they had re-moun-

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ted their Cannon, and used them with success: but,

The Breach which the Christians had made was great, and the Gallery was carried over. The Moat was filled equal with the largeness of the Breach, and the Mines were a complicating, the Traverses of the Ditch were much enlarged, so that the Souldiers might go in a large front to the assault. And yet they finish another Battery upon the brink of the Moat, where they planted twenty-four Pieces of Cannon of twenty four pound Ball, to make the Breach yet larger and easier. And now all things being prepared for the assault, they were hundred for two or three days by the great Rains.

In the beginning of this Month, the *Baffa* had desired a Parley, by which he might march away, not only with their Arms, but all sorts of Ammunition and Cannon, and take with him all the Christian Slaves, &c. which conditions the Duke would not hearken to. The *Baffa* was indeed animated by hopes of relief from the *Seraskier*, who, he knew, was preparing for it, and had already in order to a diversion besieged *Gran*, which obliged the Duke of *Lorraine* with the Elector of *Bavaria*, and forty thousand men, to rise and go and meet him, leaving eleven thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, with fifty-eight Pieces of Cannon, and eighteen Mortars, to continue the Siege under the command of Count *Caspari*, Marshal General of the Field, and the Prince of *Croy*, General of the Artillery.

But to return to *Nenheusel*, the fatal 19th of *August* being come, a resolution was taken, to assault the Town at Eleven of the Clock, to which end two Mines were sprung that morning, one at the North Bastion, and the other upon the neighbouring Curtain, which, though they had not their wished effect, which was to ruin some retrenchments of the besieged, yet they did much facilitate the passage, rendering the ascent more easy, so that it was resolved to assault the place at eight a Clock, to this purpose three thousand were ordered for the attack in two places, to each fifteen hundred, which were supported by a Reserve of two thousand. The Imperialists had the Van on both sides. Count *Sherfenberg* commanded the right, being followed by them of *Lunenburg* and *Sudbia*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Samoraski* the left, with the Troops of *Colen*, *Bavaria* and *Frankouin*. All their Batteries, and shrouded in their Grenado's and Bombs from nineteen Mortars, with that impetuosity, that they put them within into such a consternation, that for some time they durst scarce appear.

During this Tempel, Count *Sherfenberg* first enter'd, and posting himself upon the Bastion, the *Sieur Rummel* about the fame, pushing at the new breach; the besieged were forced to give way on all sides, and retreating upon a Cavalier of their Retrenchments, did now the second time lift up a white Flag, demanding quarter, but in vain; for the Christians rushing on, put all they met to the Sword; this rendered the rest to desperare, that four hundred of them precipitated themselves into the Town-Ditch, who were all destroyed by the Horse, so that of all the Garrison which was yet twelve hundred at the beginning of the assault, scarce two hundred were saved. *Hajaz* *Baffa* the Governor, was desperately wounded in the head and breast, was brought to the General, and some ten more of the chief Officers were saved, but the Governor dyed two days after of his wounds. This *Hajaz* was a Renegade, Native of *Bohemia*, though a

Is taken by Assault.

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man of extraordinary great parts and reformation. There were found in the place eighty Pieces of Ordnance, and a great quantity of Ammunition and Provision, so that the perpetual noise of their wants was a fable, the Governor having always a great Magazin of Victuals, as well as Ammunition, which he did not think fit to expose before the Siege. Of the Christian Slaves there were but forty remaining, the Turks having continued the rest in their chains, exposing them still where the greatest danger was. And although the Besieged did scarce lose one hundred in the form, yet it is supposed, that during the whole Siege, the number of their slain did at least equal, if not surmount that of their Enemies, yet with this difference, that the Turks lost all, and they but an inconsiderable part of a potent Army: excepting the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, greatly lamented by the good and brave, and some other considerable Officers.

The *Seraskier*, not imagining the fate of *Nenheusel* to near, having with great industry gathered a considerable Army, estimated betwixt fifty and sixty thousand strong, resolved to attempt the relief of it, in order to which he would try the way of diversion, as less hazardous, and upon that account marches to *Gran*, and though that very day of his arrival an additional reinforcement of five hundred men sent thither by the Duke of *Lorraine*, got into the Garrison, yet he caused the Trenches to be opened, and began to attack the place with his Cannon and Mortars, from Batteries raised on St. *George* and St. *Thomas* hills. They also attack the lower Town, but were repulsed with the loss of two or three hundred men. Several other attempts were made upon the Out-works, but with loss to the Undertakers, who understanding that the Enemy advanced, grew more remiss, possessing themselves of all the Hills by which the Christians might attack them, and thereupon quitted the Siege.

On the 7th of *August*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, with forty thousand men, passed the *Danube*, upon a Bridge near *Comorra*, and arrived the 12th at a Village that was burnt, where he found the Turks, who had abandoned the Siege of *Gran*, very advantageously posted, having Mountains on each side, covered with thick Woods, and Morals before them, which reached to the *Danube*. Upon the arrival of the Christian Army, they skirmished near the Morals, where several were killed and hurt on both sides. The following Night the Christian Army camped in *Battalia*, and continued to the 13th, but the Turks alarm'd them about noon, and skirmish'd all the day with the Christians right Wing, where the *Hungarians* were, many being slain and wounded on both sides. About noon the Duke commanded some Pieces of Cannon to be planted on a hill behind his Men, from whence they thot, and the Turks did the same with two great Pieces, from a height where the Janizaries were. The 14th, the Turks advanced their Camp to the very Morals, upon Mountains opposite to our advanced Guards, where they made three Batteries with great Cannon, shooting into our very Camp.

The 15th, a *Peliss* Slave escaped out of the Turkish Camp, and gave advice, that the *Seraskier*, *Ibrahim* *Baffa*, was perswaded, that the Christian Army did not exceed twenty thousand, and thought of a retreat, so that he might easily rout them, if he suddenly fell upon them with his that was fifty thousand strong. Upon this advice, the Duke and the other Generals resolved to feign a Retreat, and then, by drawing the

Jul. 29. Gran besieged.

1685. the Enemy beyond the Morafs, find a place to fight with them in a pitched Battle.

The famous day the Turks advanced towards a place in the Morafs where they might pass with the Horfe, and took Post also in another, where they might make a Bridge for the Foot. As the Christians had already resolved to march the day following very early towards the Bridge of Boats at *Ysly*, they let fire some Guns only to amuse the Enemy. In the mean time the Orders for the march of the Army were given in the following manner. First, that the Baggage should part that evening. The left Wing having the Avant-Guard, followed by that of the right. Secondly, that the Army should be ranged in Battalia before day, and march as the place would permit; the two Wings each in two Lines, but if the way would oblige them to file, that then they should begin by the left Wing, and enlarge themselves as the ground did permit, into their first order of Battle.

That the second line should have the Avant-Guard commanded by Count *Dunawitz*, which was to be followed by the first line in the same manner. At the right of the first line Count *Styrum* was to march upon the Mountains (which he had viewed the day before) with his Regiment, the Dragoons of *Luneburg*, and all the *Hussars*, except those of *Zobura*, with some Field-pieces. That the *Fauconets* should march before the first line, and every Regiment with its Field-pieces, as usual. And finally, that the Squadrons and the Battalions posted on the little Mountain on this side the Morafs, as also those on the Mountain to the right, commanded by Major General *Tungen*, should march at the found of the Tymbals.

The Battle of Gran. Aug. 15.

About ten at Night they had News that the Turks were passing the Morafs, whereupon all the Generals took Horfe, *Lorain* in the right, and the Elector of *Brandia* in the left, and all being in order, they began to march at the found of their Trumpets, Tymbals, and Drums, which was continued till the Turks by Favour of the Night charged their left Wing, whereupon the whole Army facing about, they marched to succour their engaged Troops, which done, they continued advancing, notwithstanding the cries and howlings of the Turks, and their continual Skirmishing till it was break of day, when a great Mist covered the whole Field, that nothing could be discerned. Both sides made use of this accident, ranging their Armies to their uttermost Advantage.

After seven in the Morning, the Sun having dissipated the Mist, the Turks advanced upon the Christians, with the noise of their Drums and horrible Cries, discharging some Cannon upon their right Wing, charged it with great fury, but they were repulsed; the same happened on the Mountain where *Tungen* commanded, who was hurt there. At the same time the Turks attacked with their greatest force, and principally their Foot, the heights on the Christians right where Count *Styrum* was, but he was so fearfully succoured by some Imperial Battalions and other Troops of the second line, that the Turks were forced to retire, being indeed chafed and repelled in all the parts of the Army. Being fled by the Morafs, the way they came, they seemed to make head again in the Camp, but by the advance of the Christians, who passed the Morafs with their Foot and Horfe, the terror and confusion was so great amongst the Turkish Souldiers, that it was impossible for the Seraquier, notwithstanding all his endeavour to persuade his Men to oppose the passage of the

Gained by the Christians.

1685. Morafs. They also abandoned their Camp, Arms, Cannon, and other Instruments of War to the Pursuers, besides forty Ensigns and some two hundred Prisoners which were taken. The Seraquier was hurt in his Leg, and having left five thousand upon the place, secured the rest by a timely retreat. The two Armies separating after the fight, the Christians went back to *Comorra* in order to their prosecution of the Siege of *Nebenfeld*; and the Seraquier having rallied his Forces, and punished with strangling some of his chief Officers, who had not well behaved themselves in the Battle of *Gran*, and passed the *Danube*, declaring he would recapture *Nebenfeld* whatever it cost, but soon after he received the news, as the Christians had at *Comorra*, that the place was taken by assault.

The Seraquier however having formed a new train of Artillery of twenty Pieces, which he took out of *Buda*, and being re-inforced with several fresh Troops, he marched towards *Vacia*, incamping betwixt that place and *Pest*, but hearing of the approach of the Christian Army, he abandoned *Novigrade* and *Vacia*, taking the Cannon and Ammunition with him that was there, demolishing the said places, and setting fire to them when he left them. He also ruined the Country about *Pest*, and having sent a Detachment to re-inforce the Garrison of *Agria*, he repassed the *Danube* with the rest of his Army at *Buda*.

And now the Turks do not seem averse from Peace, the Seraquier having sent an Aga to the Duke of *Lorain* with a Letter, wherein he acquainted his Highness, that he had full power from the Grand Seigneur to treat and conclude a Peace, which he conjures him to promote by offers of great advantage, as abandoning Count *Tekely*, and delivering of the three Hostages, which were in the Grand Seigneur's hands. But the Duke answered him, that he had no Orders to treat of Peace, and that the Christian Army was not to be amused with such Proposals, but that he would acquiesce his Imperial Majesty with the Seraquier's desire.

The Seraquier having passed the *Danube*, the few Tartars he had, not exceeding six thousand, left him and returned home. The Baffa of *Agria*, *Tenissur* and *Waradin* were sent back with the Troops under their command, and went home to their respective Governments, the Seraquier with the rest of his Army posting himself betwixt *Buda* and *Alla-Regale* to observe the Christians' motion.

The Imperial Army had advanced in quest of the Turks as far as *Vacia*, but hearing that the Ottoman Army was separated in several Bodies, and marched as above, as also towards the Frontiers of *Syria* and *Croatia*; the Duke resolved likewise to send four thousand men to re-inforce Count *Leley*, and being the Forrage was destroyed, to return, having ordered a Detachment of five Regiments of Foot, one of Cuirassiers, and two of Dragoons and Croats, to march unto upper *Hungary*, where Count *Caprara* was to command in Chief.

The Seraquier had made several other Attempts for Peace, but the Emperor refusing passports to his Aga, those overtures vanished. There had also been an Armenian sent in the beginning of this year with overtures of Peace, but he was sent back with this Answer. That the Emperor will not enter into any Negotiation of Peace, but jointly with the King of *Poland*, and Republick of *Venice*; inasmuch that finding all his Endeavours for a Treaty fruitless, he repassed the Bridge of *Esbeck*, sending part of his

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1685. Forces towards *Zigeth*, and the rest towards *Slavonia* and *Bosnia*, whereby he also defeated Count *Leley* Design upon *Poffga*.

To all the Miseries of War was added that of the Plague, which raged much at *Constantinople*, which, together with the account they had of the loss of *Nebenfeld*, and the other ill Successes of the Ottoman Army in *Hungary*, *Moravia*, and indeed every where, had filled the only that *Constantinople*, but the Empire was in Confusion and Tumult; for the Janizaries, as is usual in all great Misfortunes, mutined, threatened not only the Grand Vicer, but the Grand Seigneur himself, and were not to be appeased without considerable Distributions amongst them; it being also given out, that his Highness would himself command the Army in Person next Summer.

The Principal Armies of these potent Adversaries being in Winter Quarters, we will leave them struggling there to enlarge their Accommodations, and transfer our Pen to such Actions as have been remarkable in other Parts.

The Contentions in upper *Hungary* were various betwixt the Imperialists and *Tekelies*, General *Schulz* commanded the former, who had order to attack *Ungwar*, and afterwards to besiege *Espesries* and *Caslaw*. Count *Tekely* thereupon passes the *Tybficus*, assembling what Troops he could together, sending to the Neighbour Countries to cause their Militia to march and to join him, which *Schulz* endeavoured to hinder, especially his joyning against the Turks. And now he lays close Siege to *Ungwar*, which was defended with no less Valour than Obstinacy, inasmuch that after the loss of several Officers, and a considerable number of Men, he was obliged to raise the Siege. Some time after he laid siege to the City of *Espesries* with eight thousand men, where he found no less Opposition than at *Ungwar*; the besieged seeming resolved to defend the Place to the last extremity, notwithstanding the offer made to the Rebels of a general Pardon, which was intimated to the Magistrates and Citizens of *Espesries* by an Officer sent from the General, but they, instead of taking advantage of the Emperor's Clemency, barbarously killed the said Officer, which the General resented so highly, that he caused a general assault to be given the place, but in vain, being beaten off with the loss of several hundreds of their Souldiers. The place had already held out six Weeks, but General *Caprara* being ordered to command in chief in upper *Hungary*, and a Detachment of ten thousand men being sent to reinforce the Siege, it made them sloop, and desire a Parley, which produced a Treaty, and then a Surrender, such of the Garrison as would be entertained in the Emperor's Service, and the Magistrates and Citizens to enjoy their entire Privileges and the Places and Employments they at present posses.

Espesries surrendered.

General *Schulz* marched from *Espesries* to *Caslaw*, and beleagured it, and General *Caprara* towards *Tokely*, with a Resolution to take that place what ever it cost, being it opened a passage betwixt *Transilvania* and *Zatmar*, nor did it make any remarkable Opposition, but with other lesser Places surrendered without resistance upon Conditions.

October 5.

Count *Caprara* being come in Person before *Caslaw*, *Petrofsky*, one of Count *Tekelies* chief Officers, being sent with six hundred horse to reinforce the Garrison, made a shew of accepting the general Pardon, and entering into the Emperor's Service; but being come near the Town, put himself into it, with the six hundred men he had with him, which mainly en-

1685. couraged the besieged to defend the Place. *Caprara* sent to summon them, but in vain, so that he was forced to use all the Formalities of a Siege. The Garrison consisted of four thousand, commanded by Count *Tekely's* best Officers, who defended themselves with great bravery, making very many sharp Salles into the Enemies Quarters. He Imperialist notwithstanding carried their Trenches to the Town Ditch, and began to thunder upon the place from three Batteries. One of the Attacks being commanded by the Prince of *Wirttemberg*, who was slain there by a Cannon Bullet. But this Siege did not last long, though the Capital of upper *Hungary*, and provided with all things necessary for a long defence. But the Reasons of their surrender, which happened by a very surprising accident, is very excusable. Count *Tekely*, solicitous for this Capital of this part of the Kingdom, having writ to the Baffa of *Waradin* of the Consequence and Danger of the Place, and to press him for speedy Succour in order to relieve it. The Baffa admitting of his Reasons, assured him he would give him all the assistance he could, only he had received some Orders from the Grand Seigneur of great Importance to the common Cause, which it was not convenient to communicate to him by Letter, therefore desired he would repair to him at *Waradin*, that he might inform him of the reason by which he was bound. And for his greater Security the Baffa sent him a passport. Upon this Invitation he resolved to go thither, accompanied with *Petrofsky*, and some others of his principal Adherents, and five hundred Horfe. The Baffa met him without the Gate, and received him with all the appearance of Kindness and Esteem, and conducted him into the Town with some few of his Attendants, causing all the Cannon of the Place to be discharged, with other marks of Respect, and entertained him at Supper; but that being ended, an Aga with his Janizaries entered the Room, and having told *Tekely* he had Orders from the Grand Seigneur to seize him, and carry him to *Adrianople*, caused Irons to be put upon his Hands and Feet. At the same time, the Baffa told *Petrofsky*, that the Grand Seigneur gave him the Principality and Commands which *Tekely* had had, and that he would assist him with all his Forces.

November 29.

Petrofsky, who was next day in the Power, seemingly accepted of the Honour, but being got out of the place and Danger, he informed *Tekely's* party of what had happened, exhorting them to return with him to their Duty to the Emperor, which they consenting to, *Petrofsky* marched directly to the Camp before *Caslaw*. Being kindly received by General *Caprara*, he was sent into the Town, where he easily persuaded the Garrison to accept with him of the General Amnistie, so that the place was immediately delivered up upon Articles. After this the General sent also to the Prince *Reutsky*, Count *Tekely's* Wife, to surrender her strong Castle of *Mongatz* to the Emperor's Service, which, contrary to expectation, the absolutely refused to do. And this put an end to the Campaign in those parts, except their Excursions, beating up of Quarters, and Surprises, which were frequent on both sides.

Count Tekely betrayed by the Baffa of Waradin.

Caslaw surrendered.

July 22.

Nor were the Turks more fortunate on the side of *Croatia*, where Count *Leley* commanded the Imperialists, for he burnt the Suburbs of *Caslaw*, and destroyed the Country four Miles round; and now understanding that the Turks had left but three or four thousand men to guard the Bridge at *Esbeck*, the Seraquier having taken the rest with him to fight the Imperialists, he decamped from the Place of his Rendezvous

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Count
Lefly burns
part of the
Bridge of
Ejick.

near the *Drave*, with a Resolution, if possible, to burn the said Bridge of *Ejick*. In order to this he left his Baggage at *Turanowitz* with a Guard of two thousand Men, disamping with four thousand *Germans*, and two thousand *Croats*, all choice Men, each one being ordered to carry Provision with him for ten days, by reason of the scarcity of Victuals by the way. *Michalowitz* being surpris'd, expecting no Enemy, surrendered to his *Assaullers* upon his further advance, the Country being alarm'd, some Turkish Horse appearing, skirmish'd with the Avant-guard of *Croats*, and had treated them ill, if they had not been succoured by the *German* Dragoons and *Cuirassiers* who had the Guard; they however left a Captain-Lieutenant with near thirty *Souldiers*. They marched on, but no Turks oppos'd, scarce appear'd before they came to the Plains of *Ejick*. Then there appear'd a thousand Turkish Horse with some Foot at a distance behind them, which oblig'd the Christians to range themselves in Battalia, and the Turks suffered them to advance till they came within Musquet shot; they then began to stir, and being charged on both Wings by the *Croats*, they were wholly broke and routed, and many of them slain in the pursuit. The Infantry saved themselves in the Towns, and afterwards in the Castle. The Christians advanced in order to the Suburbs, which they took at first onset, and afterwards the City; both which they miserably pillaged and plunder'd.

The City of *Ejick* is great and populous, having at least five hundred Shops of Merchants in it, many Mosques and *Hacars*, which are great Inns for Passengers. All was crowded with Rice, Flower, Bread, Bilquet, Salt, &c. as also barley, Oats, and Forage in abundance, enough to furnish an Army. As soon as they were Master of the City, they placed a Guard against the Castle, whilst the General went to the Bridge, the like whereof is not in the World. On this side the *Drave* from *Ejick* to the said River, it is about eleven hundred paces long, and on the other side more than eight thousand, all of Oak Wood. It is twelve paces broad. The *Drave* is not large in this place, the Bridge being supported by only sixteen Boars. The Turks broke it the preceding day, letting the materials voyage with the stream into the *Demba*. Count *Lefly* caug'd thirteen fair Mills upon the *Drave* to be burnt, and having in vain attempt'd to burn the Bridge on the other side, continued to burn the *Drave* in a few hours. He being impatient knowing that the Inhabitants had saved their best goods in the Castle, they would also attempt that, but having lost several Captains and other Officers, they desisted, and *Lefly* returned back to his Camp at *Turanowitz*.

The Affairs of Poland.

The Wars against *Roland* were carried on with more Success, at least Equality, by the *German* and *Polish* men, together with the *Polish*, made perpetual Incursions into the *Russian*, and ravaging the Villages and Country, carrying the utmost to the very Gates of *Leipsic*. Nor were the *Poles* forward in their Preparations, moving but very slowly to their general Rendezvous, so that the King not going to the Field in Person, it was very late in the year before they were come together, however, entertained in the mean time, with a very bad account from *Polish* and *Russian*, and the lesser *Russias*, of the miserable Destructions of those Countries by the continued Incursions of the Infidels.

The Grand Scignior had appointed *Solyman* Bassa, now *Seraskier*, to command his Army

against the *Poles*, which he endeavour'd to raise and form with all imaginable Industry, being solicitous for *Camineet*, which he took care by reiterated Convoy, though some sometimes misadvised, to provide for. He hearing of the Christians advance towards the *Nistler*, the *Cham* of *Tartary* being joynd with him, and both near forty thousand strong, posted himself near the River to hinder the *Poles* from passing it.

And now the Armies drawing near, it was supposed they would not separate without a Battle. The *Poles* pass'd the *Nistler* with theirs, consisting of herewith twenty and thirty thousand men, on a Bridge they had made for that purpose, advanced into *Moldavia*, where they encamped; and now the whole Army being come up, the Crown General having summoned a Council of War, it was determin'd to go and find the Enemy, and force him to fight. The Army march'd accordingly, and were three days passing the Woods and Strights of *Bucovina* without any Intelligence of the Enemy. Being come into a Plain, their Van-Guard was prettily charged by a Body of *Tartars*. Ten Troops of Horse were sent to support the Christians, but being over-powered, were forced to give way. The Prince of *Coutland* advancing with three Battalions, and some Field-pieces, gave the Christians Opportunity to rally, and returning to the charge, oblig'd the *Tartars* to retire to the Hill from whence they came. The next Morning the two Armies stood in view of each other, only some light Skirmishes passing betwixt them. The third, the *Seraskier* designing to fall upon the Enemies right Wing with his main force, charged briskly, but finding it strengthened from the main body, retired and fell upon the main body itself, but with the like success. The *Poles* left Wing was charged by the *Tartars* with some advantage at first, but in the Conclusion were forced to retire. That day the Turks had been incommoded by the opposite Artillery, compos'd of thirty pieces of Ordnance, and the following day, having received Cannon from *Camineet*, they repaid them in kind. The Christians continued encamp'd the two following days, securing themselves with Redoubts and Redoubts. On the ninth day, the Christian General being inform'd that a great Detachment was sent to fall in the rear of the Army, and shut up the Passages of the Forts, he resolv'd to retire, and that he might do it with less trouble, he caus'd all their Waggon's that were not absolutely necessary to be burnt. It was next Morning before the Turks were aware of their march, when, descending into the Plain, they charged three Battalions of Horse, which had not yet enter'd the *Moosh*, but being well covered with six Pikes, and each two Field-pieces, they receiv'd the Enemy with so great a Fire, that they forc'd them to retire. And yet they escap'd by their Courage and Resolution the danger that threaten'd them, forcing their Passage back to the *Nistler* by a very orderly retreat, which they likewise pass'd, so that the Turks were much stronger than they, and follow'd dispers'd into their Winter Quarters. The Christians had besieg'd *Sigha*, but were forced to retire by the joyne forces of the Turks in those quarters, with loss of some hundreds of their men, two pieces of Cannon, and most of their Baggage. But the Wars being rather defensive in those parts, on both sides, rather otherwise, nothing of any very great Consequence; besides Incursions and mutual Ravages, worthy of Memory did happen.

The

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The traverses at Sea were of more noise and consequence. The Turkish Fleet was affirm'd to consist of sixty Gallies, and twenty men of War, who were at Sea, though suppos'd not well manned. On the other side, the *Venetian* Fleet was stronger, full of Sea-men, besides thirteen thousand Land-Forces of several Nations, all commanded by their General *Morfini*, who sailing for the *Levant*, landed his Forces in the *Mores*, at the Forts of *Calamata*, which he took, and afterwards fate down before *Coron*, where, having made large Breaches, and extremely annoy'd the place with their Bombs, the Bassa hung out a white Flag, but all Conditions, except surrendering upon discretion, being refused him, he put out a black Colours, intimating he would defend it to extremity, which he also did.

The Bassa of *Petrassi* march'd with eight thousand Men to his relief, but upon consideration of the strength of the Christians, he durst not attempt it; but contenting himself to re-inforce the Garrison of *Blodon*, and with falling upon the *Greeks* (that favoured the *Venetians*) he made a great slaughter of them. The *Viceroy* of *Mores*, *Kalli* Bassa, having got together a competent Army of near ten thousand, would re-attempt the relief of *Coron*, in order to which, he sent a Party to attack a Redoubt somewhat distant from the Line of the Beliegers, but were repulsed, but assaulting it again, they took it at the second form. Hereupon the Chevalier de la *Tour*, a Knight of *Malta*, halting thither with two hundred Men, covered it from the Turks, with the loss of his own life, and many of his Men. A while after, the *Viceroy* made an attempt upon the main Camp, but was beaten off with mutual loss. In the mean time, the Christian General finding the neighbourhood of the Turks troublesome, and foreseeing that his Troops would not be able to subsist, unless they had the Country open, resolv'd to attempt their removal, in order to which, drawing ten Men out of a Company, to which were joyn'd fifteen hundred Volunteers, with one of the Regiments of *Branswick*, and that of *Malta*, they, marching before day, surpris'd, and fell upon the Enemy on all sides; the action was so sudden, that the Turks before they could recollect themselves were driven out of their several Posts, pursu'd, and quite dispers'd. Of the Enemy there were near a thousand killed in the action and pursuit, of which number was the *Viceroy* *Kalli* and *Mehemet* Bassa. All their Cannon and Baggage were taken, with nine pieces of brass Cannon, seventeen Colours, and the great Standard, with three Horse-tails hanging at it. This Victory was some days after completed by the taking of *Coron*, where the Christians, forcing the way into the Town; through their very large Breaches, put all they met to the Sword. There were above three thousand of the Turks slain in this form, and four or five hundred of the Christians, among which were two Knights of *Malta*, Prince *Philip* of *Savoy*, the Prince of *Branswick*, the Marquis of *Carbon* and St. Paul, besides thirty Knights of *Malta*, with several other Persons of Quality wounded. There were seventy-six Pieces of Brass Cannon, besides great store of Ammunition and Provision, with Plunder, reckon'd at above two Millions, found in this place.

These Successes encouraged the *Greeks* to submit to the *Venetians*, and the Province of *Maina* being also dispos'd to cast off the Ottoman Yoke, were greatly encouraged to it by *Morfini*, who sending a Detachment with such *Maynats* as

were enter'd into the Service of the Re-public; gave them orders to attack *Zarnata*, a Forts built to keep that People in awe. In the mean time the Christian Fleet fail'd towards *Calamata*, near which place the Forces landed.

The Captain Bassa, hearing of the ill success of his Country-men in *Mores*, came with his Fleet to *Napoli* of *Romania*, where securing the Ports with great Chains, he landed what Men he possibly could, and joyning with a great Body of Horse and Foot, he march'd towards *Calamata*, to keep the *Mainates* from revolting to the *Venetians*. *Zarnata* had been threaten'd into surrender, six hundred Men that garrison'd it marching out with their Arms and Baggage, though the Aga that command'd it, dispruiling his conduct, play'd the Christian Camp.

The Captain Bassa being advanced, *Morfini* being re-inforc'd with three thousand *Savans* resolv'd to fight him. Being met, the Turkish Horse fell upon the Christians left Wing, and at the same time a great Body of their Foot advanced towards their right; but found such brave resistance, that they were forced to retire. They return'd to the charge again, but with the same success, and being press'd, fell into disorder and were defeated, though the loss was not very great on either side. The Garrison of *Calamata* hearing of this rout, fired their Magazin and quieted the place, leaving eleven Pieces of Cannon behind them, which was immediately garrison'd by the victorious. The *Mainates* thereupon besieg'd *Porto Vitulo*, the which with *Cheliza* and *Pollana* were the only places of strength that the Turks posses'd in that great Province, but these likewise, as also *Porto Vitulo*, being forced by the Inhabitants to surrender, came all under the dominion of the *Venetians*, from whence General *Morfini* having put good Garrisons into those places, march'd towards *Nasazino*. But the season being too far advanced, having raz'd *Calamata* and *Pollana*, as not very defensible, he dispers'd his Army into Winter Quarters, sailing himself with his Gallies to *Santa Maura*.

A Fleet under the command of the Seigniors *Molino* and *Delfino*, had cruiz'd the whole Summer in the *Archipelago*, putting those Islands under contribution, though no material action at Sea had pass'd betwixt the two Fleets of the Christians and Turks.

The Captain Bassa, after these misfortunes, shew'd a great inclination to peace, signifying his desire to set a Treaty on foot for that purpose, to which end he signified the same to General *Morfini* by a particular Messenger, who refer'd him to his Superiors.

There had likewise been an Aga some time at *Comorra*, who declar'd, that the Grand Seignior did desire to re-establish a Peace or Truce betwixt the two Empires, desiring that Commissioners might be appointed on both sides for that purpose, that he had order'd the Bassa of *Buda* to cease from all Hostilities, and that he caus'd Count *Tekely*, the Author of the War, and the Evils that attend'd it, to be seized upon by his command. But all the answer he could get was, that the Emperor would enter into no Negotiation of Peace, without the participation of his Allies. And yet some Propositions were obligely made in their names. The Emperor demand'd restitution of all the Places that are possess'd by the Turks in the Upper and Lower *Hungary*, and in *Croatia*. The *Poles* demand'd *Camineet*, and the whole Province of *Podolia*; and the *Venetians* the whole Country of *Mores*. To conclude, the Aga was sent back

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Attempts for Peace prove fruitless.

1685. with this answer, That the Emperor and his Allies will receive no Proposals, but such as come immediately from the Grand Seigneur himself.

The *Chan of Tartary* had also offered the King of Poland his Mediation by an Embassy, and at the same time made Proposals of Peace, but his Majesty answered roundly, that he would hear of no Overtures of accommodation without his Allies, the Emperor of Germany, and the Commonwealth of *Poland*.

Jan. 1686. And now all thoughts of quiet being laid aside, all the great Parties made all imaginable preparations, by Leagues, by Levies, by amassing of Moneys as well as Men for the future Campaign.

This ended this year 1685, and the following was no less active or turbulent. The Imperialists, as a prelude to their future Successes, beat a Party of the United Garrisons of the Turks, consisting of about six thousand men, *Arach*, which place they also took, with eleven Colours, and three Kettie Drums, besides much spoil.

Feb. 12. This success was followed by others, *St. Job* being surrendered to Count *Caraffa*, the six hundred Men which composed the Garrison of it, being conducted to great *Wardian*, and a Party from *Comorra*, *Raab*, *Papa* and *Vilprin*, took the Castle of *Sebnar*, betwixt *Vilprin* and *Alba Regalis*, which had much incommoded the Garrison, upon as easy terms; the beleagued being only allowed what they could carry upon their backs.

Difforders at Constantinople. Jan. 23. Great were the disorders and confusion at Constantinople, and throughout the whole Ottoman Empire, for the late ill Successes of their Arms in Hungary and *Moravia*; and being to be unfortunate, it was to be criminal in that Court, *Cheitan Ibrahim*, *Seraskier*, was condemned to lose his head, the defeat at *Gran*, the loss of *Nembeuf*, and the burning of the Bridge of *Elfek*, being laid all to his account. His eminent services in the former Wars against the Crown of Poland, and his valorous defending of *Buda* in 1684, against the united powers of the German Empire, could not obtain his pardon, being he was likewise blamed for having discontented the Soldiers in defrauding them of their pay. Several other of the Chief Officers being accused of not having done their duty at the Battle of *Gran*, were trampled with him, and *Solyman Bassa*, who had so successfully commanded the Army last year against the Poles, was by the Grand Visier recommended to the Grand Seigneur, as a Person very fit for that Employment in Hungary, which his Highness also approved of, but the Bassa being surprised at the choice was made of him, sensible of the fate of his Predecessors, and the danger of the Employment, taking his opportunity, threw himself at the Grand Seigneur's feet, and humbly prayed to be excused from so difficult a Province, being the circumstances he was to undertake it, but with the loss of his Head, which he would rather now sacrifice at his Majesty's command, than dye hereafter in his displeasure. The Grand Seigneur wondering at what he heard, and that he should scruple at so eminent a command, demanded his reasons: He replied, that the misfortunes of the last Campaign were occasioned by the ill payment of the Troops, many other things of great importance to his service having been likewise omitted, not obscurely hinting at the Grand Visier, he would notwithstanding take the command upon him, if his Majesty ac-

1686. cording to the example of his Predecessors, would himself appear at the head of his Forces. The frankness of this discourse wrought so much upon the Grand Seigneur, that he immediately sent to the Visier, who was, or pretended to be indolent, and consequently kept his bed, to know whether he was in a condition of health to attend him into Hungary, where he purposed to go himself? But the Visier excused it, by reason of his indolence, his Majesty sent to him for his Seal, which being delivered, he immediately gave it to *Solyman Bassa*, making him by that eminent mark of dignity Grand Visier in the others room, who yet had his life granted him, and part of his Estate to subsist upon, being now in his House on the Canal of the black Sea, near *Serasky*.

The Treasure of the *Seraglio* was opened, Officers were sent into all the extent of the Empire, and the utmost diligence was used to raise him, not only to recruit their thinned Arms, but to make new Levies, but with the usual fate that attends unsuccessful Arms. So that notwithstanding all their endeavours, the Christians were in the Field before them, not only with the Imperial Troops, but the united Forces of all the German Princes. The general Rendezvous was appointed on the 30th of May in the Plains of *Barckem*, though the *Scotons*, the *Magyarians*, the *Brandenburgers*, and the others of the Circles could not get thither so soon by reason of their distant Marches. The whole Empire seemed to move, and the Danube was so covered with Barks and Barges full of men, provisions, and all sorts of Warlike Instruments, that it yielded a prospect of terror and pleasure.

The Forces being come together, the Sentiments of the General Persons that composed it were very differing. Some proposed the Siege of *Alba Regalis*, as being a place that had much annoyed them, by protecting the *Seraskier* under the Cannon of the place, when they beleagued *Buda* two years ago. Others would have *Agria* and *Montargy*, the remains of *Tekely's* rebellion in Upper Hungary, attempted, and the rest were for marching directly to the Bridge of *Elfek*, for securing that important passage, and then to besiege *Buda*. Others were of opinion, that these three designs should be enterprised at once, by dividing their Army into three parts, for the two first Enterprises, and that General *Schultz* should with the Army of *Groatia* attempt the Bridge of *Elfek*. But they were very few that concluded positively for the Siege of *Buda*, which had already been absolutely resolved upon by the Emperor and the Duke of *Lorraine*, upon a certainty that the taking of that place would vastly enlarge their Quarters, and a supposition (though not so well grounded) that all Hungary would follow the fate of their Capital City.

Jan. 10. But this design was kept very secret, nor was it discovered until the arrival of Count *Stratman*, Great Chancellor of the Emperor, who having in a Council of War prudently composed the puntillios and differences between so many General Officers about their commands, to all their satisfactions; he showed them the Emperor's Commission and Orders to begin the Campaign with the Siege of *Buda*, exhorting them to do their duty in an enterprize of such great importance, whereon depended not only the conservation of his Highness's Conquests, the security of his Crown, and the good of Christendom, but also the ruin of the Ottoman Empire, being the loss of this considerable place would be attended on with the surrender

The Christian Army Rendezvous at Barckem.

May 30. 1686.

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of the other Cities and Fortresses of Hungary, which would return to the Obedience of their natural Sovereign.

The Generals, who expected to begin with the Siege of *Agria* or *Alb-Royal*, were overjoy'd to understand that the design was upon *Buda*; and this News being spread amongst the Officers and Souldiers of the Armies, they all testified their Satisfaction by their forwardness, and their desire to see themselves before a Place where they might signalize their Valour, and revenge the Death of their Comrades, who had been interred in the Trenches of the former Siege.

The Volunteers, to the number of six thousand, of all Quality and Conditions, which were come thither out of Germany, France, England, Spain, the Low-Countries, and other parts of Europe, to seek Honour in so pious a War, shewed much Ardour and Zeal to signalize themselves in so glorious an undertaking. The Troops of the Circles were not yet come, and they of *Brandenburg*, who marched through *Silesia*, and the Straits of *Poland*, advanced but slowly by reason of the difficulty of their way, and could not come so soon as desired. But the Armies, to lose no time, did camp on the twelfth of June by break of day, the Duke of *Lorraine* taking his way by the Bridge of *Gran*, had passed it the thirteenth, the Troops of *Saxony* having the Vantage-guard. The Elector of *Bavaria* marched on this side the Danube to possess the City of *Pest*. Whilst the two Armies were thus marching on both sides the River, Count *Rabatta*, who was Commilitary General, had caused a prodigious quantity of Gabions and Fagots, which the Souldiers had made as they came to the general Rendezvous, to keep them from Idleness; to be imbarck'd and sent by Water towards *Buda*, together with the Artillery, Ammunitions, Provisions, Forrage, and other necessary things for the subsistence of Armies. The next day the Armies advanced, the great one near *Vitegrad*, and the other by *Vacia*.

The fifteenth the Imperial Horse, followed by the Foot, and their Cannon and Baggage, passed *Vitegrad*, some Prisoners having been made by a party that the Duke had sent to make Discoveries. These unanimously declared, that they of *Agria* and *Alba Regalis* fearing a Siege had refused all their best Movables in *Buda*, and that this Capital City was, as well as the other Places, furnished with Troops and necessary Provisions to sustain a long Siege, in expectation of Relief.

Being come within an hour of the Town without any encounter, the Horse made halt, as well to repose themselves, as to expect the coming up of their Infantry and Artillery, and now they began to lay a Bridge of Boats at the life of *St. Andrew* for the Communication of the two sides of the Danube.

On the eighteenth, the Baron of *Diepsdall*, General de *Battalia*, invested the City of *Buda*, whilst the Infantry were marching up, and taking up their Posts half a League from the place, they began to break ground, and work at their Line of Circumvallation. A great party of Horse and Foot appeared out of the Garrison at the *Vienna* Port, but they returned again upon the advance of a Detachment of Imperial Horse, who had Orders to charge them, contented to welcome the Artillery with eight Volleys from their Cannon, though they kill'd but one Pioneer, by reason of the too great distance.

The nineteenth, the Duke advanced with the Army as far as the hot Baths, the Turks having abandoned that Post the day before. The ge-

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neral Quarters were taken up within a quarter of a League of the Town. The same day the Elector of *Bavaria* seized upon the City of *Pest*, which the Turks had quitted, retiring with their Cannon, Ammunitions and Provisions into *Buda*, after they had broken part of the Bridge behind them. The *Groats*, who scouted about the Country, took a Turkish *Chiaus*, with a Convoy of forty *Spahis*, who was sent with Letters from the Port to the Visier of *Buda*. Being brought to the Camp, his Letters were examined, which contained rigorous Orders to the Visier, to be very careful of the Places which depended on his Government, and to assure him of a quick and powerful relief in case he were attacked.

On the twentieth, the Bridge over the Danube was finished. The same day a party of Horse fallied out of the Town with design to surprize the Christians advanced Guard, but the Duke being adverted of it in time, sent four squadrons, to which many Volunteers joynd themselves with orders to charge them; but they upon their approach retired without any engaging. The Artillery being arrived, two Batteries were raised against the lower Town, where the Duke of *Lorraine* Attack was, and at Night the Trenches were opened. A Janizary who deserted, reported much after the same manner that the Prisoners already mentioned had done; that there were but eight thousand men of formed Troops in the Town. The Visier having some time before sent two thousand Souldiers to *Agria*, and as many to *Alba-Regalis*, upon a supposition that the Christians would not think of besieging *Buda*, which had been so fatal to them but two years ago. This Run-away affirmed further, that the Place was abundantly furnished with all manner of Provisions and Ammunitions to sustain a very long Siege, that the Visier *Abdi Bassa* was no great Warrior, and therefore the less considered by the Souldiers; that he had assembled all the Officers and Souldiers of the Garrison together, had exhorted them to do their Duty, and to support with Honour the Glory of the Turban, adding, that he had Orders from the Grand Seigneur to defend the City with his Life, which he was resolved to do, and expect the Succours which the Grand Visier would infallibly bring them. To this the *Janizaries* and *Spahis* replied, that they were ready to sacrifice their Lives in his Highness's Service, and for defence of their Laws, upon Condition however, that the Visier would immediately give them ten Crowns a Man, that the Souldiers and Officers that were detained in Prison for what Crime forever should be set at Liberty, and that he would not suffer things to come to the last extremity, lest the same misfortune might happen to them, as did to those of *Nemheuf*, all which the Visier promised them to observe exactly.

I must acknowledge I am entering into a tedious Narrative, and somewhat against my Humour, which affects lucid brevity; but the History of this Siege, perhaps circumstantially the greatest upon Record, full of such strange Events, of Emulation in the pursuit of Glory; of successful Temerity, and an invincible Resolution on the one side; as also the Fidelity, the Constancy, and the unfortunate Valour of the other, hurries me on to a Description of it in all its particulars, which I will do with that Candor, that the very indifferent Reader shall find nothing that may justly shock him, and the curious wherewith to content him.

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The Elector of *Bavaria*, having left a Garrison at *Pell*, and passed the Bridge of *Baden*, for the life of *St. Andrew*, came with his Army before the place, and took his Post in the same place where he had commanded in the preceding Siege, that is, on the Castle side, and the upper Town, to form the second attack, the third being reserved for the *Brandenburgers*, who were expected in a few days, and were to be reinforced with the Troops of *Saxia* and *Francia*. That Night the Turks fired mightily upon them that worked in the Approaches and Batteries, whereof several were killed and hurt in the *Lorrain* Attack.

The Duke sent all the Imperial and *Bavarian* Horse, under the command of the Generals *Palfy*, *Gondola*, and others, to camp in the Neighbourhood of *Alba Regalis*, on purpose to consume the Forrage, and keep that Garrison in continual alarms, there remaining in the Camp but three thousand Imperial and fifteen hundred *Bavarian* Horse to secure the Trenches and Pioneers. The Night passed, the Battery against the lower Town was brought to perfection, and twelve Pieces of Cannon mounted upon it, which played all the following day with the loss of five men slain, and several wounded, from break of day the Cannon continued firing with such success, that they made a breach in the Wall of the lower Town, which was found to be twenty paces large. In the mean time the *Bavarians* on their side carried their Approaches on with great diligence, and had also some killed and wounded.

The day following, the breach being enlarged, was assaulted towards evening, the Walls being easily gained for the Defendants retired into the upper Town after the first discharge. The Christians lost a Captain of Foot, a Lieutenant of Granadiers, some Souldiers, and six Volunteers in this attempt, besides seven or eight hurt; and from that time they began to attack the Town in form, it being resolved that the Trenches should be relieved every day by a Lieutenant General, and a Major General, as well in the Duke of *Lorrain's* attack, as in the Elector's. The 25th Count *Souches* and *Diepenl* relieved the Trenches, but nothing was done besides affuring the Lodgment upon the Wall of the lower Town, and opening the Gate which the Turks had shut up on the right, far enough from the breach where they took Post, and that the Labourers might be less incommoded, General *Souches* caused fire to be put in the neighbouring Houses, where some Fueliers did lurk, who were burnt with them. The *Bavarians* finished the same day a little Battery upon *St. Gerards Hill*, which the Turks had abandoned, from whence they threw some small Bombs into the City to try experiments. They also finished another great Battery to beat the great Rondel which joins the Castle to the upper Town. The same day Count *Budiani* presented some Standards to the Duke of *Lorrain*, taken from a party of Turkish Horse, which conveyed fourteen or fifteen Barks laden with the Wives and Children of the Officers of *Buda*, who retired with all their riches to *Belgrade*, and which his *Hyduques* and *Hussars*, reinforced with some Imperial Dragoons, had surprised and beaten at the Island of *St. Margari*. The booty was great, and ninety-two Women and Children taken, amongst which was the *Wife* of *Buda's* Wife.

The 26th, they made several traverse Lines, and laboured to compleat the Approaches to secure their Quarters in the lower Town, which

was furnished with two thousand Souldiers, and a good number of Pioneers. The Earth being rude and stony, did much obstruct the Labourers. The great Master of the Teutonic Order, which commanded the Trenches, observing that the Pioneers in the lower Town might be easily infulted and beaten by the Befieged, had upon his demand fix Battalions sent him, which were posted along the Wall to countenance them. Two fugitives, who said they were *Hungarians*, rendered themselves, and confessed that the Garrison was but eight thousand Combatants, who by order of the Visier had begun to untile the Houses, and un pave the Streets, to hinder the effect of the Bombs. In the evening betwixt fix and seven a Clock, the Turks fellied out with great Cries, to intimidate them who were posted in the Rondel by the Water side, but they were so well received, that they retreated confusedly. Marshal *Svenberg* halted thither (seasonably with two Battalions of them that had been posted the day before behind the Wall, without which Succour the Turks would have made a great Slaughter amongst the Labourers. The Enemy was pursued, and the Souldiers cut off some Heads, which they presented to the Duke, who gave them a golden Ducker for each Head. A Captain was hurt in this scuffle, and ten or twelve Souldiers killed, and as many wounded.

The *Bavarians* raised two Batteries for Bombs on the two sides of their great Battery. They carried on their Trench above one hundred paces, and ran three traverse Lines, with a place of Arms for the defence of their Battery. The Turks fired much with their Artillery, but killed only two Souldiers.

The art, the Christians compleated the works they had made in the Night, new traverses were made, some Musketeers were placed in the Mosque of the old Town, a Post was taken on the right near the Gate which makes the Angle of the Upper Town, the Lines were enlarged, and deepened, and the great Battery was well-nigh finished, with the loss only of one Man, and some few wounded. This Morning the Enemy appeared where they had been yesterday, seemingly disposed to skirmish, but seeing that the Christians were ready to receive them, they retired without attempting any thing. About Eleven a Clock they fellied out, Horse and Foot, with design to dislodge the Befiegers posted on the right, but having foud a Volley, and seeing Count *Hoffkirchen*, Lieutenant Colonel to *D. sendal*, advancing with the Guards of Horse, they returned into the City, leaving twenty of their men dead behind them. Of the Christians there were but two killed, and five or six hurt. Another Defecer came out of Town, who reported, that the Governour was greatly perplexed, in that he saw the inevitable fall of the City, which the Grand Seigneur had committed to his charge, and that he lost in the Salles his best Souldiers, without being able to ruin the Enemies works; but that he refused nothing equally with the captivity of his Wife, and those of the Principal Officers of the Place, taken when they thought them past danger. In the *Bavarian* attack they finished a battery to play upon the Castle, and the Rondel that joins it to the City.

The 28th, in the *Lorrain* attack, a Line of Communication four hundred paces long was drawn from the Post at the Angle on the right to the middle Gate, and another was made to go to the new battery, upon which they planted twelve pieces of Cannon. A little one was like-

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likewise in hand for four Mortars which were carried thither that Night, with some Cart loads of Bombs. The befieged began to throw Bombs and Stones out of Town. A Captain and sixteen Souldiers were wounded that Night, and some killed. The Duke of *Lorrain*, foreseeing that Forrage would grow scarce in the Camp, sent most of the baggage Horses to the Meadows assigned them betwixt *Oran* and *Nuremberg*. General *Danewald*, who commanded the Horse, camped near *Alb-Royal*, advertised the Duke, that the Turks having abandoned the Castle of *Baythen* upon the River of *Zarvis*, he had put men into it, and that he was going to make a tentative upon *Palotta*, a place of good strength near *Alb-Royal*.

The twenty ninth, they continued to compleat their Works, and the Duke augmented the number of the Labourers with an addition of six hundred more. The befieged made no Salles these two days, but they played their Artillery more furiously than ordinary to ruin the Christians great Battery. About five a Clock they fellied upon the *Bavarian* attack, with two thousand Horse and Foot, with so much Success, that they put the Befiegers into much disorder, and the Janiziers leaping into the Approaches, were buile in the throwing of them down, when Count *Stenbock* Bying thither with the Guard of Horse from the Duke of *Lorrain's* Quarter, and the *Bavarian* Generals with their reserves, the fight was rude on both sides, till the Turks were forced to retreat, being pursued even to the Gates of their City, notwithstanding the continued fire from their Cannon and Muskets from the Walls. Prince *Eugenius* of *Saxony* had his Horse killed under him. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, and the Generals *Fontaine* and *la Vergue* signalized themselves in this Action, as also the Volunteers, and particularly the Prince of *Commercy*, *Switzerland*, a *Bavarian* Lieutenant-Colonel was slain, as also fix Volunteers, with thirty seven Souldiers, besides sixty two wounded, one Captain, two Lieutenants, and an Ensign. The loss on the Turks side was greater, being the Christians brought away fixty of their Heads, besides what a fugitive *Rafcia* reported, that the Turks had had near two hundred killed and wounded; That Evening the four Mortars placed by the great Battery began to play into the befieged Works. Six Culverins were also planted upon the old Battery, wherewith they design'd to shoot into the Town Gate, to incommode the Salles of the befieged.

The thirtieth, the Troops of *Saxia* and *Francia* arrived in the Camp, and took the Posts designed for them; all the Night and Day were employed to advance the Works, which are so numerous, that they are scarce distinguishable. Count *Souches*, who commanded the Trenches that day, having sent three Granadiers to discover the distance betwixt the Approaches and the Rondel, they brought word that it was no more than three hundred paces; and that the Turks were making a Ditch at the foot of the said Rondel. Every Night great store of Gabions, Fagots, Munitions, and Provisions, arrived in the Camp, by the care of the Commissary General, Count *Rabatta*. Count *Caprara* parted from the Camp with the *Saxian* Horse, to join those encamped near *Alb-Royal*, and to command the whole in chief. Five *Rafcia* Sherpas, slip insensibly into the *Bavarian* Quarters, with at least four hundred, where they were well received and gratified. All they could say was, that the Conformation was great amongst

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the befieged, who were yet resolved to defend themselves, in expectation of the Succours they were in hope for. They added, that the Bombs and Carcaffs had fired the Town in several Places, though it had been luckily enough extinguished.

The first of July, Count *Sarenberg* shewed General *Schening*, who commanded the *Brandenburg* Auxiliaries, and arrived in the Camp the Night before, the Approaches and the Attacks, which were reserved for his Troops, which was on the Water side on the left of the Imperialists, after which he was magnificently treated by the Duke of *Lorrain*, from whence he went to join his Troops which were expected the next, or the following day. This Morning the Imperialists began to shoot out of their new Battery, out of four Pieces which shot twenty four pound Bullets. The five Mortars by the great Battery continued to play upon the Rondel on the right, with such Success that the Defendants durst not shew themselves there. The Works were compleating, and there were two Redoubts made to secure the Communication with the great Battery. This Night there were but five hurt, and one killed, and this Morning an Adjutant General was hurt in the Head with a Mautquet, as he was carrying Orders into the Approaches. There hapned nothing in the *Bavarian* Quarters, where they only continued their Labour and their Batteries, made a Breach in the outward Rampart. The rest of the Troops of *Francia*, consisting in fourteen hundred Foot, arrived there, who were placed near the rest of the same Circle.

The second, the *Lorrain* Attack advanced within two hundred Paces of the Walls of the City. The battery of twelve Guns of twenty four pound Balls was finished, and four other Mortars that played without ceasing all the last Night, fired the Town near the great Church, which lasted till Morning, the Cannon was played all this day against the two first Rondels, which are in a manner defenceless. Two Battalions more were sent to reinforce those who were camped under the Wall of the old Town. The befieged threw again many Bombs and Stones, but with little prejudice to the Befiegers, killing them not above three or four Souldiers. The Troops of *Sachsen* began to work at their line of Circumvallation, and purposed the following Night to raise a Battery upon a height which they possessed. The *Bavarians* fired furiously against the Castle and upper Town, and had thrown many Bombs which had kindled a fire that was not yet extinguished. The Duke apprehending that the Turks might when it was dark, put by the help of small Barks, Men, and Ammunition into the Town, went in Person to discover the suspected Places about *Pell*, commanding the Prince of *Saxony's* Regiment of Dragoons to post themselves there, to assist the *Hungarians* who were already there, and had Orders to raise some Scouts along the River side for their Security.

On the third of July, the *Brandenburg* Troops were sent to march on the other side of the *Danube*. The Duke of *Lorrain* went to visit them, where he was received by General *Schening* with a triple *Salvo* of all the Foot, ranged in battalia, with their Cannon at the head of the Infantry. His Highness was treated there with much Gallantry, and afterwards returned to his Quarters extremely fatigued to see such a fine body of Men, to brisk, so well disciplined, and provided with such a good Train of Artillery. The Imperialists finished another line for to defend their

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July 4th, The Approaches of the *Lorrain* attack were run within one hundred paces of the breach in the Rondel to the right. The besieged began to run a Line out of the said breach, which they lengthen'd till within fifty paces of the Christians, to render their approach more difficult; and however, they fired continually with their small shot, and threw a multitude of stones, yet they killed and wounded but thirteen men. The besiegers had now fourteen Mortars mounted out of which they perpetually tossed Bombs and Carcasses. There was nothing done at the *Bavarian* attack, but securing the works, and heightning the batteries. A *Pole*, who had serv'd amongst the *Turks*, came over this morning, and reported that the besieged were resolv'd to surrender, if they were not relieved in a Month's time. Another Run-away came this afternoon, and declared, that five Turkish valiant were by the means of a little Bark landed on *Pest* side, who were by several ways endeavour to arrive where the *Seraskier* was, and press the Succours which had been promised them. The Duke of *Lorrain* dispatched some Horfe towards *Vaisfar* to confuse the Forage there, and watch the Enemies motion. A party of *Tartars* fell upon the Foragers on the other side the *Danube*, and took some Horfes, and two Groons belonging to the Prince of *Baden*, out of the Island of *St. Margaret*: the following Night, sixty Granadiers with some Workmen went to ruin the Line which the besieged had begun before the breach of the Rondel, which luck'd so well, that they filled the Ditch with the loss of two Soldiers only. The breaches were every day enlarged, as well on the *Lorrain* as the *Bavarian* attack, and what the *Turks* repaired in the night, was thrown down by day. All the Troops of *Brandenburg* are at present arriv'd in their Quarters. The *Turks* made a rally

upon them in the Night, who, though they were well received, and purified even to the Town Gate, yet they killed many brave men of the besieged, and amongst the rest Field-Marshal General *Dorffeling's* Son, two Lieutenants, and twenty-seven Souldiers, with the like number wounded.

July 6. A line of communication was made from the *Lorrain* attack to that of *Brandenburg*, which is but fifty paces from the Rondel of the middle Gate, and about sixty from the breach on the right. This morning they shot the Cannon with that fury, that they quite threw down the two Rondels, and the Curtain, and at night throwing Bombs and Carcasses without ceasing, they caused a fire to burn on the right of the Rondel, that could not be quenched in less than three hours time. The *Brandenburgers* advanced their works briskly, their Generals of Battalia's keeping alternatively in the Trenches. They had eight slain and six wounded, besides a Captain of Granadiers, Lieutenant Colonel *Foik* was also hurt in the Legs, and six more of the *Lorrain* attack, besides two killed.

July 7. The Night preceding, very many Bombs were thrown with success, being they fired the Town in two places, but upon the arrival of the Engineer *Gonzales*, it was presumed the Town would be thundred with greater violence, he is expected in two or three days in the Camp, where the Cannon, Mortars, Bombs, Carcasses, and other artificial fire-works of his invention are already arriv'd. The besieged made this morning a fallie upon the *Brandenburgers* with Horfe and Foot, but to their prejudice, being beaten back with disorder. Yesterday the Miners began to work in the *Lorrain* attack to widen the breaches, and this Night the same will be done in that of *Bavaria*, where they have finish'd two new Batteries, one of ten, and the other of seven Cannons, besides a third on the Water side, to better the attack'd Rondel, and a Post by which the besieged used to creep out into a covered way which they had made before the Rondel. Yesterday the *Bavarians* had carried their approaches to the very foot of the Castle, so that they could come no nearer before the breach was enlarged. The works in the *Lorrain* attack were so near the Wall, that they could advance no further, but by lodging in the breach. There were about fifty killed and hurt in the three attacks. The besieged shot a Bomb, which falling upon one of the out-Batteries into a Barrel of Powder, killed nine Cannonners that attended there.

The 8th, Two new Batteries, each of three Demy-Cannon, were rais'd in the *Lorrain* attack nearer the Walls, and on the left, where they were equally advanced with the right, the approaches were advanced to the Wall of the Rondel; and as these Works were so near, there were twenty-five hurt and wounded, most with Stones and Granadoes, amongst whom Major General *Thunigen* was one, Major *Bischopshausen* had his Arm broke with a Musquet, and some other Officers wounded. The Miners which were attack'd to the right of the Rondel, had not yet encountered the Enemies Mine. At night they will plant others to the left of the middle Rondel. Some Peasants having found means to escape out of Town, came to the Camp, affirming, that there were still above three hundred men which worked continually at the Mines and Retrenchments which the besieged made behind their Walls, for their retreat in case of necessity.

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1686. July the ninth, the whole Night was spent in shooting of Bombs and Carcasses into the City, to keep the besieged in *Adion*, and take away their desire of repose, but these perceiving at break of day that the Enemy had made a Gallery of Planks to pass the Miners to the middle Rondel, they rolled down many Bombs, threw many Granadoes, and other artificial Fire, with combustible stuff in such abundance, that the Planks were burnt, and the Gallery reduced to Ashes. At five in the Morning the besieged sprung a Mine some Paces from the Wall, betwixt the middle Rondel, and that at the Gate with success, being it overturned one of the Christians Mines, with the loss of seven or eight of the Miners. They seconded this with a sharp Sally, disordered the Workmen, ruined their Labours, and posted themselves betwixt the *Imperialists* and *Brandenburgers*, but the reserve coming to their Aid from their place of Arms, they forced them back into the Town. There were above eighty of the two Attacks killed and wounded in this Adventure, one of their chief Cannoners slain, and several Subaltern Officers. The besieged lost as many; Notwithstanding this check, the Works were continued with the same Vigour in the Approaches, Lines, and Galleries. On the *Bavarian* side they ruin'd the little Port from their Battery with ten demy Cannons, and the breach there was very spacious.

July the tenth, At the *Lorrain* Attack they work'd all Night to repair the Batteries and the Approaches which the besieged had ruin'd in the former Sally, and to redress the Gallery which they had burnt, and the Miners were again fired that Night. At the *Bavarian* Attack the Miners worked under the Palizade of the Rondel, and under the Wall, with hopes of completing their Mines in three days; several were slain, amongst whom Lieutenants Colonel *Wachtendonk*. The Christians had Intelligence by their Spies, that the Turks, to the number of seven thousand, reinforced with some *Tartars* who ravaged the Country, had a design to introduce a new Commander, with a recruit of Troops into *Buda*, which obliged the Duke of *Lorrain* to command some Foot to post themselves on the other side of the *Danube*, and upon occasion to join with the Horfe that were there already, and meet and fight the Enemies.

July the eleventh, This evening five demy Cannons were mounted on the two new Batteries in the *Lorrain* Attack, and two Mortars planted in a little Fort, with the loss of two killed, and five hurt. The *Brandenburgers* placed three pieces in battery, and would plant more the Night following to shoot glowing Bullets into the City. The *Bavarians* fortified their Attack by two Redoubts. Yesterday in the Evening four hundred Foot were order'd to raise some Defenses on *Pest* side near the *Danube*, to hinder left any thing should pass that way into *Buda*.

July the twelfth, All the Batteries of *Lorrain* and *Brandenburg* were compleated, and the first lines of these two Attacks were so joyn'd, that men could pass from the one to the other undiscovered, by the Enemies Fire. And now they were so near the Walls, the besieged did perpetually throw hand Granadoes and Stones to incommode the Workmen, but without any great harm. The Miner on the left found himself much advanced under the Wall, but they met with more difficulty on the right, and so they would enlarge the breach by force of their Cannon. The Count de *Souches* inspected the breach by order of the Field Marshal *Starenburg*,

and it was found spacious enough to be assaulted. The *Brandenburgers* began to shoot their inflamed Bullets and Bombs out of twenty two Cannons, and two Mortars, but with no great success, being the Besieged had uncovered all their Houses. The Bombs and Carcasses invented by the *Franciscan* Friars were highly esteemed. They now only plain'd and enlarged the Breaches, and prepared themselves for the assault. There were nine hurt and three slain with Granadoes and Stones. The Breach in the great Rondel on the *Bavarian* side was large enough, and the Miner was at work under the Palizade of the Ditch. The Duke having Intelligence that the *Seraskier* was advanced with some thousands of Turks near *Hattum*, commanded 3000 Horfe, and six Battalions of Foot, *Imperialists*, *Brandenburgers*, and *Bavarians*, under the Conduct of General *Mercy*, to pass the *Danube*, and post themselves on the other side of the Bridge, to hinder the Turks to put a recruit of Troops into the City, with the new designed Commander, *Achmet* Basha, who had the Reputation of being one of the best Officers that the Grand Seigneur had in his Service.

July the thirteenth, This morning the besieged sprung a Mine under the middle Rondel near the Christians Mine, which was already finish'd, which Mine did what the besieged designed, by throwing down part of the Rondel, where they had no breach as yet. There were two hundred Turks ready to fly into the adverb Works as soon as the Mine took, but seeing it had a contrary effect to what they designed, they retired. All things being dispos'd for an assault, thereby to make a lodgment upon the Wall, Count *Starenburg* directed the attack in the manner following. Count *Guydo Starenburg* commanded on the right of the Rondel, Count *Herbstein* the middle of the Curtain, and Count *Auersberg*, all three first Officers, who had each of them two hundred and eighty Souldiers; the Engineers, Granadiers, Fusiliers, Carpenters, and Pioneers, were post'd betwixt two, and the rest, to the number of two thousand, were divided into three bodies of Reserves to support the Assaultants: the Volunteers who had demanded the point, mingled themselves with the first. Betwixt seven and eight a Clock the signal for the Assault was given, by a discharge from all the Batteries, and throw of Bombs and Carcasses which were discharged upon the City and the Retrenchments which the besieged had made behind the breach; and notwithstanding all the resistance of the besieged, the Christians mounted the breach, where the Combat was very rude and obstinate on both sides for three quarters of an hour, with all possible bravery.

The besieged sprung a Mine under the Assaultants first line, which buried Captain *Kalkreuter*, and some Souldiers. But seeing they could not take post for want of Earth, that they could not force the Palizado'd Retrenchment behind the breach, and that the chief Officers were already all hurt or slain, by the continual fire of the besieged; it was thought expedient to make a retreat; five or six leap'd over the Turks Retrenchment, but being ill followed, got off with the rest. The Regiments of *Souches* and *Mansfeld* suffered most in this *Adion*, and that of *Starenburg* was also ill treated. There were more than four hundred kill'd and wounded, but the loss of 100 many brave Officers and Volunteers who lost their Lives there, were particularly deplored: but few that were hurt escap'd, which begot a belief that the Turks had with envenomed Bullets. Amongst the dead were Count *Herbstein*.

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berstein, Count Kuffstein, and another Captain of the same Regiment, the Baron Rolle, three Captains more, and eight Lieutenants and Ensigns. Of Volunteers that were slain there, or died of their Wounds, the Duke of Pazar, a Grandee of Spain, who was one of the first upon the breach, was one. A Son of Prince Roberts, with another English Lord, the Baron of Scheffer, the young Count of Courmoulin, a Conte of Dons, and seven or eight more of Quality. Amongst the wounded, as well Officers as Volunteers, were reckoned Count Guido Starenburg, Count Auerberg, the Prince of Feldens of the House of the Palatinat, Prince Pischioni, two English Lords, the Duke of Valenza, Brother to the Duke of Spain, the Marquis of Commercy, and the Duke of Pazar, the Prince of Commercy, and more than thirty other Persons of mark. The Spaniards and the English distinguished themselves by a noble Emulation, opposing the greatest Fury of the Turks. The English were ill treated, that of twenty of them, all Persons of Quality, there were but six of them that were not slain or wounded. The loss of the besieged was also great, for they had two hundred of their bravest men wounded and killed. The Duke of Lorraine, and Marshal Count Starenburg were present in this Action, giving Orders every where as occasion required. It was believed that the Brandenburgers would have attempted somewhat on their side, but they excused it because their breach was not large enough. On the *Bavarian* side there was a notable breach made in the Rondel and in the Wall that covers the Castle, which the besieged repaired by Night with Gabions, Pallisadoes, and Fagots.

July the fourteenth, The whole Night and Day were employed in inhuming the Dead, and repairing the Approaches, in planting more Cannon upon the Batteries, and in advancing the Mines. Two Galleries were likewise made betwixt the second and third Rondel. The Duke of Lorraine having also sent for three Regiments of Horse from *Alba Regalis* to reinforce General *Mercy*, they passed the Bridge this Morning to go on *Pest* side. The besieged sprung a Mine in the *Bavarian* Attack on the left of the Castle Rondel, which succeeded ill. His Electoral Highness having caused eight Pa. rapes of thick Oak Planks to be made, and shod with Iron, of a new Invention, each capable of securing a hundred armed Men, they were thought proper to be used in Attacks and Assaults. The same day the *Bavarians* discovered and disappointed two Mines of the Enemies.

July 15th, They continued to work in their Lines, and being lodged close to the Wall, the Besieged were heard to work under the Breach. Gonzales the Spanish Engineer being now come, Bombs and Carcasses were thrown into the Town, which did great Execution. Upon the Turks that had passed the *Tibiscus* near *Szegedin*, were still encamped under the Cannon of *Hatman*, he caused two Regiments of Horse more to join *Mercy* to oblige the Enemy to repair the *Tibiscus*.

July 16th, A new Battery was raised in the *Lorain* Attack without the Wall of the lower Town to the right against the great Rondel, which was also battered on the other side to render the Breach larger, and themselves Masters of it. A *Rafian*, with Letters which the Governor of the Place had entrusted him to carry to him of *Alb-Royal*, came and delivered them to the Duke; but they being writ in the *Armenian* Language, and no Interpreter in

the Camp, they were sent to *Vienno* to be deciphered. Some Pleasants got out of the Town reported, that the Janizaries had begun to murmur against the *Baïa*, as designing to hold out to the last extremity, but that he had by the Punishment of the most mutinous, by his Liberality, and the assurance he had given them of speedy relief, reassured them to that degree that they promised to hold out with their Lives. This Evening the Elector of *Bavaria* commanded 150 men, seconded by a greater number to go and attack the Pallizado which was in the Ditch at the foot of the Rondel of the Castle. Lieutenant-General Count *Fountain* was on the right of the Attack, and General Count *Apfremant* at the left. They used three of the above mentioned wooden Parapets for the first time with Success, and they attacked this Post so vigorously, that they carried it with their Swords in their Hands, cutting in pieces all them that defended it, but they told their Lives dearly being the Assaultants lost Count *Fountain* and 35 Souldiers, and Volunteers. Count *Apfremant* received a Contusion in his Head by the stroke of a Mufquet which knock'd off his Steel Cap. The Captains *Gutinsky* and *Faubus* were dangerously hurt, with divers others. This Post gave access to the Rondel.

July 17th, Yesterday the Besieged began to fire from a new Battery of four great Guns, which they had raised upon the inward Wall, but General *Starenburg* having commanded all the Cannon that could bear to shoot that way, they were quickly silenced and disabled. About Noon twenty or thirty Janizaries appeared upon the Breach of the Rondel to the right, as if they had designed a Sally, but these in the Trenches having given them a Volley, they quickly retired. The *Brandenburgers* and *Bavarians* did not continual firing from their Batteries.

July 18th, A new line was advanced to the right, the better to cover the Miners, and be of use in the subsequent Assault. The *Brandenburgers* augmented their great Battery with three pieces of Cannon. Nor were the *Bavarians* idle, their Miners working under the Wall behind the Pallizado Moat, of which they were in possession. The Besieged did not much appear by day, but in the Night time kept continual firing, killing a great many of the Besiegers with their Stones and Granadoes, which they threw into their Works.

July 19, The Cannon was mounted upon the new Battery and the Line was strengthened with two small Forts. Last night the Besieged sprung a Mine behind our Mine, who were worked under the Wall, which endangered our Mine, into which a new entry was to be made to make it serviceable. Some of the Christian Miners were covered with earth, most of which were pulled out again, except *Libert* their Captain, who could not be found. Mr. *Adry*, a Scotch Gentleman, with seven or eight Souldiers were killed in the approaches, besides others wounded. The Duke of *Lorraine*, assisted by the General persons of his Army, held a Council of War this morning, but the result was kept secret. Some Defectors assured the Duke, that the Besieged resolved to make no composition, but to expect the Relief which the Grand *Vifir* would bring them.

July 20. The new Line in the *Lorain* attack was completed. There were three false alarms given to harass the Besieged, by causing some Granadoes to run up the Breach, and throw their Granadoes into the Place, upon which the Turks halting to the defence, they were saluted

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ted with Volleys of Cannon, Bombs, and Carcasses, not without execution. The chief kind of attacks were frequently used to keep the Enemy in continual alarms, and in ignorance of the time of the real Assault. In the mean time the Mines were vigorously carried on, and a certain *German* undertook a new one, which he undertook to finish in two or three days. In the attacks of *Brandenburg* and *Bavaria*, the Miners hoped to be the following Night under the Rondels, continuing to batter the Walls with great fury, and not to shoot flaming Bullets, Bombs, and Carcasses into the City, which produced much disorder. Upon advice that the Turks disposed themselves to attempt to put relief into the Town, the Ditch of the Circumvallation was deepened, and fortified with certain Redoubts, the better to secure the Besiegers, to which purpose 200 *Heyducks* were added to the number of Pioneers.

July 21. The principal working was now at the Mines, which were made in three several places, and would suddenly be ready. Captain *Libert*, not withstanding all the diligence that had been used to dig and remove the earth to seek him, had not been found. He was a *Walloon* by Nation, and was regretted by all the Generals, and such who had skill of his knowledge in conducting of Mines. The Miners were now within hearing of each other. A Battery was also raised for four Mortars, near the three Spanish Pieces which beat upon the Rondel, on the right, and they resolved to approach all the Cannon and Mortars nearer the Breaches, to batter them with more force, that they might invade them with more ease, and ruin the Enemies Defences, which were behind the false Breaches. There were twenty-seven slain and wounded only at the *Lorain* attack; amongst the dead were Major *Bachner*, a *Dane*, and Captain *Lernoux* the 5th of *Starenburg's* Regiment. *Gonzales's* Bomb, as carcasses have been the Success expected, and by report of a Fugitive, one of those Bombs stuck into a House where a hundred Persons of both Sexes were retired, who all miserably perished in the Ruines of it. The *Bavarians* finished their Battery near the Rondel, and began another on the Water side, to canonade the Flanks of the City on that side. At present, being the three Attacks were advanced as far as the Breaches, which were large enough, all things were disposed for a general Assault, two thousand Ladders being got ready for sale and seeming Attacks by scaling the Walls, whilst others mounted the Breaches.

July 22th, There happened nothing at the *Lorain* or *Brandenburg* Attack, the Turks sprung two Mines this Morning, which did nothing but ruin a part of the Curtain, where there was no breach. The new Battery of four Guns upon the brink of the Ditch of the Rondel in the *Bavarian* Attack being finished, the Turks came there at break of day, and gave them a bloody Serenade, for a strong party of them having slipped out by the Bridge on the right, they crept into the Ditch along the Pallisade, and being come to the Battery, before they were discovered, by favour of the Darkness, they began to howl and make terrible cries, calling up three Cannon, and a Mortar, and running part of the Battery. The *Saxons* of the neighbouring Posts ran to the noise, but were disordered. The Regiment of Prince *Lewis of Baden*, which was upon the Reserve, arrived seasonably, and repulsed the Turks with the loss of thirty men, which was but a sorry compensation considering the loss on the other side, where above one hundred were killed and wounded, the most *Saxons* and *Bavarians*. Amongst the slain, Colonel *Lebel*, a

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Saxon was one, besides several Subalternes, and *Gefghin*, Colonel of the Artillery, was dangerously wounded with a Cymitar. The Turks got no great advantage by the Sally, for they began in a very little time to play again, as if they never had been nailed. And the revenge which was returned was sudden and fatal, for a Bomb of the *Bavarians* falling into the Magazine of Powder in the Castle, blew it up with such a terrible destruction and noise, that the whole City did not only tremble with the blow, but also the whole Camp, and, as was afterward reported by some fugitives, more than one thousand persons of all ages were buried in the ruins, the bones being thrown up with the violence of the Powder in such abundance, that they fell like hail into the approaches, that many of the Besiegers were hurt by them.

July 23. The Duke of *Lorain*, his Mines being now all ready, and all things ready for an assault, sent the Count *Libert*, not without interpreter to the Besieged to summon them to surrender. In this interval there was a cessation of Arms on both sides, which was employed in burying the slain. The said Count, after two hours stay, returned into the Camp with a Letter from *Abdi Bassa*, in a Purse of Crimfon Damask, which he delivered the Duke. The answer was fierce and arrogant, implying, that not being necessitated to surrender, he could not be capable of so abject a thought, that he fought for the glory of his Prophets, and the honour of the *Mughlens*; that he and his Garrison were resolved to try the utmost extremity, and to defend the place with their last breath. That the Government had been intrusted to his care by the Grand Seigneur, which he would preserve for him, or lose his life; that when the Duke should come to wrest it from him, he should find him upon the Breach, dispute his entrance, and that he might order the assault when he pleased, he would expect him there without stirring a foot. The Duke having read this brave answer, caused all the Batteries to fire with more fury than formerly, and all the preparatives for a general Assault to be made ready, for which purpose he sent for some thousands of *Hungarian* Foot, who had voluntarily offered to be the first that should mount the Breaches.

So fierce an answer, and so brave a defence, makes it apparent, that the impressions which the Run-aways had at the beginning of the Siege given of *Abdi Bassa's* conduct, were very false, affirming he was defeated by the Souldiery, as being more a Merchant than a Man of War, and the *Seraskier* was in the wrong in designing to remove him, for it is to be presumed that scarce any other would have eluded the efforts of so great an Army so long time. A *Pole* was observed by the Guards in secret conference with two Turks, but upon his return to the Camp was seized upon, visited and examined, and being found to be a Spy, he was immediately hanged. This evening a *Bavarian* Gunner was apprehended, as he was going over to the Enemy.

July 24th, This morning about eight o'clock a great Mine was sprung in the *Lorain* attack, and 300 men were commanded to lodge upon the Breach, together with some hundreds of *Hungarians*, but the Mine had a contrary effect to what was designed, for it ruined and overthrew part of their own Approaches, and filled their Lines with Earth, besides the slaughter of 100 men killed and wounded. The Duke upon this ill success, caused the firings of the Batteries

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to be redoubled to enlarge the Breaches, to render them in a Condition to be mounted without any new Mines. The new Battery which the *Bavarians* rais'd by the Water side would be ready at Night, and that which they had already rais'd upon the brink of the Ditch, had made a great gap in the Wall on the right. By intercepted Letters he was also inform'd, that the Great Vintler highly encouraged the Besieged to defend themselves, assuring them that by the eighth or tenth of *August* he would come to their relief with a formidable Army. General *Caraffa* who commanded the Imperial Troops upon the River *Tibiscus*, sent an Officer to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, with an account of a great Advantage which he had had over the Garrison of *Agria* by the means of two Ambushes which he had laid for the Turks, which luck'd so well, that having drawn six hundred of the Garrison into them, he quite defeated them, killed three hundred upon the Place, with *Osman* Bassa the Commander of *Agria*, and took forty Prisoners, together with the Vice Bassa, who was dangerously wounded.

July 25th, The whole Night was spent in repairing the Works ruin'd by the Mine, which had been sprung with so much disadvantage. The Duke pressed forward the Preparatives for the General Assault with all possible Vigour, having ordered the making of Places of Arms, or Parades, as were necessary, within the Lines and Approaches. Betwixt four and five the Besieged put fire to a Mine on the right of the Rondel, in pursuance whereof they sallied with two hundred Men, but were repulsed by the Guard that were in readiness with the loss of fourteen men. A little after, they sallied again in greater numbers to the left, where the *Brandenburgers* were, who likewise repulsed them. They returned, yet the third time with more Troops, and put the *Brandenburgers* Guards into disorder, which obliged the Duke of *Lorraine* to order the Reserve which was posted at the Wall of the lower Town to advance, which General *Souches*, who commanded the Trenches, had divided into three parts, whereof one was placed to the left on the Water side, another in the Approaches, and the third was commanded to keep by the Mosque. The Duke moreover caused the Battalions of *Mansfelt*, *Salz*, *Souches*, and *Lorraine*, to advance to the right. The Skirmishing lasted a good time, the Turks retiring often, and as soon returning with great fury and out-cries. The *Hayducks* after the first discharge did also charge the Turks, but gave way, occasioning much confusion amongst them upon the left of the Mosque, from whence the Besieged gave brisk fire with their Cannon, though without any great harm, so that facing they could profit nothing by a longer stay, they retired into the Town. Count *Starenberg*, who had signified himself, luck'd better than his Adjutant, who had both his Legs shot off. The Battalions of *Souches* and *Mansfelt* were ill treated, and had most dead. The Baron of *Althi* was hurt in the Foot, and the Baron of *Hohenworth* slain, and several subaltern Officers killed and hurt, besides above a hundred private Soldiers. But the loss on the Enemies side was much greater, as was reported by a Dutch Boy who run out of Town, where he had been since the Siege of *Pienna*, having been sold by a *Tartar* to a Citizen of *Buda*. This Boy said further, that the Turks made great Retrenchments within the Place, and that the Garrison consisted still of at least five thousand fighting men.

July 26th, Never was more Diligence used

since the Siege began in carrying on the Lines and Approaches, than last Night, and all this Day to make the Places of Arms, which are finished, and at present every thing is disposed for the general Assault, and putting themselves upon the Breaches, the Rondels, and the Walls, and consequently to render themselves Masters of this important Place, which had cost the Christians so much Blood. The Besieged made a little rally on the *Bavarian* Attack, but having stop'd the first discharge, were forced to retreat as fast as they came.

July 27th, Every thing being disposed for the general Assault, and the Troops that were to be employed in it at their Rendezvous in all the three Attacks, it was resolv'd that the Onset should be given at five a Clock in the Evening, to which end the Duke had distributed his Orders to all the Officers high and low, how they were to act. The Faggots, Gabions, Spades, Mattocks, Hatchets, and Sacks with Earth, were there in great abundance, as well to break the Enemies Retrenchments, as to cover the Assaults when they should be Masters of the Breaches. The signal was given from *Pest* by some Cannon shot, and the Assault was carried on in manner following. Forty Grenadiers under the command of a Captain, one Lieutenant, and one Sergeant, were at the head of the Rondel to the right hand, they were followed by fifty Fusiliers and Soldiers, with Hatchets, commanded also by a Captain-Lieutenant, and a Sergeant, with a hundred men carrying Spades and Mattocks, supported by two Captains, two Lieutenants, two Sergeants, and two hundred Musketeers, all under the Conduct of the Prince of *Newburg*, Great Master of the *Tzoutonic* Order, who had the Direction of this Attack. That of the middle toward the Curtain was directed by Lieutenant General *Souches*; there were fifty Grenadiers under a Captain, Lieutenant and Sergeant, a hundred Fusiliers, two hundred men with Hatchets, and a second two hundred Musketeers, divided into two squadrons, which were followed with a hundred and fifty more, with Shovels and Mattocks: The Attack on the left of the little Rondel was ordered by the *Brandenburgers* after the same manner. Behind the Sacks filled with Earth, Wool, and the like, in the second line were posted a party of choice Harquebussiers, who were not to stir thence, but fire continually upon the Turks, who flood there themselves in the Breaches. The *Hayducks*, commanded by the Lieutenant Governor of *Rath*, were posted on the Water side, where a great part of the Wall had been thrown down by the fire of the Magazine already mentioned; they were only to make a false Attack, being seconded by a Major with some select Companies. The chief Officers were dispersed into several Posts to execute the functions of their Employments; and thus *Nigrelli*, General of Battalion, Colonel *Keth*, Lieutenant Colonel *Rederer*, and the Major of *Starenberg* assisted the grand Master of the *Tzoutonic* Order. General *Souches* had for Assaults *Diependael*, Count *Ostingen*, Lieutenant Colonel *Jorger*, and the Major of *Croyp's* Regiment. There were above 1200 men of reserves in the covered way, commanded by General *Thungen* under twelve Captains, twelve Lieutenants, and other subaltern Officers, with all the other Lieutenant Colonels and Majors, to succeed in the place of those that should be slain or wounded. The 1200 Musketeers were to advance in small parties in the Lines as the other gained ground; the rest of the Foot were at their Arms ready to engage,

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and all the Generals in the Trenches. In this order the Soldiers full of Hopes and Courage went to the Assault, and mounted the Breaches. They found great Opposition, particularly at the great Rondel where the Breach was high, and the Defendants very numerous and resolute. The Christians were beat back two or three times, but returning still to the Assault, they length took possession of the breach, and posted themselves in it. The *Brandenburgers* took the Wall of the little Rondel. The Combat lasted from five till nine a Clock with great effusion of Blood, not so much by the Turks Arms as their Mines, and Powder which they had strewed in great quantities in several places, which they successively fired as they were forced from their Posts. There could be nothing more lamentable than to see two or three hundred men at once suffocated by force of the Mines, which were most killed, or grievously wounded. And yet the Besieged could not terrify the Christians, nor hinder them by their obstinate resistance to lodge upon the Rondels and the Curtain. The *Hayducks* apprehending the fire, failed in their taste alarming on the Water side. The Duke and General *Starenberg* were near the Great Master with their Swords in their Hands, encouraging the Officers and Soldiers to do well, and the Prince of *Croy* was in the middle near the Curtain, where he was hurt. The Night being come put an end to the fight, and it was spent in securing their Lodgments with two Lines of Communication from the Approaches to the possessed Rondels, and the Miners were fastned to the inner Wall or Retrenchment, where the Turks fortified themselves. This Assault was one of the bloodiest, the most hardy, and best disposed that ever was seen, whether we consider the bravery and intrepidity of the Assaults, or the obstinate Valour of the Defendants. The number of the slain, amongst whom was Adjutant General *Astein*, was not very great, but that of the wounded very surprising, of which Catalogue were the Prince of *Croy*, the Prince of *Commercy*, General *Diependael*, General *Thungen*, the Baron of *Althi*, the Major of *Starenberg*, Lieutenant Colonel *Rederer*, Major *Pink*, Count *Schick*, Baron *Gera*, and many other Captains and subaltern Officers. On the *Brandenburg* side, Count *Dona*, Colonel of Foot was slain, Major *Murwitz*, and the Prince of *Carland* grievously wounded, with very many others.

At the *Bavarian* Attack the Elector had ordered the Assault in this manner. The Palisades upon the Breach having been burnt the day before by forty choice Soldiers, the Elector commanded a Lieutenant with 20 Fusiliers, a Sergeant, six Volunteers, and ten Grenadiers, and a Corporal, with six Carpenters to cut the Palisades, an 120 Musketeers with their Officers were ordered to post themselves at the Enemies Palisade, and to shoot without ceasing to favor the Pioneers to make the Lodgment upon the Rondel, amongst which there were twenty five with Spades and Pickaxes and 75 with Hatchets commanded by a Captain, and seconded by a Lieutenant-Colonel, a Major and a Captain, with fifty men armed with half Pikes, Halberds, and Partizans, by a Lieutenant with thirty Grenadiers, and by 200 Musketeers under two Captains and two Lieutenants. Things being thus disposed as well on the right as the left, the two Neighbouring Redoubts were furnished each with thirty Harquebussiers, and three Battalions of *Imperialists*, *Bavarians* and *Saxons*, were to second the Assaults. The Gunners had order to fire from all the Batteries, and to throw Bombs and Carcasses with

out ceasing into the Castle, and betwixt the two Walls on the Water side, as also to point their Cannon against the high Walls and Windows of the Castle. All things being thus ordered, and the signal given from *Pest*, they advanced towards the Breach, however difficult to mount on the right and left of the Rondel, as also the Curtain, and that with so much Vigour, that they became Masters of the Post, driving out the Besieged for all their incessant firing, and a shower of Stones which they threw from their Castle Windows. They also took the *Svinger*, which is a great Place in form of a retreat betwixt the Walls and the Houses, but this Place being commanded by the said Walls, whence the Turks annoyed the Aggressors with Granadoes, Stones, and Bombs which they rolled down; the Elector caused those that were there to retreat, being content to secure the Lodgments upon the Rondel, and the Wall of the Castle by a Line of Communication from the Gate of the Bridge to that of the *Svinger*, so that the Bridge remained in their Power, which was further secured by traverse Lines, and two Redoubts. The Elector eminently appeared in all this Action, and the Generals signified their Courage, as did also the Volunteers, Officers and Soldiers, who fought with all the bravery that was to be expected from men of Courage. Nor were the Turks less commendable for their Constancy and Fidelity, doing every thing that oppressed Valour could be capable of. They who defended the Rondel and the *Svinger* were for the most part killed and hurt. There were eight pieces of Cannon found there, and two Mortars turned now against the Besieged second Wall and Retrenchments. In this Assault of the *Bavarians* there were slain two Majors, two Captains, four Lieutenants, one Ensign, but the wounded were many; one Colonel, two Lieutenant-Colonels, two Majors, 25 Captains, 16 Lieutenants, thirteen Ensigns. The Generals *Lovergne*, *Kummel*, and *Alphremont* were of the number of the wounded, as also the Duke of *Escadana*, a Grandee of *Spain*, and some other Volunteers of Quality, making up with the Officers and Soldiers the number of 117 slain, and 972 wounded. Of the Troops of *Saxony*, a Lieutenant-Colonel, and some under Officers were killed; one Lieutenant-Colonel, two Majors, two Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, and three Ensigns were hurt; of the Soldiers there were twenty slain, and a hundred ninety nine wounded; so that the number of the slain and wounded in this Assault amounted to above three thousand men.

July 28, In the three Attacks they were only employed in burying the dead, and securing their Lodgments upon the Breaches. The Duke of *Lorraine* did also apply the Miner to the second Wall, which was done in three several Places, as did also they of *Bavaria* and *Brandenburg*.

July 29, The three Mines in the second Wall were sprung with that Success that they made a new Breach there, and filled part of the Ditch with the Ruins. The *Bavarians* advanced to the right of the Rondel, and seized two Mortars there, which they turned against the Besieged. The great Cannon was advanced, and they pretended to batter the City with an 100 pieces of Ordnance, and forty Mortars, if the Turks continued in their Obstancy. The Besieged however made several Cuts and Retrenchments behind the second Wall. The Duke seeing that well nigh all the Generals of the Infantry were hurt and in no Condition to act, order'd for the future that the Generals of the Horse should serve in the Approaches, to wit, the Count of *Sirven*, and the Count of *Ladron*, and so the first mounted the

Guard

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1686. Guard that Night with General *Souches*, and was to be relieved on the morrow by the grand Master of the Teutonic Order, and the Count de *Lodron*. A Battery of three Demy-Cannon, and another of four were furnished. Some *Regiments* came out of the place, reported, that the besieged were resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, but that some began to waver, saying the further effusion of blood ought to be prevented. A Council of War was held thereupon, and the result was, that the Duke should send a second Summons to the Commander of the place, to surrender whilst it was time, and that he might do it upon honourable conditions, which if neglected he would not be answerable for the blood that should be spilt, if they could save the last extremity, being in that case they should spare neither Sex nor Age. *Abdi Bassa* civilly received his Highness's Letters, and demanded a Day to consult with the other Officers of his Garrison, which was granted him, with a cessation of Arms. The Defectors, who escaped in great numbers, affirm'd that the Besieged lost in the last Assault, in the *Bavarian* attack, only 300 slain, and 700 hurt. They had that Night not more than 4000 Turkish Horse were seen within four Leagues of the Camp, to enquire into the state of the place, but fearing a surprize they presently retired.

Jul. 31. At nine in the Morning the Count of *Launburg*, Adjutant General, was commanded by the Duke of *Lorraine* to go with an Interpreter, and receive the Besieged's answer, which was to this purpose, *That he neither could nor would so easily surrender the City as being the Key of the Ottoman Empire; but if they would make a general peace, they would give another equivalent.* After noon the Besieged demanded a suspension of Arms at the *Bavarian* attack, and sent two *Ages* in Hoftage to the Elector, who sent the Baron of *Creuz*, Lieutenant Colonel of *Baden's* Regiment with an Interpreter. The Turks received them with great ceremony, and all imaginable civilities. He was not immediately conducted before the Duke of *Bassa*, but to another House, the fires as he passed along were lined with Soldiers in very good order, though no great number. Being entered into the House, he was presented with Rice, a roasted Pullet, little Pies, Coffee and Wine. The *Bassa* excused himself, *That he could not yet speak with him, being he consulted the other chief Officers upon the propositions he was to make to him.* In this interval of time many Turkish Officers came to salute the Baron: half an hour after the *Bassa* sent him word, *That he would take it for a favour if he would come over to him.* Which he immediately did, accompanied with a great number of Turks, being taken by the arms by the two chiefs of them, according to the custom of the *Ottomans*, who led him thus before the *Bassa*, who was in a Lodge of Wood over-against his House, very well furnished and hung with rich Tapestries. Having caused the Baron to sit down, he used this discourse to him, *That he was very to find himself in a place of that importance, that had been so often besieged without success, and was now so long abandoned without relief.* On the contrary, that he found himself pressed by the Emperor's Son-in-law and the grand *Vizier*, that he wished he were able to give his resolution concerning the surrender, but that being an affair of the last importance, and as much as his life was worth, it was impossible for him to resolve upon a surrender. Adding however, *That he would demand any other place in Hungary, he would cause it immediately to be evacuated for them.* The Baron replied, *That he had no Commission to discourse of conditions, but only to know from the *Bassa* himself whether he would surrender or no.* That he might please to consider that the Christians were already Masters of the Walls of the City,

that it would be too late to capitulate, if he stayed till another assault, that it would not be in the power of the Generals to refrain the fury of the Soldiers, or prevent this Siege from being as Tragical as that of *Belgrade*. At this discourse the *Bassa* could lift up his shoulders, but the Baron being upon the point to take his leave, he desired him to enter with him into his Cabiner, where calling the *Masfi* and three other Turks of the first rank, he reintroduced to him again, *That he could not upon any consideration do so great a prejudice to the Grand Seigneur, as to surrender a place upon which depended two hundred Leagues of Country, and which is the Key of Turkey, but offered again any Town in Hungary with its Appurtenances and Dependencies.* Yet declaring finally, *That if they would give him assurances of a general peace with the Porte, he would yet refuse to surrender Buda.* The Baron having no Orders to treat, took leave of the *Bassa*, telling him he would make report to the Elector and Duke of *Lorraine*, of the Declaration he had communicated to him, but that he could not assure him that things would be so concluded. The *Bassa* desired this Declaration might be published in Writing through the Camp, and invited him to stay all Night in the City: but the Baron excused the latter, desiring to be re-conducted to the place from whence he came, which was done with great ceremony, he being accompanied with many Turkish Officers to the Gate. Nor the Baron, nor his Interpreter could sufficiently demonstrate the ruins occasioned in the City by the Bombs and Carcasses which had beaten down the greatest part of the Buildings. The Cessation which had been observed during this Parley was broke towards Evening, the Cannon beginning to fire with more fury than formerly. The Besieged sprang a Counter-mine in the *Lorraine* attack, to ruin the Christians Mine made under their Battery, opposite to the great Rondel, but without success. A while after, two of the Besiegers Mines, which were designed to fill in the Ditch, were fired with execution. Count *Sarenburg* looking betwixt two Gabions was hurt with a Musket-shot, but without danger, 20 or 30 more were hurt and killed in this and the *Brandenburg* attack.

Aug. 1. A Battery was finished in the *Lorraine* attack upon the Rondel, upon which two pieces of Cannon were planted. A Mine was sprung in the Morning near this Rondel, and though it succeeded well, there was no other attempt made, because the Moat was not sufficiently filled, and so it was resolved to fill it with Faggots, with Sacks of Earth, and the like Materials, which were carried in abundance upon the place. The Workmen perceived to great a sink in this Mine, that they could scarce endure it, two of them, who were suffocated with it, being carried out of it. About Noon, intelligence came that 2000 *Hicks* were posted at *Saxeritten* thirteen Leagues from *Buda*, and that the grand *Vizier* had begun to pass the Bridge of *Elspek* with the Army that he had formed out of the Garrisons of *Hungary*, and the Neighbouring places, and with other Troops which he had got together, amongst which there were 7000 men drawn out of *Bolonia*. It was further assured that the defection amongst the Turks was very great, and that of 3000 Janizaries, with the grand *Vizier* had brought from the middle of Turkey, he had deserted upon the march: and yet he pretended his Army consisted of 50000 Commoners, resolving to attempt the relief of *Buda*. General *Dime-wald* returned this afternoon to the Camp, with the Regiments of Horse with which he had been on the side of the Bridge of *Elspek* to inform himself

1686. himself of the march of the Enemy. The Generals *Cardagi* and *Heusler* arrived also from *Zalm* in two days, with 5000 Horse and some *Hungarians*.

All things were disposed for to assault the second Wall. The *Bavarians* had thrown down a great part of the Wall with the Cannon, and a Mine, rendering themselves Masters of the second *Zemmer*, where they at the same time feigned upon the Enemies Cannon and Mortars, which they turned against the City.

Aug. 2d. They continued to fill the Ditch: every thing was ready for the assault, which was deferred, because of the continual rains. Upon the reiterated news brought in by Scouts of the grand *Vizier* having passed the Bridge at *Elspek*, all necessary preparations were made to receive him well, in case he attempted to relieve the Town.

Aug. 3. A Run-away, who pretended to be a Domestic of one of the most considerable Officers in the Town, declared, that the Besieged had prepared a Mine, and begun a second in the *Brandenburg* attack: That they expected with great impatience their Succours, and that of all those which the *Bassa* had sent out, not one had returned, which rendered him very uneasy and chagrin, and that the number of servicable Soldiers exceeded not 2000 besides the Inhabitants. The Besiegers could not finish their great Mine because of a Rock they met. Some small Banks and Parapets were made upon the Breach to secure the Soldiers firing during the assault, which was ordered in the manner following. At noon the Trenches were relieved, and those that were off were appointed for reserves. The first attack was to the right of the Rondel. Fifty Granadeers with a Captain, and Lieutenant, and a Sergeant followed by 20 men preceded, these were followed by 50 Fusiliers Officer'd as the first, and 50 men which followed them with Hatchets. The same method was held by the *Brandenburgers* on the left, and the *Hungarians* fell upon the Curtain in the middle, preceded by 30 Germans, and followed by 60 with their necessary Officers. The assault began betwixt 5 and 6 o'clock in presence of all the Generals, the Great Master of the Teutonic Order commanding the Trenches. The design, by reason the Mine had not the desired effect, was but feigned, but the Duke of *Lorraine* being advertised by an Adjutant, that the Elector of *Bavaria* had already effectively began the assault, did also command the false attack to be converted into a real one. The Fight lasted two hours, whereof were employed in the assault, who behaved themselves well, as the *Hungarians* also did; but the Breach being of difficult ascent, the Besieged very well covered with Palliados, and defending themselves like desperate men, the Duke would not risk more of his people, contenting himself to make a Lodgment at the right of the angular Rondel, where 60 men immediately intrenched themselves. There were not many killed by the Besieged's fire, but about 200 wounded by Stones and Arrows, which were shot in such abundance that it resembled a shower of hail. Count *Leopold* of *Herbsteyn*, a Lieutenant Colonel, Major *Bischoffhausen*, &c. were of the number of the hurt. The *Bavarians* were not exempt from the same Artillery of Arrows and Stones, besides Bombs which were rolled upon planks out of the windows of the Castle. The Prince of *Saxony* was hurt in the hand with an arrow, together with 3 Captains, some subaltern Officers, 7 or 8 Volunteers, and 90 Soldiers as well killed as wounded. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* going in

1686. the morning to view the approaches, was shot with a Musket-bullet which hurt his Coat, and made a great contusion upon his Breast, but his Arms being of proof saved his life.

Aug. 4. The firing from the Batteries was redoubled from the three Attacks to enlarge the breaches and ruin the Defences of the Besieged. The Line of Circumvallation was strengthened, being furnished with many Redoubts and Forts to flank the whole work. All the heights and eminences about the place were intrenched and possessed by the Besiegers. The *Hehydicks* took their Post along the inner Wall of the lower Town, and so the attacks were continued with the same vigour as before. The *Bavarians* raised a Battery of nine Guns of 6 ball upon the Rondel of the Castle, wherewith they beat the *Rondel* and widened the Breach, but the Earth being very narrow and freight, so that but few could pass a breast, the Besieged might the better dispute the access of the Assaults.

The Scouts brought advice that the grand *Vizier* had effectively passed the Bridge of *Elspek*, and that he had 20000 men with him, which with the Troops by *Alba Regalis* amounted to 40 or 50000, most old Soldiers, taken out of their Garrisons and Fortresses, into whose places they had put their new Levies. There came also advice, that the *Bassa* of *Agria*, having assembled some thousands of Turks out of the Garrisons of upper *Hungary*, was advanced near *Hatwan*, where he had commanded a great many Chares out of the Neighbourhood, to carry Pontons to the *Danube* side, by means whereof he pretended to put relief into the Town, at the same time that the grand *Vizier* should attack the Lines on the other side. This advertisement obliged the Christian Generals to use such necessary precautions which might secure them on *Pest* side.

Aug. 5. In the *Lorraine* attack the approaches were advanced from the great Rondel towards the second Wall, where they had posted themselves in the assault of the 3d instant. The Mines were buried at the right of the Breach, the better to attack the Enemy in flank, as also under the Curtain, to blow up the Besieged's Retrenchments behind the Breach. A Gallery was begun on the right of the Battery, to go into the inward Ditch, and the better to assure the attack the Planks were palliaded. The Besieged spent the whole Night in throwing of Bombs, Granado's, and Stones, to incommode the contrary Workmen, but without much harm, save the killing of 3 *Hehydicks*, and wounding 5 or 6 other Soldiers. This afternoon one of their Bombs falling into a Barrel of Powder upon the Besiegers Battery, killed five, and hurt three.

Aug. 6. A new Battery of two Demy-Cannon was raised in the *Lorraine* Attack behind the great Rondel, by means whereof the Defence of the little Rondel was ruined, which the Besieged had hitherto used with great advantage. The Christians continued to fill the inward Moat with Faggots, Tuns, Sacks with earth, and the like, and made a Redoubt behind the great battery to secure the Workmen. The *Brandenburgers* and *Bavarians* continued their attacks with vigour, nothing else considerable intervening.

Aug. 7. Last Night several false alarms were given, as if the Turks were come to attempt forcing the place. The Christians continued to deepen the Ditch about the planks, and to fortify their Posts to make the Enemy despair of forcing their Camp. The Mines were also carried on with great industry, and would in 3 or 4 days be ready for execution. The *Hehydicks* undertook to fill the Ditch of the second Wall in 48 hours

1686. hours time, upon the assurance of a recompence of 4000 livers, which was promised them by the Generals. The breach which was made in the second Wall was very spacious, and as soon as the Mines were finished, they will assault the second wall. They found much difficulty in the *Bavarian* attack to render themselves masters of the Castles, by reason of the various Walls and Defences which were to be forced, and of the obstinacy of the Defendants. This obliged the Duke to redouble the fire of his Cannon to throw down these Walls, and in effect they did little else, besides beating the Castle from their several batteries, which plaid upon the Flanks and Curtains with so much fury that they hop'd in a few days to see them quite down. Thirty *Hussars* meeting with as many of the *Turks*, killed one of them, and took 4 Prisoners, which they brought with them to the Camp. Amongst these was an *Agas*, who four years since was ransomed from the *Rash*, where he had been Prisoner for 8000 Crowns. These reported that the 6th instant the *Seraskier* should arrive at *All-Royal* with 20000 Horse, and was to be followed by the *Grand Visier*, who assembled his Army about *Ejlek*, which was not to be inferior in number to that which was last year employed at the Siege of *Gran*. They added, that the *Seraskier* had express Orders not to hazard a battle with the *Christians*, for fear of endangering the City and Army at once, but to endeavour to put Supplies of Troops in the besieged Town one way or other, or to perish in the attempt.

Aug. 8. Four thousand *Turkish* and *Tartarian* Horse appeared upon a Hill near the *Bavarian* quarter, and retired after some light Skirmishes with Count *Bubian's* *Hussars*, reinforced by some commanded Men and Volunteers. The Prisoners taken there deplored, that the *Seraskier* was camped under the Cannon of *Alba-Regalis* with 20000 Combatants, and that the *Grand Visier* with the *Grand Army* was expected there; but the Duke, by the report of his Spies and Scouts knew that the *Grand Visier* was uncertain whether he ought to proceed with all the Army, or continue about the bridge of *Ejlek*, with a great part of his Forces, capable to oppose the *Turks*, which might ruin the said bridge, if he abandoned it, and to cut off his retreat. The mines in the *Lorain* attack were ready in two days. The fortification of the Camp was continued, as also the perpetual discharge of the Cannon and Mortars against the besieged.

Aug. 9. Some thousands of *Turks* posted themselves not far from the Camp, in an advantageous place, as if they designed to prepare themselves there for some attempt, but the Generals had taken such good measures, they apprehended nothing, and the Soldiers seemed full of courage. All the reinforcements about the Camp were near finished, but being the *Turks* did frequently alarm them, the Duke ordered, that all the Foot that were not in the Approaches, should be placed in the Lines, and particularly in the Spurs. This morning a Bomb from the Town falling unhappily into a reserve of *Granado's*, fired them, killing 3, and wounding 13. This evening some *Turks* did again appear upon an eminence to the right behind the *Bavarian* Camp, towards which two Squadrons of them did move in good order, to brave the Besiegers, but some Volunteers riding out to pick with them, they retired with the loss only of one man slain.

Aug. 10. The Imperials continued the finishing of their Mine, the two others of the two other Attacks being ready. The Duke caused the *Hungarian* Foot to be posted along the Wall of the

lower Town, from the Water Rondel to the very quarters of the *Germans*, where they intrenched themselves with a Ditch and a good Parapet to secure them against surprisals; and as the *Danube* is deep there, they sunk two Barks full of stones, and made several Spurs of *Rafalido's* along the brink of the River to take away all hopes of the *Turks* relieving any of the Town that way. This morning the *Infidels* gave another alarm on the *Bavarian* quarters, whereupon all the Cavalry was commanded to *Horle*, but the Enemy retired at the same time. It seems that their design was to make a passage that way, but the *Bavarians* were sufficiently intrenched to hinder them. The Prince of *Gray* being recovered of his wounds, did realume the exercise of his charge in the approaches. Four *Hussars* very well mounted, advancing against some *Turkish* Horse of the place, made as if they would charge them, but being come up with them they dismounted them and took hands together, which being observed by the Musketeers of a neighbouring Redoubt, they fell out and gave fire upon the *Hussars*, who ran away, hurt one, which they took as also another of them, the third got away, and the fourth entered into the City. The Prisoners were examined, who said, they did nothing but enquire of the *Turks*, if they would not yet surrender the place, but they were to be interrogated more strictly.

Aug. 11. Some *Turkish* Troops did again find themselves upon the Mountains on the *Bavarian* side towards the way of *All-Royal*. The precise number of the *Turks* is not yet known, some Spies certify that there are 40000 *Ottomans*, and 20000 *Tartars*. In the mean time every necessary prevention is put in practice to receive them, if they will attempt to force the Camp. Preparations are made for a vigorous assault upon the second wall, if the Mines will answer expectation.

Aug. 12. All things being ready for the assault, the three Mines on the *Lorain* attack were fired, which had no other success than the turning up of a few Palisades, the Mines not having pierced deep enough under the Wall of the second Rampart, which made it evident that they did not well understand their trade, although they had been sent for from all quarters, to have good ones, for they were the Mines that contributed the most to the reducing of this important place. The assault that was designed if the Mines had taken, was deferred, and new ones were gone in hand with, in hopes of more favourable success. In the skirmishes of this day, there was an Officer of the *Turks* killed, who doubtless had engaged himself to enter into the place, being they found Letters about him to the *Bassa* of *Buda*, marking the order the *Turks* were to observe to relieve the besieged; by which it appeared, that the *Grand Visier's* design was to force a quarter, and to put in a Supply into the place without hazarding a battle; and that 8000 *Tartars* should hara the Country as far as *Gran*, to cut off provisions from the Besiegers, and infect them with continual courtesies. Upon this advice the Duke called a Council of War, where it was resolved, to leave part of the Army in guard against the Town, and to march with the rest of the Imperial and Auxiliary Forces against the Enemy, who according to the said Letters were above 60000 strong, although they had it from good hands, that they did not exceed 40000 Combatants.

Aug. 13. The whole Army marched out of the Lines the night past, except 20000 left there for the Guard of the Works, and to hinder the Enemy from putting Supplies into the place. Oats and Forage were distributed for three days for the Horse, and the Volunteers were formed into a fine

1686. fine Body under good Officers. The Duke of *Lorain* posted himself out of the Camp in sight of the Enemy, 4000 *Hussars* and *Hugulins* having the Avant-guard. This night the Spies and some Deserters advised them, that the following night they would be attacked in Battle array upon break of day, which obliged the *Christians* to dispose of all things for the Battle.

Aug. 14. The *Turks* before Sun-rising formed a Body of more than 8000 *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, the most brave and most resolute of the Army, who being divided into divers Troops, marched from 6 in the Morning till 8 a clock, curvetting behind the Mountains on the side of *Alba-Regalis*, and entered into a Plain the better to approach the Camp by the favour of a Valley. The Duke of *Lorain* having observed the Enemies countenance, commanded Count *Dunewald*, General of the Horse, to take possession of the ground to the left with nine Imperial Regiments, Cuirassiers, Dragons, and Croats, to which he added some Companies of *Hussars*; and General *Hessler* had order to post himself with his Detachment upon the height on the right. The *Hussars* were with General *Dunewald's* charge d'art, and they fought with all imaginable bravery, they were notwithstanding forced to give way, but seeing themselves supported by the *Germans*, they took heart and returned to the Charge again. The *Turks* seeing they had routed the *Hussars*, thought to have had the others as good cheaps upon these hopes, they advanced with great fury and horrible cries against the *Christians*, who stood them without moving. *Hessler*, who had placed himself upon the height mentioned, charged them smartly, so that the fight was rude and bloody, and however the *Turks* law themselves charged in their Flanks and Front, they did not desist to make use of several efforts to break through the Enemy, and have room to execute their design, but all was in vain, being every time repulsed, until they were at length broke and forced to fly. The execution was bloody. The *Janizaries* being abandoned by the *Spahis*, some of them fled by their Enemies, throwing away their Arms, fought and saved themselves by flight, but were most of them slain. The *Turks* had above 3000 dead, most of them *Janizaries*, all chosen men, who had undertaken to force a quarter, and enter into the City, or perish. The *Grand Visier* had promised 20 Ducats to every one that should enter into the City, whereof he gave each an undertaking in hand: every one carried besides his ordinary arms 3 Hand-*Granado's*, a Markot and Spade, to break the Retrenchments and fill the Ditches. The Prisoners were 500, there being also taken 30 Ensigns and Standards, 11 Pieces of Cannon, and 10 Waggon loads with Ammunition. This great action cost the *Christians* but little, the slain not exceeding 60, and the wounded but 33. After this fight the *Turks* made several movements, and drew up in a Plain which lookt towards the *Bavarian* quarter, and keeping their Wings upon heights, they made men as if they would come to a decisive battle, or relieve the Place with all their Forces. Hereupon a Council of War was called, where it was resolved to follow the Enemy, which was done by the Elektor of *Bavaria* in the head of his Army, but the *Turks* apprehending an Engagement, retired. The Generals *Dunewald* and *Hessler* pursued them beyond the Mountains, and the *Hussars* had another skirmish with a great Party of *Turks* which stayed behind to amuse the *Christians*, and favour the retreat of their Army. The booty the *Christians* got was considerable, for they had all the spoil of the Enemy, whereof there was not one that had not the 5 Ducats which the *Grand Visier* had given him besides his own moneys. The Besieged thinking they were already relieved, made great fire upon them that kept the Approaches, and supposed they might ruin some of the Enemies works, but in vain, for they were so briskly received, that they lost the desire of risking further. They however made a very

1686. furious rally on the *Bavarian* attack, which was fatal to them, for they were not only repelled by the Regiments of *Baden* and *Wuerttemberg*, but the retreat being cut off, there was great slaughter made of them. The *Turks* being retired without coming to a decisive battle, the Army returned into their Lines, and immediately dispatched young Count *Palfi* to the Emperor with the news of this great advantage, and to lay 28 Colours and Standards at his feet, that were taken in the late engagement. The relief for some were taken in the pursuit, were planted upon the great Rondel, to make the Besieged comprehend the defeat of those Succours that they had expected with so much impatience.

Aug. 15. The *Germans* and *Hussars* scouting abroad brought home Prisoners in, who all agreed in this, that the *Grand Visier* notwithstanding this check, would not desist making other attempts to put relief into the Town, tho' with the hazard of his whole Army. And in effect, however he was retired, he did not cease to alarm the Camp every night. This Afternoon a signal was made to the Besieged for a Parley, to inform them by the *Janizaries* Prisoners of the rout of their Succours; but whether they perceived this within or not, they answered by the fire of their great and small shot.

Aug. 16. The works of the three Attacks were pursued with vigour, and in the Morning the Besieged's Palisades and Defences of Wood upon the Breach were fired in the *Lorain* attack, and partly consumed by the Flames, notwithstanding all the diligence of the *Turks* to extinguish them. In this Action they threw a prodigious quantity of Stones, *Granado's*, Sacks with Powder, and other combustible matters upon the Assaults, inasmuch that four of them who fired them were burnt, twelve Crowns a man being given to each of those who engaged themselves in this Service as a recompence, and yet they could not alter their mind in the Night to besiege having taken the way for an Assault, the Besieged having taken the way to the Night to the other Palisades and repair their Defences. In the *Bavarian* Attack, the Castle and the great Tower were incessantly beaten, which was as it were overturned by the force of the Cannon.

Aug. 17. All things were ready for the Assault in the *Lorain* Attack, but the Besieged, having repaired their Defences, and planted double rows of Palisades behind those that were burnt yesterday, they were obliged to defer it. The Prisoners that the *Hussars* brought to the Camp reported, that the *Grand Visier* was extremely in choler against the Commander of the *Spahis*, for not having done his duty in the fight on the 14th instant, by abandoning the *Janizaries*, and added, that of the ten thousand men which were appointed for that enterprise, but very few returned to the Camp.

Aug. 18. The two great Mines in the *Lorain* Attack were fired, but neither with that Success that the Miners had promised, which extremely retarded the Reduction of this important Place. The Duke seeing they advanced but little by Mining, resolved on Sapping, for which end, preparation of Faggots and Sacks of Earth were made to fill the Ditch, and certain Engines were devised to approach the Enemies with less peril, and drive them from their Post. A new Battery was raised on the right to beat down the Besiegeds flank of Palisades on the Breach, and to do it more effectually they were to shoot from the Battery on the Curtain with chained Bullets. A fugitive from the *Turkish* Army reported amongst other things, that the *Grand Visier* was encamped at present at *Ejzichin*, 4 Leagues from the City, but that he would not desist from attempting the relief of the Place, being only removed to that distance for want of Forrage. The *Bavarians* seized a Country Fellow who had swum the *Danube*, having Letters from the Governor to the *Grand Visier* and the *Agas* of the *Janizaries*, in which he conjures them by the

1686 *Lan of Mahomet to succour him, adding he would expell the left extremity.*

Aug. 19. The Besieged defending themselves with obstinate Valour, spent this whole day in thundering by their Artillery upon the new *Lorain Battery*, which had been raised to beat upon the flanks of the *Palizados*, and whereon they had mounted 4 great Guns, which they so routed that it was rendered useless for the present. The Detachments from the Grand Viceroy's Army continued to alarm the Christians Camp every Night, who to prevent Surprizes, were continually upon their Guard. General *Scherfberg* was expected in few days with those Troops he commanded in *Transilvania*. As soon as this body was arriv'd, they pretended to go and attack the Grand Viceroy in his Camp, who by report of Prisoners and Run-aways, did not exceed 4000 men, whereof half were new raw Fellows without Discipline or Order. Strong parties were every day sent out to observe the Enemies Countenance, who often flock with theirs, but always with Advantage.

Aug. 20. The Grand Viceroy resolved to make another attempt to introduce Supplies into *Buda*, would do it with fewer Troops than before, the better to pass undiscovered, and be able to approach the Christian Camp. He chose for this purpose the bravest Officers in his Army, who promised to execute his order or perish. They began their march in the Night with 2000 *Spahis*, and the like number of *Tanzaries*, who were mounted for the greater Expedition, and this Morning at break of day they appear'd in the Valley of *St. Paul*, where having been put in order without being perceived, rushed as their manner is, with great Cries upon the first Guard, which they defeated easily enough, and forced upon two squadrons of Horse of *Lorain* and *Hessians*, who fled. The *Tanzaries*, whereof part had quitted their Horses with design to traverse the Trenches, and get into the City, were ill treated, they were pursued by General *Hessler* to the very Gate, and met by the Guard of *Bavarian* Horse, who hastened to the alarm, so that their slaughter was there very great, and few had the fortune to enter into the City, and though some made them amount to 150, they were scarce 100 that got in, which may be easily judged by the abandoned Horses, which did not surpass the laid number, so that this feeble supply was of no great use to the Besieged, and if those of the advanced Guard had done their duty, not one of them had passed the Trenches. The Turks had 400 slain, and the Christians not above 15; and 26 hurt. General *Hessler*, who behaved himself with his accustomed Gallantry, was hurt in the foot, but not dangerously. General *Maigres* was handled worse, being severely lamed, and Marquis *Sintina*, a Knight of *Malta*, was taken Prisoner in the first heat of the fight. The Besieged, to tellify their Joy for the arrival of these Succours, fired three several Colours in token of Victory, and poured 3000 with all their Artillery and small shot, which gave the Besiegers a great deal of uneasiness, so that the Renegades yet again were sent to the number of 2000 for hireable men. During the late, some squadrons of those of the Grand Viceroy, who had allowed the other to second them, appear'd in *Battalia* towards the *Bavarian* Attack, as if designing to try their fortune that way, but they retired without engaging: and yet they returned about ten at night to the same place they had attempted the passage that morning, but they were repelled, and retreated in disorder. In the *Bavarian* attack there was a new Battery raised on the high wall of the *Castle*, with which they beat all the covered way, as also the Battery of the *Bavarians* upon the great Rondel.

Aug. 21. Notwithstanding the Grand *Viceroy* caused

5000 *Tartars* to pass the *Danube*, who ravag'd the other side of the River, and incommoded the adverse Foragers by their courses; All things are in abundance in the Camp, and the Convoys arrive there securely by Water. General *Scherfberg* is expected in 7 or 8 days with 10000 men, having orders to mount his Foot in *Chares*, for fear of their coming with so long a march. Twelve hundred *Suedish* Foot are likewise expected, being the remainder of the Troops which the King of *Sweden* is obliged to send, to assist the Emperor against the *Infidels*, upon account of his quota for those Fiefs which he possesses in *Germany*. This morning a Redoubt was built in that place which the Turks forced yesterday: it was further fortified with two pieces of Cannon, and Troops capable to defend the passage. There was also another Redoubt built on the Mountain on the left, where the Regiment of *Ludron* was camped. This day the Besieged did yet give some Volleys of rejoicing, whereof the reason is not known, unless it become particular feast. The *Steir Rummel*, General of the *Bavarian* Troops, being in the approaches, was slain there with a Musket bullet. He is much regretted, having distinguished himself in all the occasions where he might acquire glory.

Aug. 22. The Elector of *Bavaria* caused the great Tower to be assaulted, which is in the middle of the *Castle*, and for the most part ruined by his Cannon. He took it with the loss of 73 Soldiers, and the like number wounded, amongst which the Duke of *Saxe-Merburg* was hurt in two places. Whilst this assault lasted, there was a tall arrow given on the *Lorain* side to divert the enemy, and much firing there was with Cannon to rattle the Defences which they had made upon the breaches of the inner Wall. This evening about 10 a clock, a Turk, who had swum the River, was taken near the Isle of *St. Margaret*, he had thrown his Letters into the water, and yet confessed that he had been sent by the *Bassa*, to give advice to the Grand Seigneur of the state of the place, and pretis for relief: adding, that another was also gone with the same condition.

Aug. 23. The besieged made an attempt upon the *Bavarian* Attack, to recover the great Tower of the *Castle*, which they had yesterday lost by assault, but they were repelled and beat back to their Retrenchments. At the *Lorain* Attack four pieces were planted upon the great old Battery, wherewith they began to batter the new *Palisades* upon the Breach of the inner Wall. The Night past the Besieged sallied upon the *Saxon* quarter, but they were so well received and repulsed by Lieutenant Colonel *Platzky*, who was upon the Guard with 200 horse, that they had much to do to recover their second Wall, where this Officer was slain with two Musket-balls, and the Turks had yet the leisure to drag his Corps into the City.

Aug. 24. The Turks appeared in two separate Bodies, the one at the *Lorain*, and the other at the *Bavarian* attack, but without attempting any thing, and retired about noon into their Camp, which they had advanced a League nearer the Christians than they were before. A Renegade out of Town reported, that the Besieged began to speak with some licentiousness against the *Bassa*, who endeavour'd to keep them to their duty, telling them, that the Grand *Viceroy* expected one of the first Ministers of State from the Port, with full power from the Grand Seigneur, to treat and conclude a Peace with the Generals of the Christians, and that upon his arrival there would be a suspension of Arms; exhorting them not to degenerate from the bravery and virtue of their *Muslimen*, whose glory they had hitherto so generously supported, but to expect yet some few days before they talked of surrendering.

Aug. 25. The Duke of *Lorain* being advertised, that the Turks might contrive a passage on the *Danube* side, behind the hot Baths, to put Succours into the Town, ordered some Squadrons of Horse to second

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1686 the Guards, which were at the same time reinforced, and to the end the access might be rendered the more difficult for the Turks, he caused *Palisado's* to be planted in the most weak places, and caused some Squadrons and Battalions of *Germans* and *Hungarians* to be posted in such manner, that if the Turks would make some other attempt, they might easily be transported and hasten to the Alarm. Some change was also made in two Batteries, the better to incommode the Besieged, and destroy their Parapets, *Palisado's*, and other defences which they had raised upon the breach of the inner Wall. In the *Bavarian* attack they got of the inner Wall. In that they will in a little time ground foot by foot, so that they will in a little time make use of all the *Castle*, notwithstanding the opposition of the bravest Enemy imaginable, who never lose an inch of ground without disputing it, and endeavour to recover it by often reprisals, making use for this purpose of Bombs, *Granado's*, Stones, Sacks with Powder, Stink-pots, and other arts which courage and despair are capable of inventing to break the measures of the Aggressors, and obstruct their violence, and as they have made divers holes and caverns under the places, in possession of the Christians, by which they play these sorts of inventions, the other were constrained to fill them with earth, stones, and the very ruins of the *Castle*, to damp and hinder their operation, without which they could not maintain themselves, but with great difficulty.

Aug. 26. The Prisoners brought in the Camp by Parties, and the Defectors sent in the Camp by the *Bassa* of *Buda* with *Dispatches*, in which he gave him an account of the state of the place, which he can no more deist at present, that the *Castle* is well-nigh all in the hands of the Christians, who on the first assault cannot fail to carry the place. That in the last assault of the *Castle* he had lost more than 100 of his best Soldiers, that the *Scutis* this morning sent him were but of little considerable, not mounting more than 200 men, amongst which, more than half were wounded, and consequently unserviceable. That for his part he had acquitted himself of his duty, by letting the Christians see, that after a defence so obstinate, during so long a Siege, pushed on with so much fury and bravery both on the one side and the other, that the *Muslimen* knew well how to support the cause of their *Sultan*, in doing whereof he presented to his share of glory, protesting finally that the Grand *Viceroy* ought to give an account of the success of the Siege, and be responsible for a loss so considerable, which he could not avoid, if the Imperialists attempted another assault, no more than the blood of his valorous Soldiers, and his own, if he delayed their relief any longer. The *Bassa* did further mark the places in his Letter, which appear'd of him the most proper to attempt the relief of the *Castle*, and he took his measures well, that he would succeed in his enterprise. Upon this advice the Duke visited in person the place marked to the Grand *Viceroy*, and gave orders for every thing to hinder the introducing of supplies. The *Spies* which were sent to the Enemies Camp, reported, that the Grand *Viceroy* had again promised 40 Crowns a man to all them who would undertake to put themselves into the place, promising moreover that they should be exempt from the War during their lives, and enjoy their ordinary pay without the obligation of any service. As soon advice was given that the Turks advanced with 12 great pieces of Cannon, and a while after they were perceived in sight of the Camp ranged in order of Battle, but as the Duke of *Lorain* did not his Army to fight, they retired.

Aug. 27. The *Lorainers* having finished their work in form of a Bridge, was extended to the adverse side, to be made use of in the assault. It was covered with earth to secure it from the fire, as had been done with the said *Bavarians* to retire, but this morning they recovered their Post again, and to secure them from

1686 the fire, they made use of Planks covered with Tin, and yet when they thought themselves safe from this devouring Element, the Besieged, who want no industry to their valour, threw towards evening an immense quantity of artificial and combustible matters with that success, that they pierced even to the said Planks, and reduced them to ashes; they also flung such a vast quantity of *Granado's*, Stones and Arrows upon the *Bavarians*, that they forced them to abandon this Post with the loss of twenty Soldiers.

Aug. 28. In the *Lorain* attack, they thundered with extreme violence from their Cannon upon the Flanks of the great Breach, as did also the *Brandenburgers* to overthrow the Besieged's defences. The *Bavarians* regained their Post, and covered themselves so well in it, that the Enemy would be much troubled to dislodge them. Major *Staben*, who commanded the *Affiliants*, was killed there, he slain and wounded not otherwise exceeding 20. Upon the Report of some Renegade's that the Grand *Viceroy* was resolv'd to come this Night with all his Forces, the Duke ordered all things for his reception, and all the Army stood in *Battalia*, but to no purpose, for no Enemy did appear.

Aug. 29. Being the Decollation of *St. John Baptist*, and a day which the Turks have always superstitiously observ'd as fortunate to their Empire, 10000 *Spahis* and 2000 *Tanzaries* commanded by two *Bassas*, and seconded by 1500 *Tatars*, came at break of day to make another trial on the Water side, but seeing the Post over which that quarter, having received a discharge from the Muskets, cars kept the Walls, they retreated, and judged it easier to try the passage by the same way that the last Supplies entered; they went by the Valley of *St. Paul*, and charged fiercely with their accustomed shouts upon the Regiments of *Merces*, *Hessler*, and *Newburg*, who received them with so much bravery, that the killed a great number of them, whereof some of the most determined were rash enough to push through to the very Lines, where they were all slain except 4, who were lucky enough to get into the City. The number of the dead in this action amounted to 600, besides the Prisoners, which were not many; and there were taken 25 Standards, and Colours which were red, intimating thereby, that they would enter the City or perish. On the other side 30 were killed and wounded, *Mercy* was of the number of the last, but without danger, and his Adjutant of the first. During this Tentative the Besieged made a rally upon the *Bavarians*, but the *Hedysks* attacking them in Flank, they had much to do to retire, leaving 17 dead upon the place. The Grand *Viceroy* threw himself with his Army all day on the *Bavarian* side, ready to engage, but seeing 3 Regiments of *Cuirassiers*, and two of *Dragoons*, being the Avant-Guard of General *Scherfberg's* Army, he quickly retreated back to his Camp.

Aug. 30. *Scherfberg* arrived this day with the rest of his Body, proper men, who seem'd eager to signalize themselves. The Defectors reported, that the wane was great in the Grand *Viceroy's* Army, and that the famished Soldiers had plundered some Barks which had brought Provisions, the Officers not being able to hinder them.

Aug. 31. The *Lorainers* took a new Post in the Ditch before the Breach in the inner Wall, but 3 fadom distant from the *Palisade*, and the place being very deep, the Turks could not much hurt them, where they had but 2 Soldiers wounded. This Morning the Duke of *Lorain* went, accompanied with most of the Generals, to the Elector's quarters, where they held a Council of War, and having dined there, the Duke returned to his Quarters, after which the Works were ordered to be enlarged and deepened for the easier ascent to the Assault, which was resolv'd upon in a day or two.

Sept. 1. Three thousand Turks appeared before day by Moon-light on the *Bavarian* side, but seeing the Christians in good order and ready to receive them,

1686 they retired without any Engagement. The Great Chancellor, Count *Siravanta*, being arrived yesterday at the Camp with a secret Commission, called a Council of War, in which the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and all the Imperial and *Austrian* Generals did meet. The Chancellor exposed his Commission, which contained his Imperial Majesty's desires to put an end to this bloody Siege, and that they should consult on the means the most proper and expedient for the terminating of it. Two points were chiefly deliberated upon, whether they should go with the great part of the Army, leaving a sufficient number to guard the Lines, to force the *Grand Vezier*, or should make a General assault upon the place, and that with the more Forces than had hitherto been employed. The latter was approved by all the Generals, and it was resolved to assault the place the next day, for which purpose every thing that was necessary was prepared, that the enterprise might not fail: and left the Enemy might know it, it was given out, that they would the next day go and fight the *Grand Vezier*, which caused great joy amongst the Officers and Soldiers, desirous of signaling themselves. The Cannon of all the attacks were in the mean time employed to enlarge the Breaches, and call down the Enemies fences.

Sept. 2. All the Generals mounted on Horseback, and the Troops put themselves in order to cut the Lines, and go to their place of Arms, and march towards the *Grand Vezier*, making as it they would go and attack them in their Camp. The Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, visited his Quarters, encouraging the Officers and Soldiers to maintain the cause of God, and the Glory of the Emperor. The Infantry was ranged into Battalions whilst the firing in the three attacks was redoubled, and a vast quantity of Bombs and chained Bullets were fired against the besieged detences, which were for the most part thrown down; and as the Troops were put in order to march towards the *Grand Vezier*, the motion of the Vanguard was instantly changed, and at three in the afternoon the Infantry that composed the Rear-guard was commanded to mount to the assault, which was done in the three differing attacks of *Lorraine*, *Brandenburg*, and *Brandenburg*, besides which there were two false attacks to divert the Enemy. And however that all imaginary precautions were put in use to render the assault easy, they encountered to brave a defence in the besieged, that they had much ado to surmount them; they defended themselves for three quarters of an hour with Halberds, Half-Pikes, Pariasans, and threw such a vast number of Stones, Arrows, and Granades, that they repulsed the Assaultants more than once, until the Christians, encouraged by the presence of their Generals, returning with greater force, rendered themselves at length Masters of the Breach in all the three attacks. The Turks defended themselves by retiring from Retrenchment to Retrenchment, so that the slaughter was very bloody; and to conclude, the besieged being beaten from all their fences, the Assaultants entered by force into the City, ran thro' the streets, killed all they met with, sparing neither Sex nor Age, so that all was filled with the dead bodies of these Infidels. The *Bavarians*, in pursuit of their point, attacked 1000 Turks, who retired into a Redoubt at the foot of the Castle, where they defended themselves with extreme Obstinacy, until despairing of their safety, they hung out a white Flag, and demanded quarter; but as they had slain many of the Aggressors, and had resisted two whole hours without submitting, the Duke of *Lorraine* and the Elector of *Brandenburg* were of Opinion they should have no quarter given them; but considering their number, that they might yet do much harm, that the Night was coming on, and that the Soldiers were wearied, and ought to rest, that the *Grand Vezier* was not far off with a formidable Army, and that the fire was in several parts of the City, reducing all to Ashes; it was resolved they should have their Lives given

them; which being notified to them, they miserable 1686 Bravos, threw down their Arms. There were about 1000 more, who being retired into Cellars and vaults obtained the same grace. The number of the slain amounted to 3000, besides the wounded, who were but few, to that the Garrison was stronger than it had been reported by the fugitives to have been.

Abd. Bafia died bravely in the Breach, where he fought valiantly with his Sabre in his hand, without giving back or demanding quarter, not to degenerate from the glory and heroic Virtue of the ancient *Ottomans*, nor falsify the Oath which he made to the *Grand Seigneur* to preserve him the place, or to die gloriously in it. The *Vice Bafia* is also an Officer of great reputation, he had defended the Castle, and seeing that all was lost, retired fighting into the already mentioned Redoubt at the foot of the Castle, where he thought to hold it out, and give the *Grand Vezier* leisure to come and relieve him; but seeing that all was desperate, he chose rather to implore the Clemency of the Conquerors, than suffer himself and any advantage to his party, and so he was made a Prisoner with those with him, by the *Bavarians*. The *Agea* of the *Janizaries*, and some chief Officers fell to the Duke of *Lorraine* there, so that the number of Prisoners did not exceed 3000, of 13000 brave expert Soldiers, and the very Nerves of the *Ottoman* Empire, which were in the place at the beginning of the Siege. The Christians lost in this assault was considerable, not above 400 slain, and half as many wounded, in which number were many Volunteers, but few Officers. Colonel *Spindler*, an Officer of good merit, was killed at the head of the *Austrians*, and Baron *Ajji*, who had been twice already hurt during the Siege, received now a third, which was feared would prove fatal.

The plunder which the Soldiers got was extraordinary, the riches of this City were vastly great, which those of the other Cities of *Hungary* under the domination of the Turks brought thence, as to a place of refuge and impregnable. There were ample Ammunition and Provisions sufficient for two Months longer. The Arsenal was full of all sorts of offensive and defensive Arms to arm 30000 men, Harnesies, Saddles, Boots, and other equipage for Horses, besides 400 pieces of Cannon and Mortars, whereof 170 were mounted, and no way prejudicial. It is impossible to particularize every thing, it may suffice to say, that a City could not be better furnished to support a Siege vigorously than this was, nor defended by a more brave Garrison. But if the opposition hath been surprising, so much greater is the glory of those brave Officers, Volunteers, and Soldiers that signalized themselves there in the forcing of it.

The Duke of *Lorraine* having put a stop to the slaughter, and ordered the Soldiers to return to their Colours, commanded the fire to be extinguished, gave the command of the place to Baron *Neck*, till the Emperor's pleasure was known, with a Garrison of 5000 Foot and 1000 Horse. He farther commanded 10000 Horse and Dragoons with *Badian's* Horses to pursue the *Grand Vezier*, who having seen the taking of *Buda*, discomfited instantly with all his Army, to go cover the rest of the Turkish Fortresses, put good Garrisons into them, and to secure the Bridge of *Ejsek*, where it was resolved to go and attack him, if they could not overtake him, for which end the Infantry was embarked upon the *Danube* for their easier transport, whilst the Cavalry marched by Land.

And thus this great and strong City, after 145 years of Bondage under the Turkish Yoke, was now at length, after having been six times besieged in vain, taken, and restored to the dominion of the Emperor. It had been of great service to the *Ottomans*, as being their principal place of Arms, from whence they sent their Forces and Munitions of War into the other Cities and Fortresses of their Empire, nor they still keep there a numerous Garrison of 8 or 10000 Janizaries

1686 zaries and Spahis, as in a Nurliery, and ready upon all occasions.

BUDA *Se Xito IneXigub* *ILLI* *Sept* *M* *Fit* *Cesar* *Is*.

A Detachment, as we said, of 10000 Horse being sent in pursuit of the *Grand Vezier* by Land, and 12000 Foot, with 30 Cannon, Mortars, Ammunition, and all sort of Provisions, were sent down the *Danube* in large Boats, with order to fortify themselves in some convenient Post near the Bridge of *Ejsek*, whilst orders were sent to the Forces in *Croatia* to join them, in order to cut off the Enemies retreat. The main army did also follow, but the want of Forrage in a wasted Country forced them to separate, and to pass the River some 12 Miles below *Buda*, with design to besiege *Segedin*, whilst the rest continued their march towards *Ejsek*, and join with the *Croatian* Forces, a Party of which had infused and burnt the Town of *Quinque Ecclesiarum* or five Churches, forcing the Turks into the Castle.

The Duke of *Lorraine* having caused a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the *Danube* at *Paris*, several Parties of Horse were sent on, who met with no Enemy, the Turks having abandoned the small places they were possessed of on both sides the River, after having removed their Cannon and store, and laid these places in ashes. Count *Caprara* is designed to besiege *Segedin*, but the design upon the Bridge of *Ejsek* could not be executed at this time, the Country being so extremely ruined, that the Troops were not able to subsist in their march thither. The Turks had likewise abandoned *Islam* and *Islam*, after it had been last being removed to *Islam* or *Islam*, after it had been most miserably destroyed. The Duke, upon fresh advice that the *Grand Vezier* had not passed the Bridge of *Ejsek* as was reported, but had posted himself very strongly and advantageously on this side, with 20000 men, seemed to alter his mind, and to go and bear up his Quarters, before he would further recruit from *Belgrade*. He had put 8000 of his best men into *Alia Regalia*, having given a safe to every Janizary, the better to make them steady upon the Christians in the Winter.

Prince *Lenis* of *Balen* was detached from the main Army, with 12 Regiments of Horse and Foot, to go and besiege *Five Churches*, but the measures were so taken, that he might join his Forces to the Duke's in case it were requisite, or that the *Grand Vezier* might be brought to a battle. He was encamped near the Bridge of *Ejsek*, having the Fortresses of *Sieva* behind him, the *Danube* on his right, and the Hills on his left, and his Front covered with the River *Sarmiz*, over which the Duke of *Lorraine* had caused Bridges to be laid, to oblige the Turks to repeat the Bridge of *Ejsek*, or to stand a Battle. But the season being too far advanced, he encamped at *Tula*, and passing no farther, leaving part of the Army under *Caprara*, to pass the *Danube* in order to the Siege of *Segedin*, he returned towards *Buda*, and being encamped with 10 Regiments not far from *Yell*, sent a Party to possess themselves of *Islam*, entirely ruined, tho' the Turks had left 12 Pieces of Cannon, which they wanted time and conveniences to carry away. The residue of the Foot were put into *Buda* to reinforce that place, weakened by the departure of the *Brandenburg* and *Saxon* Troops, whilst the Duke himself after a glorious Campaign returned into *Germany*. The remaining Horse and Dragoons were sent under General *Veterani* to reinforce the Imperial Forces before *Segedin*, upon advice that *Islam* and *Tartars* to relieve it. General *Wallis*, who commanded the Imperialists, hearing the Infidels advanced towards him, ordered Major General *Veterani* to march towards night with 7 Regiments of Horse, the *Croats* of *Lodron*, and the Dragoons of *Castell* and *Magne*, which they did, and at break of day surprising the *Tartars*, easily routed them, nor did they surmount any considerable resistance, but they still that People formerly so martial, being aduated by

such a current of misfortune into dependency. The 1686 Christians, being upon their return to their Camp with their Spoil, were attacked by the *Grand Vezier* himself at the head of above 12000 Turks, but with equal success, these being likewise utterly defeated, without any extraordinary combating. Twelve pieces of Cannon, and all their Baggage, with 3000 Horses were taken. The slain were estimated above 2000. *Segedin*, seeing their relief defeated, capitulated, being admitted to march with what they could carry, except their Arms to *Temeswar*.

But the strong Castle of *Five Churches* had not so good quarters. They had quitted the Town upon the arrival of the Christians, and retired into the Castle, but after 4 days battery, surrendered it at discretion, the Women only and Children being conducted to *Valpo*, whilst the *Baja*, 600 Janizaries, and 2000 others fit to bear arms, were made Prisoners of War. The Prince of *Baden*, having put a good Garrison into the place, divided his Army into two Bodies, one marching with General *Scherffenberg* towards *Sylos*, designing, after having made himself Master of that place, to march towards the Bridge of *Ejsek*. Nor did they of *Sylos* defend themselves much better than the rest, they only burnt the Town, not to keep the Castle scarce to terms of discretion. The Prince marched thence to *Darda*, which he although it was strong, being seated upon the *Danube*, and covering the Bridge on one side, found abandoned. The Turks being retired into *Ejsek*, leaving only a few Horse to observe the Enemy, who upon their advance fled immediately. The Prince, having taken possession of *Darda*, sent Parties out to burn the Bridge of *Ejsek* with artificial fires, which they so happily executed, notwithstanding the Turks played upon them all the time with their Cannon from *Ejsek*, that they quite destroyed the Bridge from *Darda* to the *Draze*, as likewise the Bridge of Boats which the Turks had over that River. The Prince of *Baden*, after this exploit, marched back towards *Caprara*, with 1200 Prisoners of both Sexes and Ages, which place he purposed to possess, and had delivered upon demand, after which he resolved for his Winter Quarters. The *Croats* also that had hitherto joyined him, did likewise return home with Booty, and store of Prisoners.

And this was the end of this famous Campaign in *Hungary*, so glorious to the Christians, and so unfortunate to the *Ottomans*, so that these who used to give and sell Peace at pleasure formerly, became now earnest Solicitors themselves for it, thinking themselves in such a condition, that nothing but a speedy Peace could restore them. The *Grand Vezier*, being sensible of this, made several efforts to effectuate it. He had lately made Overtures to General *Caraffa*, who commanded the Imperial Forces in upper *Hungary*, but now Letters are sent to Prince *Henry* of *Baden*, President of the Council of War, telling him how desirous the *Peace* was of Peace, and with what advantage to the Emperor it might be concluded in this Conjunction; proposing further, that a Place might be appointed for Plenipotentiaries on both sides to meet, and that Passports might be dispatched for that purpose.

And 'tis no wonder the Turks were so earnest for Peace, having been so unsuccessful in War, and the disorders it produced. 'Tis scarce imaginable what confusion and terror the taking of *Buda*, and the slaughter of that Garrison did produce through the whole Empire, especially *Constantinople*. The People began to murmur, and the Chief of them to Cabal, who so flattered the *Grand Seigneur*, that after having doubled his Guards, he sent to them to know the meaning of their unusual meeting; they answered, that seeing him and his Empire in such danger, they thought it their duty to consult together how they might preserve both. They blamed the *Mufti* as an ill man, who had fomented the War, nor without some reflection upon his Highness himself, as too

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intent upon his sports, and too little mindful of his chief City. The *Grand Séigneur* thought it best to comply with these Returners, in order to keep the immediately despoiled, and banishes the *Mufta*, chusing *Hajja Effendi Goktash* in his Place, and putting off a general hunting which he had appointed, caused all his Grey-hounds, the best his Empire afforded, to be turned loose, a Prey to any that pleased, he daily now frequents the *Majles* instead of the Campaign, giving out that he will himself take the field next Spring against the *Germans*. This change, and the certainty of the *Vizier Achem* coming to assist at the great Council for regulating the next Campaign, didar prevent quiet the discontents of the People, tho' their tears seem'd incurable. There was also a great Reform made in the Seraglio, with a Retrenchment of the salaries and perquisites of the principal Officers of it. There was also an extraordinary Council held in the presence of the *Grand Séigneur* to consider of the way to put the *Ottoman Forces*, which are now extremely broken, into a condition to oppose the further progress of the Christian Arms. Among many is the principal ingredient, the *Grand Séigneur* made order of all his Treaties to be employed in the War. The *Sultana Queen* gave 4000 *Pistols* to 5000 *Crowns* each, and the chief Officers of the *Seraglio* presented great sums. And yet all this cannot cure their fears, nor remove the Plague, sweeping away 1000 a day in *Constantinople* and *Galatia*, to which Calamities the scarcity of Provisions may be added, occasioned by the *Cossacks* disturbing the Commerce of the black Sea, and the Christians that are marched to the Archels.

Nor was it with these hardships only that the *Turks* were to contend, they had yet no less powerful Enemies, the *Poles* and the *Venetians*, whose Histories we have for method sake referred to their proper Places. What they did the last year, is distinctly related, and we shall be no less particular in the actions of this, which are of more noise, and no less lugubrious consequence to the *Ottoman Empire*, especially the latter.

The Affairs of Poland.

July 14.

July 24.

The *Poles* were much earlier in the field this year, and fronger than the last. Their Forces consisted of 20000 *Poles*, 15000 *Lithuanians*, and 10000 *Cossacks* with a great train of Artillery, and being met at their general Rendezvous at *Trembovia*, marched toward the *Niefler* with the King at the head of them. The *Turks* being interior in their Preparations, had abandoned *Barr* and *Mehedibos*, sending those Garrisons with all the stores to strengthen *Caminie*, where the *Tatars* had likewise lately conducted a Convoy.

The King being come to the frontier of *Moldavia*, expected that the *Hospodars* of that Country and *Wallachia* should, as they had promised, join their Forces to the Army of the Crown, which they were inclin'd enough to do, but that they dreaded the *Turkish* Power. The *Poles* having pass'd the River, they advanced to the Forest of *Bucovina*, where they had been engaged with the *Turks* last year, but to secure their passages now, the King caused several Redoubts to be built to guard the avenues of the Forest, and consequently secure his Retreat. These being finished, he marched towards *Jassy*, the Capital City of *Moldavia*, to give the *Hospodar* an opportunity to join his Forces with him, as he had promised, but this Prince, chusing it too soon as yet to declare, retired upon the News he had of the Kings approaching, notwithstanding the assurances his Majesty had given him of his Friendship and Protection.

The King being come as far as *Perevit* in *Moldavia*, caused a Royal Fort to be built on the side of the River *Prutti*, to secure a Retreat, and the passage of Convoy, for it was very difficult to subsist in those barren Countries, which the *Turks* and *Tatars* had near ruin'd. Whilst the Army was upon its march, the *Hospodar* sent Deputies to the King to excuse his retiring from *Jassy*, and his not joining Forces with those of his Majesty, seeing he could not now openly declare without exposing his Childrento

certain destruction, having been forc'd to deliver them as Hostages to the *Turks*. The King replied, that he could never meet with a more favourable conjuncture to shake off the *Ottoman* Yoke than now, being he was come in Person to deliver him from it, he expected now the performance of his reiterated Promises, which if he did not make good, he should be oblig'd to treat him as a declared Enemy. The King continuing his march, came to *Jassy*, which he found not only abandoned by the Prince, but also the Garrison and principal Inhabitants. Those that remained opened their Gates to the Troops, his Majesty sent thither, and furnished them with some Provisions.

Some *Tatars* taken by a party, reported, that the *Seraskier* had pass'd the *Danube* near *Asiopolis*, with 15 or 16000 men, that he expected 60000 more, which when come up, he intended to march towards *Beghrabia* to join the *Tatars* commanded by *Sultan Nuradun*, reported to be 30000 strong. The Armies approaching each other occasioned many encounters. The King continued his march on this side the River *Prutti* as far as *Falsyn*. The Court Marshal, who commanded the Vanguard of the Army, encountering with a party of *Tatars* of 8000, engaged them, both fighting with great Courage, but the *Tatars* being fronger, press'd hard upon the *Poles*, and had worl'd them if they had not been succour'd by some frigate Troops, who adding Vigour to their Companions, turn'd the Scales, forcing the *Tatars* to a disorderly retreat, some hundreds of them were killed, and amongst others a near Relation of *Sultan Nuradun*, for whose body he offered the liberty of 3 *Polish* Gentlemen; some Prisoners were likewise taken, and one of the *Chams* Standards, nor was this success bloodless, divers of the *Polish* Officers and Soldiers being killed and wounded.

The King having caus'd a Bridge near that Place to be laid over the River, pass'd it with his Army, advancing into a great Plain with a Resolution to enter into the Country of *Budriac*. But the Troops suffer'd much by excessive heat, which had caus'd a great drought, and burnt up all the Grass, so that the Horses were in great want of forage. *Chevalier Lubomirski* had likewise an advantageous onset against the *Tatars*, but the News of the *Moldavians* having contrary to their promise join'd the *Tatars*, did not place. These were also reinforced with further Detachments of *Turks* which had pass'd the *Danube* at *Ken* and *Smil*. These *Tatars* had likewise taken a Convoy of 200 Waggon's that were going to the Army, and together with the *Turks* made an attempt upon the Christian Camp itself, but finding the Troops in a condition to receive them, they made what haste they could to retire, tho' not without some loss.

Feb. 4. The *Poles* obtained a Victory against the *Turks* and *Tatars*, of whom some thousands were said to be killed upon the place, and 300 taken, with several of their principal Officers, for which success *De Deum* was sung at *Lemberg*. The *Poles* also had 1500 slain, and amongst them divers Princes of Quality. After this, the King, weary of *Moldavia*, most commonly fatal to the *Poles*, re-pass'd the Forest of *Bucovina*, in order to put his Troops into the Winter Quarters. He had not only quicken'd *Jassy*, which had been in part destroyed by an accidental fire, but had been the cause of the several Forts which he had built to secure the Passages of the Forest to be demolished, from whence People concluded, that the King had no design to return in haste that way again, but rather attempt *Caminie*, so ruinous to that side of his Kingdom, and into which the *Turks* had newly put 500 Waggon's laden with Provisions, the *Deceit* of Horle that was sent to guard the Passages, was carried too late. The Christians being gon to quarters, the main body of the *Tatars* did too, but some parties of them had lately made an incursion into the *Ukrain* and *Podolia*, where they did much mischief.

The *Turks* who serv'd this Campaign against the

Poles

1686 *Poles*, re-pass'd the *Danube* and the *Hospodar* of *Moldavia* returned to *Jassy*, from whence he had fled.

The *Poles* had been highly animated with the League Offensive and Defensive which they had made the beginning of this last Campaign with the *Moldavians*, which although it had been published with great solemnity on both sides, the *Moldavians* have not yet performed any one thing that was stipulated on their side. The Great Dukes were oblig'd by this Treaty to employ their Forces this last Summer against the *Tatars*, to divert them from joining with the *Turks*; nor did they advance a step in it, though they now (the Campaign being past) send Ambassadors to assure the King of their firm Resolution to observe the Treaty of Confederacy for which this Victory they returned to the Siege, where, upon a second summons, the Besieged seeing their hopes of Success decayed, and their *Bassa* slain, being blown up, with 150 of the Garrison by a Bomb falling amongst Powder, they likewise being 1200 Foot, and 200 Horse, surrendered upon Conditions to march away with their Arms, Bag, and Baggage, which they did, leaving behind them 64 pieces of Cannon, and thirteen Mortars, with great store of Provisions.

Great were the Preparations the *Venetians* had made to carry on the War this Summer against the *Ottomans*, which they had been so successful in the last; and the fleet being now ready, sail'd from *Corfu* under the Command of General *Morofini* towards the *Levant*. In the mean time the *Turks* having got an Army together composed of 10000 foot and 1500 horse, lay down before *Chioleffa*, a Fortress of importance, tho' tamely delivered by them last year to the menaces of the Christians. They now batter it with six great Guns, and had lain 10 days before it when the Army of the *Venetians* hasting to its relief landed at *Porto Vitulo*, not far from it, and sending a Detachment of 3000 Men, with 1000 *Maynoites*, the Garrison which consisted of 1200 having orders at the same time to fly in their favour, the Enemy intimidated, with the onsets of their advance, rais'd the Siege, and march'd silently away in the Night, yet not so, but that being pursued by the Christians, they left their Cannon behind them, the 500 men that conducted them being also most slain and taken Prisoners. After this *Deceit* General *Morofini* re-bark'd his Forces at *Porto Vitulo*, and sail'd towards the Gulf of *Calamata*, and thence to *Porto Climo*, where he was to join with General *Koningmark*, Commander of the Land Forces, lately arriv'd there with a great Convoy that went from *Rome*. They had expected the arrival of the Auxiliary Gallies to open the Campaign, which being at length come, and a review of the Forces taken by General *Morofini*, which were estimated at 25000 men, they sail'd the 25 of May from *Porto Trepana* with a fleet of above 100 sail, consisting in 80 Ships, 14 Gallies, and several Gallies and Gallies, taking their course towards *Lepanto*, feigning a design to attack that Fort, near which the General caus'd 200 *Maynoites* to be sent to alarm the Country, and leaving some Ships there to countenance the feint, sail'd the Night following towards *Modon*, then ill manned, the *Turks* having drawn most of their Forces towards *Lepanto*. But the Captain General thought fit to attack old *Nassirion*, the *Pylus* of *Protomy* hill, which he did, 12000 foot, and 1500 Horse being landed for that purpose. This Town is built upon a height, at the foot whereof the Haven is capable of any number of Ships. The Garrison of this place was weak, not exceeding 2000 men, and that of *Tenon* delivered upon demand. In the mean time the Siege was vigorously carried on, the Bombs and Carcasses occasioning great Confusion in the Town. But the *Seraskier* being reinforced with 3000 fresh men, rais'd their dejected minds,

1686 The Christians, to prevent his advance, leaving a body of men behind them to maintain the Works, march'd to meet him, and endeavour'd several times to engage him to a Battle, which he avoided by passing a River, and retiring to a very advantageous Ground. Count *Koningmark* being reinforced thereupon to 14000, it was resolv'd they should pass the River in two Places, and charge the *Turks* in Front and Flank, which was performed accordingly. The Victory was obstinately contested for at least two hours, but then the *Turks* being disorder'd fled, leaving 1000 of their men slain, wounded, and Prisoners, with all their Tents, Cannon, and Baggage. The Christians had scarce 1000 killed and wounded. The next day this Victory they returned to the Siege, where, upon a second summons, the Besieged seeing their hopes of Success decayed, and their *Bassa* slain, being blown up, with 150 of the Garrison by a Bomb falling amongst Powder, they likewise being 1200 Foot, and 200 Horse, surrendered upon Conditions to march away with their Arms, Bag, and Baggage, which they did, leaving behind them 64 pieces of Cannon, and thirteen Mortars, with great store of Provisions.

After the taking of *Modon*, the General resolv'd to besiege *Malaga*, tho' he knew the *Seraskier* had reinforced the Garrison, and provided it with all things necessary for a just defence, with promise of certain Succours by a day. *Modon* is seated upon a Promontory of the Sea of *Sapierza*, Art and Nature having concurred to make it strong, tho' it held out but a Siege of 13 days. It was indeed miserably torn with Bombs and Carcasses, and the relief not appearing at the day appointed, the *Bassa* thought fit to capitulate, and march'd out with near 3000 men, which were to be transported to *Alexandria*. These were taken in the Cable and Town 90 Brass Guns, 8 Iron ones, with 13 Mortars, and a great quantity of Ammunition and Provisions.

Morofini having stay'd some time at *Modon*, as well to repair the Fortifications as to refresh his wearied Troops, having held a great Council of War, it was resolv'd to besiege *Napoli di Romania*, the better to secure the conquests which the Republick had already made in *Morea*. All things being made ready for so important an Enterprize, the Captain General sail'd from *Modon* with the *Venetian* Fleet and the Auxiliary Gallies, and at the same time sent orders to the Captain Extraordinary of the Ships to approach towards that Coast with the Squadron under his command, that he may join the Fleet if there be occasion. As a prelude to this enterprize, 8 *Turkish* Ships that had carried Men and Provisions to *Napoli di Romania*, endeavouring to escape by night out of *Modon*, were taken. In the morn'g the General landed his Army at *Ciara*, six miles from *Napoli*, the *Nauplia* of the Antients, and possess'd himself the next day of the Hill *Palameda*, within Musquet shot of the Town. The *Seraskier* of *Morea* being encamp'd not far off with 8 or 10000 men, did put 300 Soldiers into the Town, the Garrison before consisting of 2000 under the Command of *Musapha Bassa*, and advanced himself towards the Christian Camp, upon notice whereof, the General *Koningmark* march'd with his Forces to meet him, leaving some to guard the works against the Town; After some light Skirmishes the Bodies engaged. The *Turks* scarce flandering their Ground, retir'd in much disorder, leaving 400 of their men behind them. The loss on the Christians side was inconceivable, not exceeding 50 men. General *Koningmark* returning to the Siege, sent some Troops to force the Castle of *Argas*, which they found abandoned, and that of *Tenon* delivered upon demand. In the mean time the Siege was vigorously carried on, the Bombs and Carcasses occasioning great Confusion in the Town. But the *Seraskier* being reinforced with 3000 fresh men, rais'd their dejected minds,

who

1686 who at the same time that the Seraskier approached the Christian Camp, made a great Sally upon the Besiegers, though they were beaten back with loss, and the Seraskier so warmly received by the Cannon from the Hill of *Polameda*, that he retired without making any attempt upon the Lines. The Besiegers by this were lodg'd in the Town-Moat, so that the Seraskier being reinforced out of the neighbouring Garrisons to 12000, resolv'd to make another attempt to relieve the place, by forcing the Camp. At the same time 1500 of their best men sallied out of the City, so that the Christians being hardly put to it, the *Slavonians* being overpower'd, were forced to give way, but General *Koningmark* coming opportunely to their assistance with a strong Party, rallied them, and beat back the *Turks*. In that instant of time, General *Morsini* having landed 3500 men, charged the Enemy so feebly in the Front and Flank, that they disorder'd them, and forced them to retire, but they being much stronger in Horle, were not pursued far. The *Turks* lost in this action 1500 of their best men, besides 120 that were taken Prisoners, and on the Christians side near 400. The Garrison upon this defeat, upon consideration of the Mines and Breaches, and danger of standing out an Assault, surrendered upon the same terms as had been given to *Nasrino* and *Modon*.

The Christians lost a great many Men by a Flux contracted by the heat, and eating too much fruit, and among others, a Nephew of General *Koningmark*, the Captain of his Guards, and Count *Bernaldo Visconti* a *Milanese* Colonel.

The *Bassa* of *Napoli* di *Romania*, whether out of a consciousness of not having done his duty in defence of the City, or out of a resentment that to be unhappy is to be criminal, thought it securer to put himself into the protection of his Vanquishers, than to expose himself to the censure of his Compurgators at home. He therefore, with about eighty *Turks* more, having obtained leave of the General, were ship't for *Venice*, where they were honourably received by the *Senate*, presented, and permitted to take two fine Houses, with very fine Gardens belonging to them, where they and their Families live at present. After the taking of *Napoli*, above sixty small Towns and Burghs put themselves under the protection of the *Venetians*; and the General having settled affairs there, and dismissed the Auxiliary Gallies with their shares of the Booty to return home, sail'd himself with the Gallies of *Venice* towards the *Archipelago* to put those Islands, which he also in a great measure did, under contribution. The Garrison and Inhabitants of *Napoli* being numerous, exceeding 10000, besides the *Jews* and *Greeks* who were made Tributaries, were by Articles to be transported to the life of *Tenado*, which was also done in 12 Ships, commanded by Seigneur *Venier*. This Fleet did not only alarm those parts, but *Constantinople* it self, affrighted with the report of a *Venetian* Armada so near the *Dardanelis*: But upon their return they were met, and fought by the Captain *Bassa*, who had 20 Gallies and 10 Ships, but seeing he could do no good upon them, was oblig'd to quit the fight. The Seraskier, in the mean time, was retir'd to *Corinth*, from whence he sent some Troops to reinforce the Garrison of *Petrola*, and very strong Parties, who by their incursions, keep the *Greeks* in continual alarms, and hinder them from openly declaring for the Re-

publick. To this end, he hath seiz'd upon divers of the Principal of them, keeping them as Hostages, but exercises all kinds of cruelty against such as he suspects to have any correspondence with the Christians.

Cara Ibrahim, the late *Visier*, being strip't of his Estate, was sent to *Rhodes*, where, within the compass of the year, he was strangled, by command of the *Sultan*, the *Gaiman* of *Constantinople* being at the same time put into the seven Towers, to satisfy the People.

Nor was the *Venetian* War confin'd only to *Morea*, and the *Sea*, though nothing extraordinary happened in the later, that wife *Republick* having sent *Cornaro* to command in *Dalmatia*, with such Forces as might endeavour to divert the *Turks* from sending Succours either to *Hungary* or *Morea*, which they also in some measure did. And yet scarce any thing worthy a place in History, which is only pleas'd with great events, did intervene; the Forces indeed of neither side being sufficient for great undertakings. Some inconsiderable Places were intercepted on both sides, and the incursions of Parties into each others Quarters were frequent, wherein the *Morlaques*, like the *Tatars* on the Frontiers of *Poland*, did signalize themselves. The *Bassa* of *Sutari* had drawn together 7 or 8000 Men, with a Resolution to attack the City of *Budna*, but they were order'd to march towards *Hungary*, so that that design vanish'd. But General *Cornaro*, and the Prince of *Parma*, who was Lieutenant General of the Foot, having drawn together 1000 Horle, and 3000 Foot, and 5000 *Morlaques*, commanded by the Chevalier *Janco*, with the Artillery and Ammunition necessary for a siege, resolv'd to attack *Sign*, situated upon a Rock, and fortified with a good Wall and strong Castle, but the Cannon opening a Breach, it was assaulted and carried by force, the Garrison which consisted but of 250 *Turks*, being cut in pieces. By taking of this place, the *Venetians* are become Masters of the fertile Province of *Zetina*.

The *Grand Visier*, upon his repassing the Bridge of *Elset*, had sent home the Troops of *Bosnia*, so that the *Bassa* of the said Province, thinking himself with this reinforcement, in a condition to make some attempt upon the Enemy, was accordingly preparing for it, tho' watch'd narrowly by *Cornaro*. The *Bassa* of *Erzegovina* had likewise got a competent Army together, and having burnt some Villages, retir'd towards *Glin*, to put a Convoy of Provisions into that place, *Cornaro* at the same time having taken his march towards *Zabenco* and *Sardona*, to cover those places. And thus this year, and the Campaign, were finish'd, except the usual excursions, both here, in *Mores*, in *Poland*, and in *Hungary*, where the Parties are always busy, and infect each other according to their power.

The desires of the Port for Peace were great. It was against their Maxims to wage War with so many powerful Adversaries at once, nor could they tell how to extricate themselves out of it. They had often attempted separate Treaties, but the Allies were not to be disjoyn'd, they therefore offer'd them Concessions they durst not have hoped for at the beginning of the War. They would yield to the Emperor all *Hungary*, as far as the *Drave*, to the King of *Poland*, *Caminiec* and all *Podolia*, and restore to the *Venetians* the Kingdom of *Candia*, on condition they would part with what they had gained in *Morea*.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE Ottoman Empire. CONTAINING THE MAXIMS OF THE Turkish Polity;

The most Material POINTS of the
MAHOMETAN RELIGION;
Their SECTS and HERESIES;
Their Convents and Religious Votaries;
Their MILITARY DISCIPLINE:
With an exact Computation of their Forces
both by Sea and Land.

In Three Books.

By Sir PAUL RYCAUT, late Consul of Smyrna,
and Fellow of the Royal Society.

L O N D O N,

Printed by J. D. Anno, MDCLXXXVII.

FINIS.

To the Right Honourable

H E N R Y

Lord Arlington

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State.

MY LORD,

AFTER five Years residence at *Constantinople*, in Service of the Embassie of the Earl of *Winchelsea*, (my ever honoured Lord) and this my second Journey from thence by Land into my own Country, I judged it a Point of my Duty, and of my Religion too, to dedicate this following Treatise, as the Fruits of my Travels, Negotiations, and Leisure in those remote Parts, to the Noble Person of your Lordship; as that *Votiva Tabula*, which many both in Ancient and Modern Times, after some signal Deliverance, or happy Arrival at their desired Port, use to offer to their Gods, their Saints, or their Patrons. And truly, my Lord, this Discourse treating chiefly of the *Turkish Polity, Government, and Maxims of State*, seems naturally to appertain to the Patronage of your Lordship, whose Faculties of Wisdom and Vertue have given you the Blessing of your Prince's Favour, and the Reputation, as well Abroad as at Home, of an Eminent and Dexterous Minister of State.

It were a great presumption in me to offer any Observations of my own in the Courts of Christian Princes, to the Test of your Lordship's Experience and Judgment; who not only is acquainted with the Customs and Manners, but penetrates into the Designs, and knows the Cabinet-Councils of Neighbouring Principalities, with whom our divided World may possibly be concerned; but perhaps, without disparagement to your Lordship's profound Wisdom, or over-value of my own Abilities, I may confidently draw a rude Scheme before your Lordship, of the *Turkish Government, Policies, and Customs*; a Subject which Travellers have rather represented to their Country-men, to supply them with Discourse and Admiration, than as a Matter worthy the Consideration or Concernment of our Kings, or our Governors.

It hath been the happy Fortune of the *Turk* to be accounted Barbarous and Ignorant; for upon this Perswasion, Christian Princes have laid themselves open and unguarded, to their greatest Danger; contending together for one Palm of Land, whilst this Puissant Enemy hath made himself Master of whole Provinces, and largely shared in the rich and pleasant Possessions of *Europe*.

This Contempt of the *Turk* on one side, caused the Emperor to be so backward in opposing that Torrent of the *Ottoman Force*, which in the first Year of the late War broke in upon him; and the suspicion of Designs from *France* on the other, altered the Resolutions and Councils of the Emperor for prosecution of the War; which then running favourably on the Christians part, was no less than with the astonishment of the whole World, and of the *Turks* themselves, on a sudden understood to be clapt up with Articles of a disadvantageous Peace; admiring to see the Emperor give a stop to the Current of his Victories, and relinquish the Game with a lucky Hand.

A

But

The Epistle Dedicatory.

But this will seem no Riddle to those who penetrate Affairs with the same Judgment that your Lordship doth, and consider the uniform Condition the House of Austria was in, by a daily expectation of the Death or fall of so main a Basis of it, as the King of Spain, and the Division amongst the Princes of the Empire; the League on the Rhine; the French Practices; to make the Duke of Enguien King of Poland; and the extravagant Demands of the French and Rhinish League for Winter-quarters, and places of Strength, not only in Hungary, but also in Syria, and the adjacent Places; and at the same time look on the Factions in Hungary, and a considerable Army of French in the Bowels of Germany, who were supposed in those Parts to have rather come with Design to overawe the next Diet, and force the German Princes to elect the French King for King of the Romans, than with sincere and simple Intentions of opposing themselves to the Enemy of the Faith: For then it will appear, that the best use the Emperor could make of his good Success, was Moderation in Victory, and Reconciliation with his powerful Enemy. And hereupon Earl Lisle being dispatched for Extraordinary Ambassador from his Imperial Majesty to the Grand Signior; though the Turk was elevated with the thoughts of the Necessity the Christians had of a Peace; did yet so happily manage his Charge and Employment, as created in the Turks an extraordinary Reverence towards his Person, and obtained such Honours and Treatments from them, as the Turkish Court never bestowed before on the Emperor's, or an other Christian Ambassador; extorting this Complement from the Great Vizier, *That he was more satisfied the Emperor had sent so brave and illustrious a Person, than if he had sought to reconcile his Affections with an hundred thousand Dollars more of Present.* And to do justice to this worthy Person, he hath brought a Reputation to the British Nation, above any in our Age, whose Vertues and Industry have acquired the highest Trusts and Preferments in Foreign Parts; and done the same Honour to his King, under whom he was born a Subject, as to the present Emperor and his Ancestors, under whom he is, and hath always been a faithful Minister; having delivered to eminently for saving the whole German Empire from the Treason of *Wallenstein*, by his own single Act of Bravery, (a Story notoriously known to all the World) as can never in gratitude be forgot by that Nation, nor want its due Record and Place in the History of that Country.

The Speculation of what is contained in this following Discourse, may seem unworthy of your Lordship's precious Hours, in regard of that Notion of Barbarity with which this Empire is stiled; yet the knowledge hereof will be like a *Turquoise*, or some other Jewels set within the Role of those many Gems of your Lordship's Wisdom and Vertues.

This Present, which I humbly consecrate to your Lordship, may be termed Barbarous, as all things are which are differenced from us by diversity of Manners and Custom, and are not dressed in the Mode and Fashion of our Times and Countries; for we contract Prejudice from Ignorance and want of Familiarity. But your Lordship, who exactly ponderates the Weight of Humane Actions, acknowledges Reason in all its Habits, and draws not the Measures of Oeconomy, or Policy, from Eternal Appearances or Effects, but from the Fundamental and Original Constitutions; so that your Lordship will conclude, that a People, as the *Turks* are, Men of the same Composition with us, cannot be so Savage and Rude as they are generally described; for Ignorance and Grossness is the Effect of Poverty, not incident to happy Men, whose Spirits are elevated with Spoils and Trophies of so many Nations.

Knowing

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Knowing (my Lord) that this Work which I have undertaken is liable to common Censure, I have chosen to throwd my Name under the Patronage of your Lordship, to protect me from the ill-understanding and mis-conceptions of our Country-men, both at Home and Abroad: against which I doubt not but to be sufficiently armed in all parts where I travel, when the Countenance your Lordship affords me, is joined to the Authority of his Excellency the Earl of *Winchelsea*, His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary, now actually Resident at *Constantinople*, my ever honoured Lord; to whom I read, a long time before published to the World, the greatest part of this following Treatise; and as I received his favourable Approbation and Assent to the Verity of most Matters herein contained; so I must ingenuously confess to have been beholden to that quick and refin'd Genius of his, who often rectified my Mistakes, supplied me with Matter, and remembered me of many material Points, which I might otherwise have most unadvisedly omitted: And his Excellency knowing that in his absence this Book might want a favourable Patron, left me to my self to seek out one, who might concur with him in the same Innocent Defence. And as, my Lord, you are a Publick Person, and under our Gracious Sovereign, are one of those Generous Spirits which have espoused the common Interest of the Nation; so I presume, on this present Occasion, not to want your Protection also in a single Capacity: For which excess of Favours, I shall ever pray for the Exaltation of the greater Glory of your Lordship, and for ever acknowledg my self,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Humble,

most Faithful, and

most devoted Servant,

PAUL RICAUT.

T O

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

I Present thee here with a true System or Model of the Turkish Government and Religion; not in the same manner as certain ingenious Travellers have done, who have set down their Observations as they have obviously occurred in their Journeys; which being collected, for the most part, from Relations, and Discourses of such who casually intervene in Company of Passengers, are consequently subject to many Errors and Mistakes: But having been an Inhabitant my self, at the Imperial City, for the space of five Years, and assisted by the advantage of considerable Journeys I have made through divers parts of Turkey, and qualified by the Office I hold of Secretary to the Earl of Winchelsea, Lord Ambassador, I had opportunity, by the constant access and practice with the chief Ministers of State, and variety of Negotiations which passed through my hands in the Turkish Court, to penetrate farther into the Mysteries of this Policy, which appear so strange and barbarous to us, than hasty Travellers could do, who are forced to content themselves with a Superficial Knowledge.

The Computations I have made of the Value of their Offices, of the Strength and Number of their Souldiery, according as every City and Country is rated, are deduced from their own Registers and Records. The Observations I have made of their Policy, are either, Maxims received from the Mouth and Argument of considerable Ministers, or Conclusions arising from my own Experience and Considerations. The Articles of their Faith, and Constitutions of Religion, I have set down as pronounced from the Mouth of some of the most learned Doctors and Preachers of their Law, with whom, for Money, or Presents, I gained a familiarity and appearance of friendship. The Relation of the Seraglio, and Education of their Youth, with divers other matters of Custom and Rule, were transmitted to me by several sober Persons, trained up in the best Education of the Turkish Learning; and particularly, by an understanding Polonian, who had spent nineteen Years in the Ottoman Court.

If (Reader) the Superstition, Vanity and ill foundation of the Mahometan Religion seem fabulous, as a Dream, or the Fancies of a distracted and wild Brain, thank God that thou wert born a Christian, and within the Pale of an Holy and an Orthodox Church. If the Tyranny, Oppression and Cruelty of that State, wherein Reason stands in no competition with the Pride and Lust of an unreasonable Minister, seem strange to thy Liberty and Happiness, thank God that thou art born in a Country the most free and just in all the World; and a Subject to the most indulgent, the most gracious of all the Princes of the Universe; That thy Wife, thy Children, and the Fruits of thy Labour, can be called thine own, and protected by the valiant Arm of thy fortunate King: And thus learn to know and prize thy own freedom, by comparison with Foreign Servitude, that thou mayst ever bless God and thy King, and make thy Happiness breed thy Content, without degenerating into Wantonness, or desire of Revolution. Farewel.

THE

THE MAXIMS OF THE Turkish Polity.

BOOK. I.

CHAP. I.

The Constitution of the Turkish Government, being different from most others in the World, hath need of peculiar Maxims and Rules whereon to establish and confirm it self.

I Have begun a Work which seems very full of Difficulty and Labour: for to trace the Footsteps of Government in the best formed and moulded Common-Wealths, (such as are supported with Reason and with Religion) is no less than to unriddle and resolve a Mystery. For as a Common-Wealth, by many Authors, hath not been unaptly compared to a Ship, in divers respects, and proper Allegories: so principally the small Impression or Sign of Track, the floating Habitation leaves behind it on the Sea, in all the Traverses it makes, according to the different Winds, to attain its Port, is a lively Emblem of the various Motions of good Government, which by reason of Circumstances, Times, and multiplicity of Changes and Events, leaves little or no Path in all the Ocean of Humane Affairs.

But there must be yet certain Rules in every Government, which are the Foundations and Pillars of it; not subject to the Alteration of Time, or any other Accident; and so essential to it, that they admit of no change, until the whole Model of Polity suffer a Convulsion, and be shaken into some other Form; which is either effected by the new Laws of a Conqueror, or by intestine and civil Revolutions.

Of such Maxims as these, (obvious to all who have had any practice in the Ottoman Court) I have made a Collection, subjoining to every Head some Reflexions and Considerations of my own, which at my leisure Hours I have weighed and examined, bringing them (according to the proportion of my weak Judgment and Ability) to the Measure and Test of Reason and Vertue; as also to a Similitude and Congruity with the Maxims of other Empires, to which God hath given the largest extent of Dominion.

But indeed, when I have considered seriously the Contexture of the Turkish Government, the

absoluteness of an Emperor, without Reason, without Vertue, whose Speeches may be irrational, and yet must be Laws; whose Actions irregular, and yet Examples; whose Sentence and Judgment, if in Matters of the Imperial Concomitment, are most commonly corrupt, and yet Decrees irrefragable: When I consider what little rewards there are for Vertue, and no Punishment for profitable and thriving Vice; how Men are raised at once by Adulation, Chance, and the sole Favour of the Prince, without any Title of Noble Blood, or the Motives of Previous Deserts, or former Testimonies and Experience of Parts and Abilities, to the weightiest, the richest, and most honourable Charges of the Empire; when I consider how short their continuance is in them, how with one Frown of their Prince they are cut off; with what greediness, above all people in the World, they thirst and haste to be Rich, and yet know their Treasure is but their Snare; what they labour for, is but as Slaves for their great Patron and Master, and what will inevitably effect their Ruin and Destruction, though they have all the Arguments of Faithfulness, Vertue, and moral Honesty (which are rare in a Turk) to be their Advocates, and plead for them.

When I consider many other things of like Nature, (which may more at large hereafter be discoursed of) one might admire the long continuance of this great and vast Empire, and attribute the stability thereof without change within it self, and the increase of Dominions and constant progress of its Arms, rather to some supernatural Cause, than to the ordinary Maxims of State, or Wisdom of the Governors; as if the Divine Will of the All-knowing Creator, had chosen for the good of his Church, and chastisement of the Sins and Vices of Christians, to raise and support this mighty People. *Mihi quæso*

plura

2. *plura recentius sunt veterum revulsos, tanto magis in-
dubia veterum mortalium cultus in negotiis observan-
tur.*

But that which cements all Breaches, and cures all those Wounds in this Body Politick, is the quickness and severity of their Justice, which not considering much the strict division and parts of distributive and commutative, makes almost every Crime equal, and punishes it with the last and extreme chastisement, which is Death; I mean those which have relation to the Government, and are of common and publick Interest. Without this Remedy, which I lay down as a principal Prevention of the greatest Disorders, this mighty Body would burst with the Poison of its own ill Humors, and soon divide it self into several Signories, as the Ambition and Power of the Governors, most remote from the Imperial Seat, administered them hopes and security of becoming Absolute.

In this Government, Severity, Violence and Cruelty are natural to it, and it was as great an Error to begin to loose the Reins, and ease the People of that Oppression to which they and their Fore-fathers have, since their first original, been accustomed, as it would be in a Nation free-born, and used to live under the Protection of good Laws, and the Clemency of a virtuous and Christian Prince, to exercise a Tyrannical Power over their Estates and Lives, and change their Liberty into Servitude and Slavery. The Turk had the original of their Civil Government found in the time of the War: for when they first came out of *Seythia*, and took Arms in their Hands, and submitted unto one General, it was to be supposed, that they had no Laws but what were Arbitrary and Martial, and most agreeable to the enterprise and Design they had in hand, when *Tamopolis* overthrew the Persian Sultan, possessed himself of his Dominions and Power, and called and opened the way for his Companions out of *Armenia*; when *Cuthmenges* revolted from him, and made a distinct Kingdom in *Arabia*: when other Princes of the *Seloeician* Family in the infancy of the Turkish Power had by Wars among themselves, or by Testament made division of their Possessions; when (*Anno 1300.*) *Ottoman*, by strange Fortunes, and from small beginnings followed up all the other Governments into the *Oguzian* Tribe, and united them under one Head, until at last it arrived to that greatness and power it now enjoys. The whole condition of this People was but a continued state of War; wherefore it is not strange, if their Laws are severe, and in most things arbitrary, that the Emperor should be Absolute and above Law, and that most of their Customs should run in a certain Chancel and Course most answerable to the height and unlimited Power of the Governor, and consequently to the Oppression and Subjection of the People, and that they should thrive most by servitude, be most happy, prosperous and contented under Tyranny, as is natural to them, as to a Body to be nourished with that Diet which it had from its Infancy or Birth been acquainted with. But not only is Tyranny requisite for this People, and a stiff reign to curb them, left by an unknown Liberty they grow mutinous and unruly, but likewise the large Territories and remote parts of the Empire require speedy preventions, without Process of Law, or formal Indictment: justice and infusion of Mis-government being Licence and Authority enough for the Emperor to inflict his severest Punishments; all which depends upon the Absoluteness of the Prince;

which because it is that whereby the *Turks* are principally supported in their Greatness, and is the prime Maxim and Foundation of their State, we shall make it the Discourse and Subject of the following Chapter.

CHAP. II.

The Absoluteness of the Emperor is a great Support of the Turkish Empire.

THE *Turks* having (as is before declared) laid the first foundation of their Government with the Principles most agreeable to Military Discipline, their Generals or Princes, whose Will and Lusts they served, became absolute Masters of their Lives and Estates; so that what they gained and acquired by the Sword, with Labours, Perils and Sufferings, was appropriated to the use and benefit of their Great Master. All the delightful Fields of *Asia*, the pleasant Plains of *Tempe* and *Thrace*, all the Plenty of *Egypt*, and Fruitfulness of the *Nile*, the Luxury of *Corinth*, the Subtance of *Peloponnesus*, *Athens*, *Lemnos*, *Scio*, and *Mitylene*, with other Isles of the *Ægean Sea*, the Spices of *Arabia*, and the Riches of a great part of *Perfia*, all *Armenia*, the Provinces of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Bythina*, *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Palghestia*, *Callosyria* and *Phanicia*, *Colchis*, and great part of *Georgia*, the Tributary Principalities of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, *Romania*, *Bulgaria*, and *Servia*, and the best part of *Hungary*, concur all together to satisfy the Appetite of one single Person; all the extent of this vast Territory, the Lands and Houses, as well as the Castles and Arms, are the proper Goods of the Grand Signior, in his sole Disposal and Gift they remain, whose Possession and Right they are; only to Lands dedicated to Religious uses, the Grand Signior disclaims all Right or Claim; and this he so piously observes (to the shame of our Sectaries in *England*, who violate the *generality* of the Sanctuary) that when a *Bathwa*, though afterwards convicted of Treason, bestows any Lands or Rents on any certain Mosch or Temple, that Grant or Gift is good and exempted from any Disposal or Power of the Grand Signior. The Lands being thus originally in the Grand Signior, after the Conquests were made, and the Country secured, and in condition to be divided, Divisions were made of the Houses, Manors and Farms among the Souldiery, whom they call *Tirmars*, as the Reward and Remcompence of their Valour and Labour; in consideration of which, every one proportionably to his Revenue and Possession, is obliged to maintain Horse and Men to be always ready when the Grand Signior shall call him forth to serve him in the Wars; by which means the whole Country being in the hands of the Souldiery, all places are the better strengthened, and thus conquered People more easily kept from Mutiny and Rebellion; nor much unlike our Tenure of Knights-service in *England*, and Lands held of the Crown, but with this difference, that we enjoy them by the Title of a fixed and settled Law, never to be forfeited but upon Treason and Rebellion; they enjoy them also by Inheritance derived from the Father to the Son, but yet as usufructuary during the pleasure of the Emperor, in whom the Property is always reserved, and who do often, as his Humor and Fancy leads him to please and gratify

The largeness of the Turkish Empire.

gratify a Stranger, dispossess an ancient Possessor, whose Family hath for many generations enjoyed that Inheritance. Sometimes I have heard, with the Sighs of some, and the Curse of others, how the Grand Signior heated in his Hunting, and pleased with the refreshment of a little cool and crystal Water, presented him by a poor Palfant, hath in recompence thereof freed the Tenant from the Rent of his Landlord, and by his sole Word confirmed to him the Cottage he lived in, the Woods, Gardens and Fields he managed, with as found a Title, as our long Deeds and Conveyances secure our Purchases and Inheritances in *England*; and this the former Master dares not name Injustice, because this Tenant is now made Proprietor by the Will of the Grand Signior, which was the same Title and Claim with his; Prescription, Tenant-right, and Custom availing nothing in this Case. For if the inheritance hath been anciently derived from Father to the Son, the more is the Goodness and Bounty of the Emperor to be acknowledged, that hath permitted so long a Succession of his Favours to run in one Family, in whose Power it was to transfer it to others.

The absolute and unlimited Power of this Prince is more evident by the Titles they give, as *god on Earth*, the *Shadow of God*, *Breath to the Universe*, *the Great God of the Earth*, *Crown*, &c. And though they do not build and erect Altars to him, as was done to the Roman Emperors, when that People degenerated into a fashion of deformed Adulation, wherein Italy is at present corrupted; yet the Conception they have of his Power, the Ray they conceive to be in him of Divine Illumination, is a kind of imagery and Idolatrous Fogy they frame of his Person; all the extent of his Authority among the Turkish Cadeses and Lawyers, that the *Grand Signior is above the Law*; that is, whatsoever Law is written, is controllable, and may be contradicted by him: his Mouth is the Law it self, and the Power of an Infallible Interpretation is in him; and though the *Mufti* is many times, for custom, formality, and satisfaction of the People consulted with, yet when his Sentences have not been agreeable to the Designs intended, I have known him, in an instant, thrown from his Office to make room for another Oracle better prepared for the purpose of his Master.

Some maintain that the very Oaths and Promises of the Grand Signior are always revocable, when the performance of his Vow is a restriction to the absolute Power of the Empire. And I remember when my Lord Ambassador hath sometimes complained of the Breach of our Capitulations, and pleaded that the Grand Signior had no Power by single Commands to infringe Articles of Peace, to which he had obliged himself by solemn Oaths and Vows; the Interpreters have gently touched that Point, and been as nice to question how far the Power of the Grand Signior extended, as we ought to be in the same Points of the Divine Omnipotence, but rather in contemplation of the Grand Signior's Justice, Wisdom, Faith and Clemency, insinuated Arguments of Honour, Convenience and Justice in maintaining the League inviolate with the King of *England*. It was *Tullianus*'s Rule concerning the Prerogative of Princes, *Esse legibus solutus sumus, tamen legibus vivimus*: That is, although the Subjects of Princes, and the necessity of having a Supreme Head in all Governments, did free and privilege them from all Punishment, and exempt them from the Censure and Correction of the Law, that no earthly

Power could call them to account for their Errors or Disorders in this World; yet it is necessary to the being of an absolute Monarch, to be a severe Executioner of the Laws of his Country; and it is more his Interest and Security, than to act without Rule, and always to make use of the Power of Absolute Dominion, which is to be applied like Phycick, when the ordinary force of Nature cannot remove the malignancy of some peccant Humour.

The Grand Signior himself is also restrained by Laws, but without impeachment to his Absolute Jurisdiction. For when there is a new Emperor, it is the custom to conduct him with great Pomp and Triumph to a place in the Suburbs of *Constantinople* called *Jeb*, where is an ancient Monument of some certain Prophet, or Holy Man, whom the Turks, for want of knowledge in Antiquity and History, fly, that *Jeb*, who was recorded for the mirror of Constancy and Patience. For they confound all History in Chronology, saying, That *Jeb was Solomon's* Judge of the Court, and *Alexander the Great*, Captain of his Army. At this Place solemn Prayers are made, that God would prosper, and infuse Wisdom into him, who is to manage to great a Charge. Then the Mufti embracing him, bestows his Benediction, and the Grand Signior swears and promises solemnly to maintain the Muleman Faith, and Laws of the Prophet *Mahomet*; and then the Viziers of the Bench, and other *Bathwas*, with profound reverence and humility, kissing the Ground first, and then the Hemm of his Vest, acknowledge him their lawful and undoubted Emperor: And after this Form of Inauguration, he returns with the like Solemnity and Magnificence to the *Seraglio* (which is always the Seat of the *Ottoman* Emperors.) And thus the Grand Signior retains, and obliges himself to govern within the compass of Laws; but they give him so large a latitude, that he can no more be said to be Bound or Limited, than a Man who hath the World to rove in can be termed a Prisoner, because he cannot exceed the Inclosure of the Universe. For though he be obliged to the execution of the *Mahometan Law*, yet that Law calls the Emperor the Mouth and Interpreter of it, and endues him with power to alter and annul the most settled and fixed Rules, at least to wave and dispense with them when they are an Obstacle to his Government, and contradict (as we said before) any great Design of the Empire. But the learned Doctors among the *Turks* more clearly restrain the Imperial Power only to the observation of that which is Religious in the *Mahometan Law*, saying, That in Matters which are Civil, his Law is Arbitrary, and needs no other Judge or Legislator than his own Will. Hence it is that they say, the Grand Signior can never be deposed or made accountable to any for his Crimes, whilst he defrays carefully of his Subjects under the number of an hundred a day, and in like manner hence it is, that though the *Mahometan Law* determines the Testimony of two Witnesses of that Faith to be valid for the determination of all Cases of Difference, yet by our Capitulation it is provided, that no Turkish Witnesses, of what number or quality soever, can avail any of the *English* Nation, by reason that this title being Civil, is dispensable by the Imperial Power; but I doubt, were any Matter in question Criminal (as we have never, God be praised, had occasion to put it to trial) the Capitulations would be forced to yield to the *Mahometan Law*, as being both Religious and vine

Mr. Esprit de la loi, dit que la loi est la base de tout le bien public, et que sans elle, le gouvernement est comme un bâtiment sans fondement.

vine, with which the Sultan hath no power to dispense.

Of what Consequence and Benefit this Absolute Power hath been to the *Turks*, is evident by the extent of their Empire, and success of their Arms. For if the Sultan pleases the Souldiery, no matter how the People in this constitution is contented; and this was the conclusion of *Machiavel* upon this Government, in the 19th Chapter of his Book *del Principe*. And it must needs be a great advantage to a Commander, when the *Orile* and *Justum* are reconciled and made the same, and that he meets no contradiction or opposition at home, which may retard or cross the great Designs Abroad. The Emperor of Germany had doubtless sooner encountered the *Turks*, and given a stop to his free entrance the first Year of the late War into *Hungary*, had he been Absolute of the whole Empire, and not necessitated to expect the consent of his several Princes, and the result of a Diet, when the *Turks* were even ready to enter Germany. For when many Heads or Hands are required, all Business moves slowly, and more Time is spent in agreement of the manner of Action, in Arguments and Debates (which are most commonly carried on by Faction) than in the most difficult Point of execution. It would seem a great Clog to the Grand Signior to be obliged to depend on the Bounty of his Subjects, when he would make a War, or on the Judgment of a Lawyer, that should contradict and censure the Actions of his Prince as irregular, and exceeding the Privileges of his Prerogative. It is very difficult to understand how it is possible with these Fetters for any Country or City ever to arrive to that height, as to be termed the Mistress of a great Empire, or a Prince be said to have a long Arm, or embrace a large Compas of the Globe, who is pinion'd with the Bands of his own Laws. But I pinion'd with the Bands of his own Laws. But I confess it is a Blessing, and wonderful Happiness of a People, to be Subjects of a gracious Prince, who hath prescribed his Power within the compass of wholesome Laws, acknowledged a right of Possession and Propriety of Estate as well in his Subjects as himself, who doth not punish the Innocent with the Guilty, nor oppress without distinction, nor act the part of that King whom God gives in his Wrath. But then they must content themselves with their own Borders, or some neighbouring Conquest, and this is better, and a greater Glory and Content, than the Honour of being Slaves to the Lust of a Monarch, whose Tyrants comprehend the greatest part of the World.

CHAP. III.

The Lesson of Obedience to the Emperor is taught by the *Turks*, as a Principle of Religion rather than of State.

THE absolute Power in the Prince implies an exact Obedience in the Subjects; and to infill and confirm that Principle, no Art or Industry is wanting in the education of those who are placed in the Seraglio, with design of prement to Offices and great Charges; so that even the Oath of Obedience, which Friars and other Religious Men vow to their Superiors at their first initiation into Ecclesiastical Orders, is not more exactly or devoutly observed or professed by

them, than this Doctrine of Submission to the Will of their great Master, is carefully taught to his Young Scholars who stand Probationers and Candidates for all the Government of the Empire. To die by the hand or command of the Grand Signior, when the blow is submitted to, with entire resignation, is taught to be the highest point of Martyrdom; and whose good Fortune it is to suffer, is immediately transported to Paradise. *Kara Mustapha Pashan* (a great Viceroy) after he had been so successful in all Matters of his Charge, and proved so excellent an Instrument of Victories and Services to his Master, that he was applauded by all to be a most happy and fortunate Minister, was so sensible of his own Condition, and the favour of his Prince, that he confelld he was now arrived to the greatest Glory and Perfection he could in this Life aspire to, and only wanted the Holy Martyrdom, to die by the Order and Sentence of the Grand Signior, as the Reward of his Faithfulness, and the Confirmation of all his Honours.

Such as receive any Wages or pay, coming from the Exchequer, or any Office depending on the Crown, have the title of *Kul*, which is, the Grand Signior's Slave: such is the great Viceroy and all the Bakhaws of the Empire, and it is more honourable than the Condition and Name of *Subject*; for they have a privilege over these, and can revile, beat and abuse them with Authority; but the *Subject* cannot offer the least injury to the *Slave*, without danger of severe punishment. Slavery amongst the *Turks* denotes a condition of entire resignation to the Will and Command of the Emperor, to perform whatsoever he signifies; or, if possible, what he conceives: though he command with the Arms of them to precipitate themselves from a Rock, or build a Bridge with Piles of their Bodies for him to pass Rivers, or to kill one another to afford him pastime and pleasure. They that have been where they have seen and known the manner of this blind Obedience, may well cry out, *O homines ad servitutem paratos!* And doubtless the flattery used in the Seraglio towards the Prince, by those that are near his Person, is proportionable to this condition of slavery they profess, and cannot but fanie a strange kind of projected benefices in all the department within the Walls of the Seraglio, when there appears so much condescension Abroad to all the lusts and evil inclinations of their Master; so that a generous Prince (as some have been found among the *Ottoman* Emperors) though he desired not the publick Liberty, would yet be weary of this slavish compliance, and seek other counsel and means to inform himself of the true state of his own and other Kings Dominions, than such as proceed from Men unexperienced in any other Court or Country than that they live in. This flattery and immoderate subjection hath doubtless been the cause of the decay of the Turkish Discipline in the Time of Sultan *Ibrahim*, when Women governed, and now in this present Age of Sultan *Mahomet*, whose Counsels are given chiefly by his Mother, Negroes, Eunuchs, and some handsome young *Mosaff* or Favourite; seldom any from without being permitted, or have their Spirits emboldened to declare a Truth, or are called to give their counsel in Matters of greatest importance. So that this Obedience which brave and wise Emperors have made use of in the advancement of noble Exploits, and enlargement of their Empire, is with effeminate Princes (delighted with flattery) the Snare of their

Qui libertatem publicam nollit, eam proposita servitutis patetis tradit.
Tac.

their own Greatness, and occasion of weak Counsels and Means in the management of great Designs. If a Man seriously consider the whole composition of the Turkish Court, he will find it to be a Prison and Bannard of Slaves, differing from that where the Galley-slaves are immured, only by the Ornaments and glittering out-side and appearances: here their Chains are made of Iron, and there of Gold and the difference is only in a painted shining servitude, from that which is a squalid, fordid and a noisome slavery. For the Youth educated in the Seraglio (which we shall have occasion to discourse of in the next Chapter) are kept as it were within a Prison, under a strange severity of Discipline, some for twenty, thirty, others forty Years, others the whole time of the Age of Man, and grow gray under the correction of their *Hagias* or Tutors. The two Brothers of this present Grand Signior are also imprisoned here, restrained with a faithful and careful Guard, and perhaps are sometimes permitted, out of Grace and Favour, into the presence of their Brother, to kiss his Vell, and to perform the offices of Duty and Humility before their Prince. The Ladies also of the Seraglio have their faithful Keepers of the Black Guard to attend them, and can only have the liberty of enjoying the Air, which passes through Grates and Lattices, unless sometime they obtain licence to sport and recreate themselves in the Garden, separated from the sight of Men, by Walls higher than those of any Nunhery.

Nay, if a Man considers the Contexture of the whole Turkish Government, he will find such a Fabric of slavery, that it is a wonder if any amongst them should be born of a free ingenious Spirit. The Grand Signior is born of a Slave, the Mother of the present being a Circassian, taken perhaps by the Tartars in their incursions into that Country. The Vissiers themselves are not always free-born by Father or Mother: for the *Turks* get more Children by their Slaves than by their Wives, and the continual supply of Slaves sent in by the Tartar, taken from different Nations, by way of the Black Sea, (as hereafter we shall have occasion to speak more fully) fills *Constantinople* with such a strange Race, Mixture, and Medley of different sorts of Blood, that it is hard to find many that can derive a clear Line from ingenious Parents: So that it is no wonder that amongst the *Turks* a disposition be found fitted and disposed for a severe and tyrannous Hand, than with sweetness and Lenity, unknown to them and their Forefathers: as *Grotius* takes this Maxim out of *Arifus*, *Quisdam homines natura esse feroces; i. e. ad servitutem aptos; & ita populi quidem, eo sunt ingenio, ut regi quam regere norint rectius.* But since it appears that Submission and Subjection are incident to the Nature of the *Turks*, and Obedience taught, and so carefully infilled into them with their first Rudiments; it may be a pertinent question, How it comes to pass, that there are so many Mutinies and Rebellions as are seen and known amongst the *Turks*, and those commonly the most insolent, violent and desperate that we read of in Story. To let pass the Mutinies of former Times in the Ottoman Camp, and the usual, though short Rebellions of ancient Days: I shall instance in the Causes and Beginnings of two notorious Disturbances, or rather Madneses of the Souldiery, not mentioned in any History, which being passages of our Age, deserve greatly to be recorded.

This Obedience then that is so diligently taught and infilled into the Turkish Militia (as to the Spahes in their Seraglios, or Seminaries; the Janifaries in their Chambers;) sometimes is forgot, when the Passions & Animosities of the Court (by which inferior Affections are most commonly regulated) corrupt that Discipline, which is Reason and Sobriety instituted. For the Affections of Princes are ended with a general Influence, when two powerful Parties aspiring both to Greatness and Authority, allure the Souldiers to their respective Factions, and engage them in a Civil War amongst themselves; and hence proceed Seditions, destruction of Empires, the Overthrow of Common-Wealths, and the violent Death of great Ministers of State.

And so it happened, when ill Government, and unprosperous Successes of War, caused Disobedience in the Souldiery, whose false emulous of the Greatness of those that were in Power, nourished and raised to make place for themselves or their Party. For in the time of Sultan *Mahomet*, the present Grand Signior, when the whole Government of the Empire rested in the hands of one *Malik Kader*, a young audacious Woman, by the extraordinary Favour and Love of the Queen-Mother, (who, as it was divulged, exercised an unnatural kind of Carnality with the said Queen) so that nothing was left to the Council and Order of the Viceroy and grave Seniors, but was fit to receive Approbation and Authority from her; the black Eunuchs and Negroes gave Laws to all, and the Cabinet-Councils were held in the secret Apartments of the Women; and there were Proscriptions made, Officers discharged, or ordained as were most proper to advance the Interest of this Feminine Government. But at length the Souldiery (not used to the Tyranny of Women) no longer supporting this kind of Servitude, in a moment resolved on a Remedy, and in great Tumults came to the Seraglio, where demanding the Grand Signior himself to the Kiosch, or Banqueting-house, they demanded, without farther Prologue, the Heads of the Favourite Eunuchs; there was no Argument or Rhetorick to be propoed to this unreasonable Multitude, nor Time given for delays, or consultation; but every one of the accused, as he was entered into the Souldiers Roll or Catalogue, and required, being first strangled, was afterwards thrown headlong from the Wall of the Garden, and committed to the farther satisfaction of their Enemies Revenge, by whom from thence they were dragged to the *Hippodrome*, and before the new Mosque cut into small pieces, and their Flesh roasted and eaten by them. The day following, they apprehended *Malik*, and her Husband *Sehban Kalfa*, both whom they put to Death; nor ended this Tumult here, until by means of distinction between the Spahes and Janifaries, the principal Ministers found means and opportunity to interpose their Power; and having executed several of the Spahes, and performed other exemplary parts of Justice, reduced Matters to some kind of quietness and composure; and thus Order results often from Confusion, and Tumults in corrupted Common-Wealths have operated good Effects to the redress of several Evils. But besides this Infurrection or Mutiny of the Janifaries, have succeeded divers other; but because there hath been no disorder amongst them so notorious and memorable, as that which occasioned the Death of *Kiofem*, Grandmother to the present Sultan, we have thought fit to record the certain Particulars of it to all Posterity.

C H A P. IV.

A True Relation of the Designs managed by the old Queen, Wife of Sultan Ahmet, and Mother of Sultan Morat, and Sultan Ibrahim, against her Grand-Child Sultan Mahomet, who now Reigns; and of the Death of the said Queen and her Complices.

AFTER the murder of Sultan Ibrahim, by conspiracy of the Janifaries, Sultan Mahomet, (eldest Son of the late deceased Emperor, a Child of nine Years old) succeeded in the Throne of his Father; and the Tuition of him, and Administration of the Government (during his minority) was committed to the old Queen, the Grandmother, who by her long experience, and practice in Affairs, was able, and proper for so considerable an Office; and so the young Sultan was conducted to the *Mosch of Eibn*, where with the accustomed Ceremonies, his Sword was girt to his side, and he proclaimed Emperor through all the Kingdoms and Provinces of his Dominions.

For some time this old Queen governed all things according to her pleasure, until the Mother of this young Sultan, as yet trembling with the thoughts of the horrid Death of her Lord; and fearing lest the subtle and old Politician the Grandmother (who had compassed the Death of her Husband) should likewise contrive the Murder of her Son, grew hourly more jealous of his Life and Safety; which suspicion of hers was augmented by the knowledge she had of the ambitious and haughty Spirit of the Grandmother, and the private Treasures, and secret Correspondence she held with the Janifaries, which compelled her to a resolution of making a Faction likewise with the Spahes, and Palhaws, and Beyes, who had received their Education in the Seraglio, being a party always opposite to the Janifaries. These she courted by Letters and Messages, complaining of the Death and Murder of the Sultan her Husband, the Pride and Insolence of the Janifaries; and small esteem was had of her Son, their undoubted Prince; adding, that if they provided not for their own Safety, the old Queen would abolish both the Name and Order of Spahes. The Asiatic Spahes awakened hereat, with a considerable Army, marched to *Scwarz*, under the conduct of *Gurgi Nebi*, and demanded the Heads of those who had been the Traytors and Conspirators against the sacred Life of their late Sovereign; all which were then under the protection of the Janifaries, and supported by the powerful Authority of the Queen Regent. Upon this Alarm the Grand Vizier, (called *Murat Palhaw*) who had had his Education among the Janifaries, being adored by them as an Oracle, and engaged with them in the late Treason against the Sultan, speedily passed over from *Constantinople* to *Scwarz*, with an Army of Janifaries, and others of his Favourites and Followers, transporting likewise Artillery and all necessaries for entrenchment; some Skirmishes passed between the Vanguard of the Spahes and the Deli (which are the Vizier's Guard) and thereby had engaged both the Armies; but that the two Chief Politicks of *Anatolia* and *Greece* interposing with their grave and religious Countenances, pre-

ached to them of the Danger and Impiety there was in the effusion of Multitudes or Believers Blood; and that, had they any just Pretences, their Plea should be heard, and all Differences decided by the Law. These, and such like Persuasions made impression on *Gurgi Nebi* and other Spahes; and the posture they found their Advantages in, to give them battle, made them inclinable to hearken to Proposals for accommodation; but especially their Courages were abated by what the Justices had declared, that in case they repaired not to their own Homes, the Vizier was resolved to burn all the Rolls, and proclaim a general *Neftraum* through the whole Empire: which is an Edict of the King and Musti, commanding all the Turks of his Kingdoms, from seven Years old and upward, to arm and follow him to the War.

The Spahes hereupon dispersed themselves; and from their Retreat, increased the Pride of the Janifaries Faction, and of their chief Commanders, viz. *Belus Aga*, highly favoured by the Queen Regent; *Kul Kiahia* Lieutenant of the Janifaries, and *Kara Chiaus* a follower of *Belus*, who now esteemed themselves absolute Masters of the Empire. These three now governed all Matters, contriving in their secret Councils the destruction of the Spahes; especially those famed for Riches and Valour; and as one of the first Rank, gave order to the *Palha of Anatolia*, to take away the Life of *Gurgi Nebi*; whom accordingly he one day assailed in his Quarters, and being abandoned by his Soldiers, shot him with a Pistol, and sent his head to *Constantinople*.

The Spahes exasperated hereat, entered into private Councils and Conspiracies against the Janifaries, drawing to their party several Beyes and Palhaws of *Asia* (and particularly one *Ishir* a Circassian born, but educated in the Seraglio, a Person of a courageous Spirit, and powerful in Men and Treasure) assailed many Quarters of the Janifaries in *Asia*, and cutting off their Arms and Noises, miserably slaughtered as many as fell into their hands.

On the other party *Belus Aga*, secure in his condition, amassed Wealth with both hands, by new Impostutions, Rapine, and other Arts; causing to be coined at *Belgrade* three hundred thousand Aspers, one third Silver, and two of Tin; these Aspers he dispersed amongst the Tradesmen and Artisans, forcing others to exchange his false Metal for Gold, at the value of 160 Aspers for the Hungarian Ducat. The people sensible of the Cheat, began a Mutiny in the Quarter of the Saddlers at *Constantinople*, which increased so fast, that the whole City was immediately in a general Uproar: This Tumult was violently carried to the place of the Musti, whom they forced with the *Seigh* (who is the Grand Signior's Preacher) and the *Nakib Esfrif*, a Prime of the Mahometan Race, to accompany them to the Seraglio; where at the inward Gate of the Royal Lodgings, with Clamours and Out-cries, they made their Complaint. In this Danger the Grand Signior was advised by the *Capt Agasi*, and *Solyman Aga*, the *Kucur Aga* or chief Eunuch of the Women, that this happy Conjunction was to be embraced for the destruction of *Belus* and his Complices; but fear, and too much caution hindered that Design for the present; only it was judged fit, for satisfaction of the Multitude, that *Adile Ahmet Palhaw* (then Prime Vizier) and yet a Slave to the Lusts of the Janifaries) should be deprived of his Office; which was immediately effected; and

and the Seal taken from him, was delivered to *Siam Palhaw*, a stout and valiant Person. This Vizier being jealous of his own Honour, and jealous for the safety of the Empire, cast about all ways to suppress the arrogance of *Belus* and his Adherents; left the like shame and misfortune should befall him, as did to *Murat Palhaw* one of his late Predecessors in the Office of Vizier; who for dissenting from *Belus* in Opinion, had lost his Life, had he not escaped his Fury by flying into *Greece*.

The times were also troublesome, and full of danger; the Janifaries kept Guard in the Streets, not suffering so much as two Citizens to walk together, for prevention of secret Conspirations: many Artisans, or Handy-craftsmen, were imprisoned, as principally in the late Tumult, against the Content and Order of the new Vizier; the Court was also divided; The Sultan's Party contrived to surprize and kill the rebellious Commanders of the Janifaries, and that the day following, the Lieutenant of the *Bal-tages*, or Hatchmen, should encounter *Kul-chias* as he came according to custom to the Divan, and slay him; but the Old Queen being of a contrary Faction, with Threats and Menaces frighted that Officer from his design. The two Queens were exasperated highly against each other; one to maintain the Authority of her son, and the other her own: in the City the confusion grew greater; the Janifaries were not pleased with the election of *Siam Palha*, knowing him to be averse to their Faction; but yet considering the state of the Times, they endeavoured, with fair promises, to allure him to their Party.

The old Queen, by Letters, advised *Belus* of all Matters that were discussed in the Seraglio, intimating that the young Queen was Author of all these Disturbances, and that therefore, as a remedy of all these Evils, it was necessary that Sultan Mahomet should be deposed, and his younger Brother *Solyman* placed in his stead, who having a Mother, would be absolutely subject to her Tuition: she added likewise that *Solyman* was a lusty Youth, corpulent and Majestical, whereas Sultan Mahomet was lean, weakly and unable for the Crown. *Belus* having received this Message from the Queen Regent, assembled a Council at *Orta-giam* (that is the Janifaries *Mosch*) where was a great and solemn appearance both of the Souldiery and Lawyers, (which latter are of the Spiritual Function amongst them) some of friendship to their side, and others for fear of their Power; only the Vizier was wanting, whom they sent to invite, out of an Opinion that he might be drawn to their side; and in case they found him opposite, then not to suffer him to escape alive from their Councils. It was then two hours in the Night, when this Message came to the Vizier; and though it was against the State and Gravity of a Vizier to go to any, but his Masters; yet he thought it now time to dissemble, and overcome the greatness of his Mind; and so with a private Retinue went to the *Mosch*, where the first he encountered, was a Guard of Ten thousand Janifaries, armed with their Muskets and Matches lighted, which at first so dismayed him, that he had some thoughts of retreating, but afterwards recovering himself, and taking Courage, resolved to proceed; and coming to the *Mosch*, *Belus* vouchsafed not to meet him, but sent another to perform that Ceremony; at which neglect, though the greatness of his Spirit could scarce contain it self, yet suppressing his choler, he addressed himself to the Feet of *Belus*, who scarce arising, gave

him a faint welcome; and setting him on his left hand (which is the upper hand with the Turkish Souldiery) began to propound to him his new Designs; and first, that it was necessary, that the present King should be deposed, and *Solyman* Crowned in his place. That the Canons of the Imperial Seraglio should be reformed; and that whereas the Children of different Nations were yearly collected for the Service of the Grand Signior, none should for the future have admittance there, but the Sons of Janifaries. The Vizier consented to all that was proposed, professing a sincere affection and reality to them and their Party, swearing upon the *Alchoran*, with the most horrid Imprecations on himself, and his Family, if he were not faithful to Him and his Designs; which gave *Belus* that satisfaction, that he began to persuade himself that the Vizier was really a confiding Person, and one affectionate to their Interest; and so partly from this consideration, and partly out of a confidence of his own strength, and inability of the Vizier to hurt him, fairly took his leave of him, and so dismissed his *Kalaba Divan*, or his confuted Council.

But the *Chichia Bex* (or Lieutenant-General of the Janifaries) and *Kara-Chiaus* reproved very much *Belus* for permitting the Vizier to escape with his Life, saying, he had done ill in suffering the Bird to escape out of the Cage; that he had released one, and permitted him to carry his Head on his Shoulders, who would shortly take off theirs; with many words of the like effect. But *Belus* slighted their Reproof, as proceeding from want of Courage, and the ignorance of their own Power; and that the time until morning was so short, that should the Vizier intend to countermine them, he was wholly unable, being unprovided both of Power and Council. The Vizier being got free, went apace to the Seraglio, with two Men only, thanked God as he walked, that he was freed from the Hands of those Tyrants and villains; and coming to the Iron-gate, intending to pass through the Garden, he found it open, contrary to the custom; and enquiring of the Boftagees, or Gardiners, the reason, he could learn nothing farther from them, than that it was the order of the old Queen: who (as it appeared afterwards) expected her Confidants who might withdraw her that Night into some retirement where she might remain free from the Dangers of the ensuing Day. The Vizier being entered, went first to the Sultan's Apartments, and in his way, by good chance, met with the *Kucur Agasi*, *Solyman Aga*, the chief Eunuch of the Women, who in the dark was making his rounds about the old Queen's Lodgings; by the Vizier's voice *Solyman* knew who he was, but was amazed at his unreasonable visit; yet understanding the Business, thanked him for his Vigilance; adding, that he had also observed that the old Queen, contrary to her custom, was not yet gone to Bed, who did at other times at two hours in the Night dispose her self to rest, only this Evening she had entertained her self in company of her Eunuchs, and Favourites, with Music, Singing, and other unusual Delights. Wherefore, after some short deliberation, the Vizier, *Solyman Aga*, and others of the King's Eunuchs, went to the quarters of the old Queen, and offering to enter forcibly, were repulsed by the Queen's Eunuchs; but *Solyman Aga* being a stout Man, drew his Dagger and struck the chief Chamberlain *Bash Kapu Ogler* on the Face; upon which the other Eunuchs who accompanied *Solyman* entered

tred furiously with their Daggers, at which the Eunuchs of the Queen flying, remained alone in the Chamber, where she was committed to the custody of the King's Eunuchs. The fugitive Eunuchs would immediately have escaped out of the Seraglio, but the Gates were first shut by order of *Solymán Aga*, so that they, with all other Favourites of the said Queen, were taken and secured in safe hands. This Victory was so secretly obtained, that they received no Alarm in the Royal Lodgings, though near adjoining; so that the Vizier and *Solymán Aga* went to the Chamber where the King slept, and lifting up the Antipport, made a sign of silence to the Ladies of the Guard, commanding, by dumb motions, that the young Queen should be awakened (for that is the custom in the Grand Signior's Court to speak by signs, to prevent noise, and as if there were some point in it of Majesty and Decency, they have practised this mute Language so fully, that they are able to recount Stories in it.) The Ladies hereupon gently rubbing the Queen's Feet, railed her out of her sleep, and gave her to understand the *Solymán Aga* would speak with her; whereat the Queen surprized, leapt from her bed to speak with him, and was scarce informed of the Business, before he became so affrighted, that he could not contain her self within the Bounds of Moderation or Silence, but with great Cry ran to take her Son as one distracted, and catching him up in her Arms, cried out, *O Son! thou and I are dead*; the Grand Signior likewise as a Child bewailed himself, and falling at the feet of *Solymán Aga*, said, *Lala, Lala Kurat-Jem*, which is, Tutor, Tutor I love me: He not without Tears took his Lord into his Arms, and with the Vizier encouraged the Child and his Mother, protesting that they would rather die, than live to behold so horrid a ruin; and so accompanied him, (some Ladies carrying before Torches lighted in their hands) to the *Hozoda*, which is the Prefence Chamber, or place where the principal Officers of the Court attend. Upon the approach of the Torches, the Guard which watched in this Chamber was amazed, and walking towards the light to discover what there was, perceived that the Grand Signior was coming thither, and thereupon returned again with all haste to awaken their Companions, and calling them immediately to repair to their due service.

The Grand Signior being seated on a Throne, which is always remaining in the Prefence Chamber; the Officers heretofore (which are in number forty) presented themselves before him, desiring to know if his Majesty had any thing wherein to employ their Fidelity and Service. Hereat *Solymán Aga* said, *He that eats the King's Bread, should apply himself to the King's Service; we suffered the Traitors to destroy Sultan Ibrahim, and now they would also take this out of our hands. To you it belongs, who are his Majesty's Principal Servitors, to afford him your utmost assistance. Fetch Musallá Pasha, Sword-bearer to the Grand Signior, and chief of the Prefence Chamber, a Man of a Lion's Heart, and undaunted Resolution, understanding something formerly of the Bad inclinations of the old Queen towards the King, readily replied, Great Master, he has trod the blood, to mortify you shall see (God willing) the Heads of your Enemies at your Feet. The Vizier and others in the mean time after a short Consult fell to act, the exigency of their Affairs admitting no delays; and in the first place, Pen and Ink being brought, an Order was presented to the Grand Signior to be subscribed for the ar-*

resting the *Bassangi Pasha* as a Traitor, for having, against the rule of the night, kept open the Gate of the King's Garden. This was done in an instant, he removed from his Office, and another constituted in his place; and at the same time the Oath of Allegiance was administered to him, who calling together the Gardiners, in number, about 500, caused them all to swear faithful Obedience to the Grand Signior, and to remain all that Night, keeping good Guard at the Gates and Walls of the Gardens. In the next place the *Ichlogians* were called up (who are the Grand Signior's Pages) and to proceed with the most privacy and strict confession, they went first to the Chamber of the *Capa Aga* (who by his Office is over all the Youth of the Seraglio) and knocking gently at the Window, the Guards came at the noise, and demanded what the matter was? they answered, Awake the *Capa Aga*, and let him speak to us at the Window. But the *Capa Aga* would first know who they were that would speak with him; and when it was told him that it was the Vizier and the *Kulár Aga*, he answered, *I am indisposed and cannot rise*, but utter what you have to say at the Window; so they said, *By his Majesty's Order, go and raise all the Ichlogians in the Seraglio, upon an important occasion*; and yet the *Capa Aga* would not stir, so that some believed him confederate in the Conspiracy; but the truth was, he was an ancient Man of 60 Years, and unhealthful in his Body. Wherefore *Solymán Aga* cried out with a loud voice, *Aga raise the Ichlogians, our King is ready to be taken out of our hands*; but the *Capa Aga* perceived that he would not raise the Ichlogians or Pages, unless he brought a Command in writing from the King. In the interim the Servants of the *Capa Aga* awakened, and hearing this discourse, could not contain themselves, but with whisper and their Order ran to both the greater and lesser Chamber of the Pages; the Butler came to that which is called the greater Chamber; it was then five hours in the night when he entered in, and running to the middle of the Chamber, which was 80 Paces in length, he made a stop and clapped his hands together; (To make such a noise in the Seraglio at night was a high Misdemeanor) at which some being awakened, raised up their Heads, and startled at such an unusual Alarm, enquired the reason of it; at which he again clapping his hands, and crying out, Arise the Grand Signior is like to be taken out of our hands, the whole Chamber was raised; so that they might have seen all the Ichlogians in number above 600 to arise and run in a confused manner, some without Cloaths, some without Arms to fight, some supposing the Janifaries were already entered the Seraglio. In this amaze came a Guard of Black and White Eunuchs to the Door, advising them to arm themselves with what Weapons were next at hand, and there to remain until they received farther Orders. All the other Chambers of the Pages and Officers were in the same confusion, and were commanded in the like manner to arm themselves.

The Grand Signior fearing all this while he should be put to death as his Father was, could not be pacified until *Musallá Pasha* his Sword-bearer taking him by the hand shewed him his Attendants all armed, and ready at his command; and passing by one of the Windows of the Lodgings, was desecrated by a young Man, who cried out with a loud voice (God grant our King Ten thousand Tears of Life) at which all the Chamber shouted, *Allah, Allah*; this C-

* A Shout
made by the
Turks when
they fight.

clamation rang through all the Seraglio, so that it reached the more remote quarters of the Drogits, Cooks, Pole-axe-men, Fanconers, and others; who being ready and armed as the others, answered with the like shout.

These Preparations were not only in the Seraglio, but likewise without; for the Vizier had given order to all the *Palhans* and *Beglerbegs*, and other his Friends, that without delay they should repair to the Seraglio with all the force they could make, bringing with them three days Provision, obliging them, under pain of Death, to this Duty. In a short space so great was this concourse, that all the Gardens of the Seraglio, the outward Courts, and all the adjoining Streets, were filled with armed Men: from *Galata* and *Tophana* came Boats and Barges loaded with Powder and Ammunition, and other Necessaries; so that in the morning, by break of day, appeared such an Army of Horse and Foot in the Streets, and Ships and Gallies on the Sea, as admitted no small terror to the Janifaries; of which being advised, and seeing the concourse of the People run to the assistance of the King, they thought it high time to bestir themselves, and therefore armed a great company of *Albanians*, *Greeks*, and other Christians, to whom they offered Money, and the Title and Privileges of Janifaries, promising to free them from *Harach*, or Impositions paid by the Christians; which Arguments were so prevalent, that most taking Arms, you might see the Court and City divided, and ready to enter into a most dreadful confusion of a Civil War.

In the Seraglio all things were in good order, the Morning Devotions being finished, the *Baltages*, (who are a guard that carry Poleaxes) called to the Pages to join with them, and accompany them to the Prefence Chamber. These *Baltages* were in number about 200, strong, of large stature, and of admirable agility; at whose beck the Pages ran with all alacrity to the door of the Chamber, where they at first received a repulse from the Master of the Chamber who was an Eunuch, and one faithful to the old Queen's Interest, who to yield all possible furtherance towards the protection of her Person, reproved the insolence of the Rout in coming so boisterously to the Royal Lodgings; to which they unanimously answered, that they would speak to his Majesty, that it was their desire to have the old Queen (Enemy to the King, and the Mahometan Faith) put to Death; at which words he being enraged, and relying on his Authority, reproved them with Terms of Rebels and Traitors to their Master. What have you to do with the Queen, said he? Are you worthy to open your Mouths against her serene Name? He reiterating these and the like words, one of this Rabble said, Kill that *Cuckold*, for he sells us as the Enemy of the Faith. And whilst one lifted up his hand to strike him, he fled by the way of the *Tarar* into the Garden, whither being pursued by five or six of them, he was overtaken, and catching him by the Collar, would have cut his Throat, but that at his earnest entreaty, they gave him so much liberty as first to call himself at the Feet of the Sultan: whither being dragged, he delivered to the King a Seal and a Key of secret Treasure, and being about to say some thing in his own behalf and defence of his Life, a bold Youth of these *Baltages*, called *Jalab-Leferis* struck him on the Head with his Ax, and cleft it in two pieces; the others seeing this first blow given him, fell on him with their Scimiters and cut him to pieces; his Blood and Brains

were dashed on the rich Carpets, which moved fear in many, who were secretly of the Conspiracy with the old Queen. The young King himself, ignorant of the good Intentions of his Servants, at the sight of blood-shed, being yet tender-hearted, cried, and closely embraced the *Selhub* who then held him in his Arms; but upon the removal of the Corpse out of his sight, and some smooth words, as that it was a Sacrifice of Love to him, and the like, his childish Tears were soon wiped away.

In this interim the new created Mufti, and *Kenan Pasha*, one of the Viziers of the Bench, and *Balyade Efendi*, who was formerly Lord Chief Justice, and well affected to the Spahis Party, entering the *Hozoda*, or Prefence Chamber, perceiving a Tumult in his Majesty's presence, with different Voices and Languages, for some cried in Georgian, others *Albanian*, *Bosnian*, *Mengrelian*, *Turkish* and *Italian*, remained in great confusion how to proceed with Order and Reason in this important Affair; for the Mufti, and others, were of Opinion, that the Sentence against the old Queen was not rashly to be pronounced, and so the Matter might calmly be debated, and if possible, an expedient might be found for saving her Life, and securing the Sultan: But the Rabble impatient of Delay, cried out, defer not the Sentence; for otherwise we shall esteem thee as one of her Adherents.

By this time news was come to the young Queen, that there had been a Fight in the Streets; who as yet doubtful of the success, and fearing if the Janifaries should gain the Advantage, *Beltas* would revenge the Blood of the old Queen by her Death, came covered with a Veil into the Prefence Chamber, saying, as she passed, *Is this the Reverence you owe to the King your Lord? Do you know the place where you are? What would you have of a Woman? Why do you haste your selves in the King's Affairs?* Some presently apprehended that this was only a Plot of the young Queen to make the World believe she would rather assist the Grandmother, than contrive against her; which made the Pages the more importunately to perfit with the Mufti for the *Fesla* or Sentence against her. But one of the Pages suspecting that this Woman so veiled, might be the old Queen her self, cried out, *This is she you seek for, she is in the King's hands, take your Revenge upon her*. At which some bestirring themselves to seize her, she ran to the Feet of her Son, and laying hold on him, cried out, *No, no, I am not the Grandmother, I am the Mother of this his Majesty*; and wiping the Tears from the Eyes of her Son with her Handkerchief, made signs to keep back, which restrained the forwardness of some who pressed to lay violent hands upon her. The Mufti, who observed the carriage of the Rout, and their earnest desires which could not be resisted, feared, if he gave not his concurrence, he himself should be killed, and the rather because he over-heard the old *Kenan Pasha* discourse with the Vizier to the like effect. So that after some pause and consultation with the other chief Ministers, it was resolved to supplicate his Majesty for his consent; which was done in these words, *Sir, The Will of God is, that you consign your Grandmother into the hands of Justice, if you would have these Maxims appeased; a little Mischief is better than a great One; there is no other Remedy, God willing the end shall be prosperous*. Pen and Ink being brought, the Mufti wrote the Sentence, and the Grand Signior subscribed it, which was, that

the old Queen should be strangled, but neither cut with Sword, nor bruited with Blows. The Writing was delivered into the hands of one of the Chamberlains, to whom, by word of Mouth, it was ordered that they should carry the Queen out by *Cushana*, (or the Gate of the Birds) so as the might not die in sight or hearing of the Grand Signior. The Ichoglans advancing the *Royal Command* on high with their hands, went out of the Presence with a great shout, crying, *Allah, Allah*, to the Door of the Womens Lodgings, where they met some black Eunuchs keeping Guard, who upon the sight of the Imperial *Ferme*, and the command of *Solyman Aga*, gave them admittance, upon condition that twenty Persons only should enter the Chambers. Those who were best armed went in, and passing through the Chambers of the Virgins, were met by the Queen's Buffone with a Pistol in her hand, who demanded what they would have? they answered, the King's Grandmother; she replied, I am she, and with that offered to discharge her Pistol, but it took fire only in the Pan; with that the Ichoglans laid hold on her, supposing her to be the Queen; but being better advised by *Solyman the Kneeler Aga*, and directed to the Chamber where the Queen was; the Door being opened, they perceived the Room to be dark (for the Womens quarters in the Seraglio for the most part are made obscure and close, and Lights are burnt in them Day and Night) and the old Queen had at the approach of these Officers extinguished her Candles and got into a great Press, and there covered her self with Quilts and Carpets; but Torches being brought in, they looked all about and discovered nothing; at which they were enraged against *Solyman*, and would have killed him, saying, There he was the cause the Queen had escaped. But *Solyman* advising them to search none narrowly, one called *Adli Dogangi*, got upon the Press, and removing the Clothes, discovered the Queen, who had thrust her self into a corner; at which the thortly thus entreats him, *O brave Man be not cruel unto me*; and promised the would give to every Ichoglan five Purse of a Man (each Purse consisting of 500 Dollars) if they would save her life. *It is not the time of Raifone, Traitor*, said he; and taking her by the Feet, drew her forth: the Queen rising up, put her hand into her Pocket, and threw out handfuls of Zaichins, hoping that whilst they were scrambling for the Gold, the might have an opportunity to escape; some of the young Men gathered up the Money, but the *Dogangi*, like a Dog of the Game, left her not, and at length, though the were heavy, cast her down. The others offered at her Life, and particularly an Albanian, called *Ali Bostangi*, who seeing two great Jewels at her Ears, immediately caught at them, and tore them thence. They were two Diamonds of the bigneſs of Cheſnuts cut angularly, and beneath each Diamond was a Ruby to set it off. Those Earrings were given her by Sultan *dehmet* in the time of her most flourishing Age, and his greatest affection. 'Tis said, that such Jewels cannot be found in all the Great Turks Treasury, and were esteemed by the most skillful Jewellers, worth a Years Revenue of *Grand Cairo*. This *Ali* shewed the Jewels to his Camrade, demanding the value of them, and his counsel whether to reveal or conceal them: but the Camrade prized them at that rate that the stout young adan could not stey a Day nor Night, being always in fear lest the Jewels should not be kept hid; and apprehend-

ing that they became none but the Grand Signior to wear, went and delivered them to *Solyman Aga*, who in recompence thereof, presented him with sixteen Zaichins, which he accepted, desiring also to be admitted into the Chamber of the Treasury, which was granted him. Others also plucked her, some by the Hands, others by the Feet; some rifled her Clothes, for she was furnished throughout with things of great value sewed in her Garments, and especially her Sable Fur, which contain'd also certain Magick Spells, by which the conceived she had tied the Tongues of all the Emperours living in her Time. The person who gave me this Relation, informed me, that he had seen a certain Lock admirably made, and engraved with the Names of *Murad* and *Sultan Ibrahim*; it was made by a famous *Gindagi*, a very ignorant Fellow, but a superstitious crafty Liar, by which Arts finding access, in short time he became a chief Favourite of *Sultan Ibrahim*, and from a poor Student called by the Turks a *Sofia*, he grew so rich in two Years that none in *Constantinople* was comparable to him.

But to return to the Queen now assailed by furious young Men, greedy of Riches; he was in a moment depouled of her Garments; her Furs were torn off into small pieces; and being stript of her Rings, Bracelets, Garters and other things, he was left naked without a Rag to cover her, and dragged by the feet to the *Chushana*: and being at the Place of her execution, the young Officers found themselves unprovided of a Cord to frange her, so that crying out for a Cord, one ran to the Royal Chapel, and thence took the Cord that upheld the great Antipost of the Mosch, which being wound about the Queen's Neck, the foremost laid down setting up on her back, pitched her neck with his hands, whilst the others drew the Cord. The Queen, though she were by this time besides her Senses, and worn out with Age, being above 80 Years old, and without Teeth; yet the *Chushana* Gums only did bite the Thumb of his left hand, which by chance came into her Mouth, so hard, that he could not deliver himself until with the hafe of his Fomion he struck her on the Forehead near her right Eye. There were four that strangled her, but being young Executioners, laboured long to dispatch her, till at length the Queen leaving to struggle, lay stretched out, and was supposed to be dead, and so crying (*Uldi, Uldi*) she is dead, the is dead, ran to carry the news thereof to his Majesty; but being scarce out of sight, the Queen raised her self up, and turned her Head about; upon which the Executioners being again called back, the Cord was a second time applied, and wrung so hard with the hafe of a hatchet, that at length she was dispatched, and the News carried to the Royal Chamber. The black Eunuchs immediately took up the Corpse, and in a reverend manner laid it stretched forth in the Royal Mosch, with about 400 of the Queen's Slaves encompassing it round about with Howling and Lamentations, tearing the Hair from their Heads after their barbarous fashion, moved compassion in all the Court.

This Work being over, the Vizier having given thanks to the Ichoglans, or Pages, for their pains, gave order to produce the Banner of *Ma-homet*, which is carefully and reverently kept in the Treasury; which being produced, obliged all of that Faith, from that instant, to stand upward, to arm and come under it. The Banner being brought forth, with a rich Covering, was ad-

vanc'd

vanc'd with great shouts of *Allah, Allah*: and carried by the Ichoglans out of the chief Gate of the Seraglio, where it was shewn to the People, who with wonderful admiration and devotion, beheld their glorious Standard; order was also given to proclaim, through the whole City, the Proceſſion of the Heavenly Banner; for they say, that the Angel *Gabriel* brought it to Mahomet in the time of a great War made against the Christians, as an infallible Sign and Evidence of Victory.

The opinion of this superstitious Flag so prevailed, as it brought, not only the Young and Healthful to fight under it, but Sick and Old; and Women judged themselves obliged to run to the defence of this Holy Enſign. The news hereof, and the death of the old Queen coming to the old Chamber of the Janifaries; several of them, and those also of the principal Heads, began to murmur, that it was now necessary to lay aside their private Interests, and have a regard to their Faith and their Souls; for should they oppose the Heavenly Banner, they should run themselves into the State of Gauris and Infidels, and become liable to the same censure or punishment which is inflicted upon unbelievers. But in the new Chambers *Beizai* endeavored to remove this apprehension from the mind of his Soldiers, by large Presents both of Gold and Silver, perſwading them to uphold their Fame and Reputation; for that the Grand Signior and his Mother were Enemies to their Name and Designs, and resolved to abate or destroy the order of that Militia; and with assurance of Victory and encouragement against a People unarmed and undisciplined, animated them to fight; and to make the business more easy, advised them to fire the City in several parts, that so the People might be diverted and divided for safety of their own Goods and Dwellings. But this propoſition took not with the Officers and Soldiers, who had many of them Houses and Possessions of their own in *Constantinople*, but put them into great Diffractions and Divisions in their Councils. In this pause, came an Officer from the Grand Signior (who to venture his life, had the promise of a good Reward) with a command in Writing, which he shewed, in amongst them, and galloped away as fast as he could; crying out as he rode, *He that comes not under the Banner of the Prophet, is a Pagan, and his Wife divorced*. The Writing was taken up and carried to the presence of the principal Officers, which being opened and read, was to this purpose; *Beizai Aga, I have made Palha of Bosnia, Kara-chiaus I have made Captain-General of the Sea; Kulkahya I have made Palha of Temiswar, and Kara Haffan Ogle I have made Janifar Agai; and I require, at sight of these Presents, that every one of you, upon pain of Death, and raising of his Family, repair to his Duty and Station*.

In this instant came news that the old Chamber of Janifaries had left their Station, and were run under the Banner without Arms, and had refused *Beizai's* Money, and deserted his Cause; and that the Spahes in great Troops, and the Jebeges (who command the Ordnance) approached with Artillery to beat upon their Chambers. The Spahes came thundring in upon the Janifaries in remembrance of their past Injuries, and had certainly cut them off, had not the Vizier, with his Sword in his hand, by good and bad words, restrained them, and appeased their Animosity. The Janifaries of the new Chamber proclaimed their new Commander,

and visited him with their usual form of Congratulation, running afterwards confidently under the Banner. *Kara Haffan* the new elected *Aga* of the Janifaries, went to the Seraglio to thank the Grand Signior for the Honour done him, and with ten of his principal Friends was admitted to the Grand Signior's Presence; who humbly kissing the Ground, received the accustomed Vows, and with some Admonitions, was fairly dismissed, and ordered to reduce his Janifaries to better Obedience.

By this time *Beizai, Kulkahya*, and *Kara Chiau*, with some of their Favourites, remained wholly abandoned, looking one upon the other, full of Complaints and Railings, each at other, for the miscarriage of the Action. But since it was not now time to condole, but to save their Lives, every one made to his House. First, *Beizai* fled to his Home, where having ordered his Affairs, he clothed himself in the Albanian fashion, and escaped to the House of a poor Man formerly his Friend and Confidant; but the next day being discovered by a Youth, was taken, and being set on a Mule, was with the scorn and derision of the People conducted to the Grand Signior's Seraglio, and there strangled. This Person was held in so much detestation by the common People, that after his Death, the Cooks and inferior sort of Servants, run Spits and Pitch-forks through his Body; and plucking the Hairs out of his Beard, sent them for Presents to their acquaintance through all *Constantinople*, saying, *These are the Hairs of that Traitor, who gloried, that before he would lose his Head, there should be raised a Mountain of Heads as high as St. Sophia*. But *Kulkahya* being come to his House, filled his Portmanteau with Gold and Jewels, and accompanied with sixty Horse, resolved to fly to the Mountains of *Albania*, places so inaccessible, that they have never yielded to the Turkish Yoke; but finding himself hotly pursued in his Journey, and that it was impossible to escape with so great a Number, freely distributed a great part of his Gold upon his Retinue, and thanking them for their Affection, and good Intentions, dismissed them all excepting one Servant, with whom he journeyed with four laden Horses, with Gold, Jewels, and other Riches; and perceiving that this also was too great an incumbrance, they buried a Treasure to the value of 600 thousand Dollars in the Country as they travelled; which was afterwards found out by certain Shepherds, who disagreeing about the division thereof, the Matter came to be known to the Judge of that Country, who seized upon it all, and sent it to the Grand Signior's Treasury. But *Kulkahya* travelling still farther with his single Page, came to a Town, where wanting Bread, and forced for the Payment of it to exchange Gold, fell into a suspicion of being one of those Rebels lately escaped from *Constantinople*; which news being brought to a Captain of Horse that Commanded the place, he came immediately with some Men to take him; but *Kulkahya* resolving not to fall into their hands alive, resisted them until he was killed by a Musket-shot, and so his Head being severed from his Body, was sent to the Grand Signior.

Kara Chiau in this interim being with two hundred Men retired into his Garden, was assaulted by an *Aga* of the Spahes (called *Parmakli*) with 500 Men; but that this Enterprize might be acquired with a little Blood, a Person was sent secretly to that Party, that if they opposed the Royal Command, they should every one be put to death; at which site People

Health, and Agility, fit for Wars, and all active Employments. Amongst their other Exercises, Horsemanship is a principal Lesson, both to fit in a handson posture, and to manage their Horse with dexterity to draw the Bow on Horseback, forwards, backwards, and on either side; which they learn with that agility and pliancy of their Joints, in the full career or speed of the Horse as is admirable. They learn also to throw the Gerit or Dart out of their hands on Horseback; which because it is a Sport or Recreation the pretent Grand Signior delights in above all others, every one in hopes of Preferment, and in emulation one of the other, endeavours to be a Master in it; and most are become so dextrous, that they will dart a Stick of above three quarters of a yard long, with that force, that where it hits, it will endanger breaking of a Bone. The Grand Signior every day passes his Time with seeing his Pages exercised in this Sport, in which ordinarily one knocks another from his Horse; and seldom a day passes, in which some receive not Bruises or desperate Wounds. This Sultan doth many times appoint days of Combat between the Black Eunuchs, and some of his White Pages on Horseback, in this manner with such emulation, each side contending for the honour of his Colour, Race, and Dignity, with that Heat and Courage, as if they contended for the Empire; in this Pastime seldom concluding without some Blood. But it is to be noted, that none of the Exercises are performed by any of those that belong to the two Chambers, unless within the Walls of the Seraglio; the other Pages who accompanied the Grand Signior abroad, are such as are preferred to farther and higher Chambers, as hereafter we shall discourse.

To the former Lessons of School-learning, and Exercise abroad, are added some other accomplishments of a Trade, Handy-craft, or Mystery, in which a Man may be useful to the Service of the Grand Signior, as to sew and embroider in Leather, (in which the *Turks* exceed all other Nations) to make Arrows, and embroider Quivers and Saddles, and make all sorts of Furniture for Horses; some learn to fold up a Turbant, others to fold up, clean and brush Vells; to wash and clean in the Bath, to keep Dogs and Haws; and others to excel in the Turkish manner of Mischick, and all other Services which may keep them from Idleness, and wherein they may be of future use to their great Master. And according hereunto Palnaes and great Men have been nominated and furnished after their departure from the Seraglio, to their places of Office and Trust.

Such as have before made good proficiency in their Studies, and attained to a dexterity in their bodily Exercises, are transplanted to the first step of Preferment, which is the washing the Grand Signior's Linnen; and here they first change their Cloth for Satten Vells and Cloth of Gold, and their Pay and Salary is augmented from four or five Aspers a day, to eight or more; whence they pass, as places fall, to the *Hacma-Oda*, or Chamber of the Treasury, or to the *Kilar* or Dispensatory, where the Drugs, Cordials, and rich Drinks for the Grand Signior's Service are kept; out of these two Chambers they are elected, in order to the highest and supreme place in the Seraglio, which is called the *Inc. Oda*, which consists of forty Pages; these attend immediately on the Person of the Grand Signior, and amongst them twelve hold the chief Offices of the Court, viz.

1. The *Selâzar-Aga*, the King's Sword-bearer.
2. The *Chihadar-Aga*, who carries his Cloak or Velt for rainy Weather.
3. The *Rechinhar-Aga*, he that holds his Stirrup.
4. The *Ebrilâr-Aga*, he that carries his Water to drink or wash.
5. The *Tubenar-Aga*, he that makes up his Turbant.
6. The *Kem Husef-Aga*, he who keeps the Wardrobe; and oversees the washing the Linnen.
7. The *Chesinghar Bafshe*, the chief Sewer.
8. *Zagerge Bafshe*, the chief over the Dogs.
9. *Turnackee Bafshe*, he who pairs his Nails.
10. *Berber Bafshe*, chief Barber.
11. *Mahafshege Bafshe*, the chief Accomptant.
12. *Teskerge Bafshe*, his Secretary.

There are also two other Officers in the Court of great respect, which are the *Dogan Bafshe*, or chief Falconer; and the *Hunaugee Bafshe*, or chief over the Baths; but these have their Offices and Lodgings apart, and not entering into the Royal Chamber, are not capable of higher Preferment.

There are nine also called *Asi Agalar*, who have the privilege of presenting Petitions, like Masters of the Requests; of these, four are of the *Hafoda*, as the *Shilear-Aga*, *Teshadar-Aga*, *Rikidar-Aga*, *Tulhan Oglani*; and the others are of different Offices, as the *Hacma Kishahisi*, who is the second Officer of the Treasury; *Kilher Kishahisi*, who is Overier of the Provisions of Sherbets, Sugar, Sweetmeats, &c. *Defendi Bafshe*, or chief Falconer; the *Elaledahischi*, or principal Commander of the Royal Chamber; and *Kapa Agasi*, or chief Commander of the Pages; all which are first and nearest to Preferment, and to be employed Abroad, in the Office of *Pacha*, as Places are void.

Those that are thus, through the Grace and Favour of the Sultan, arrived to the Dignity of being of the Royal Chamber, where they enjoy the Honour and Privilege of being constantly in his Eye and Presence, are often presented by him with Swords, Vells, Bows, and the like; and are permitted to take Rewards, for the Intercessions and Applications they make in behalf of others. Sometimes he sends them on Message to *Pashies*; sometimes for the confirmation of the Princes, either in *Transylvania*, *Moldavia*, or *Wallachia*; sometimes to carry Presents to the Vizier and great Men: In all which Employments they are greatly entertained, both with Money, Jewels, and rich Furniture for Horses; so that very few of these Forty, but in a short time gain Esteem of their own, fit to equipt and furnish them to enter into any Office of the Empire.

As Offices fall in order, Supplies are made out of these, others arising from lower Chambers, successfully in their places; whether it be to the four most considerable Governments, which are *Cairo*, *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, and *Buda*; or if none of these Places be void, to be *Beglerbegs* of *Greece*, or of *Natalia*; to be *Aga* of the *Tamariet*, *Spahdar Agasi*, or General of the Horse; or to some small *Pashalicks* or Governments scattered in several places of the Empire.

But we shall not here need to discourse of the particular Offices and Dignities within the Power and Gift of the Grand Signior, intending to make a distinct Chapter of the several Offices, Governments, Dignities and Places, from whence

The degree of Succession is generally observed.

whence the Grand Signior's Profits arise, that so we may the better describe the Wealth of the Empire, and the Importance of those Offices, for discharge of which young Men are educated with the care beforementioned.

But before the conclusion of this Chapter, it will be necessary to add, that none, unless by special Grace, are advanced from the Seraglio, until the Age of about forty Years, by which time they are ripe and mature for Government, and the wantonness and heat of Youth allayed. Before their departure to their places of Trust, they are courted and honoured by all with Presents; the Queen-Mother, the *Sultanaes*, the rich Eunuchs, the Great Vizier, and Officers Abroad, concur all to adorn them with Gifts and Riches at their Advancements, as undoubted Consequents of the Grand Signior's Favour. And at the farewell, with much sublimity they visit the *Capa Aga*, or chief of the Eunuchs, and other principal Officers of the Seraglio, recommending themselves, in the time of their absence, to their good Opinion and Friendship; and this is done with as much Ceremony and Complement as is exercised in the most civil Parts of Christendom. For though the *Turks*, out of Pride and Scorn, comport themselves to Christians with a strange kind of barbarous haughtiness and neglect, they are yet among themselves as courtly and precise in their own Rules of Complement and Civility, as they are at *Rome*, or any other parts of the civilized World.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Method of the Turkish Studies and Learning in the Seraglio.

WE have rather shewed in the foregoing Chapter, the Education of young Scholars, in reference to exercise of Body, and dexterity in Arms, than the method of their Studies and Speculations, according to the manner of our Seminaries and Colledges, which more respect the cultivation of the Mind, with the Principles of Virtue and Morality, and the Notions of sublime Reason, than the improvements of the Body by assiduity of Exercise, which makes them become active, and begets an agility in the management of Arms. And though the latter is a Business most attended to by sprightly and ingenious Spirits, who know Preferments in the Ottoman Court have always depended, and still do, on the virtue of the Sword; yet Speculation and Knowledge in Sciences are not wholly estranged from their Schools, which we shall in brief touch upon to satisfy the curiosity of our Academies, who I know would gladly be relieved what sort of Physical or Moral Philosophy, what Tongues and Sciences fall within the contemplation of that barbarous ignorance of the *Turks*. To dilucid the most clearly as I can, according to the best information of the Learned *Turks*; it is reported by the *Kalfas*, or Pedagogues of the Seraglio, that their chief Design is to instruct their Scholars in reading and writing, so as they may have some inspection into the Books of their Law and Religion; especially the *Alchoran*, whereby may be produced in their Minds a greater reverence to them. For being once palled from the first form of their A, B, C, and joining Syllables, they are

then instructed in the *Arabian* Tongue, wherein all the Secrets and Treasures of their Religion and Laws are contained, and is a necessary accomplishment of a *Pacha*, or any great Minister, in relation to the better discharge of his Office, being thereby enabled to have an inspection into the Writings and Sentences of the *Kades*, or other Officers of the Law within his Jurisdiction, as well as furnished with Knowledge and Matter of Discourse concerning Religion. And to adorn these young Candidates of the Grand Signior's Favour, with more Policy and ingenious Endowments, the next Lesson is the *Persian* Tongue, which fits them with quaint Words and Eloquence, becoming the Court of their Prince, and corrects the grossness, and enriches the barrenness of the *Turkish* Tongue, which in it self is void both of Expression, and sweetness of Accent. It teaches them also a handsome and gentle deportment, instructs them in Rotaicenes, raises the thoughts to aspire to the generous and virtuous Actions they read of in the *Persian* Novellaries, and endues them with a kind of Platonic Love each to other, which is accompanied with a true Friendship amongst some few, and with as much gallantry as is exercised in any part of the World. But for their Amours to Women, the restraint and strictness of Discipline makes them altogether strangers to that Sex; for want of Conversation with them, they burn in Lust one towards another; and the amorous disposition of Youth wanting more natural Objects of Affection, is transported to a most passionate admiration of Beauty wherever it finds it, which because it is much talked of by the *Turks*, we will make it a distinct Discourse by it self.

The Books they read commonly in the *Persian* Language are *Harizet*, *Schah-nama*, *Pand-nama*, *Gulistan*, *Baharistan*, and the *Turkish* Books called *Muhemmed*, or a mixture of the *Arabian* and *Persian* words, both in Prose and Verse, facetious and full of quick and lively Expressions. Of these sorts of Books, those most commonly read are called *Kirkkizir*, *Humainnamas*, or *delle ne Kemine*, *El fudale*, *Saidatal*, and various other Romances: these are usually the Study of the most silly and ingenious Spirits amongst them. Those others who are of a Complexion more melancholic, and incline to contemplation, proceed with more patience of Method, and are more exact in their Studies, intending to become Masters of their Pen, and by that means to arrive to Honour and Office, either of *Kef Efendi*, or Secretary of State, Lord Treasurer, or Secretary of the Treasury, or Dispensatory, or else to be *Emanet*, or Parish Priests of some principal Moschs of Royal Foundation, in which they pass an easy, quiet, and secure Life, with a considerable competency of livelihood. Others aim in their Studies to become *Hafizis*, which signifies a Conferver of the *Alchoran*, who get the whole *Alchoran* by Heart, and for that reason are held in great esteem, and their Persons as sacred as the place which is the Repository of the Law.

Those who are observed to be more addicted to their Books than others, are named by them *Talibulilm*, or lovers of Philosophy; the very few amongst them arrive to any Learning really so called, yet they attain to the degree of *Giumchah*, or Readers of the *Alchoran*, for Benefit and Relief of the Souls of those departed, who for that end have bequeathed them legacies. At certain Houses, they read Books that treat of the Matters of their Faith, and render them out of

Arabic.

Arabic, into *Turkish*, and these Books are, *Schurra*, *Salut*, *Adab*, *Mulicks*, *Hidais*, &c. which they difcant upon in an Expository manner; in-structing the more ignorant and of lower form, by way of Catechism. They have also some Books of Poetry; written both in *Persian* and *Arabic*, which run in Rhime and Meeter, like the Golden Verles in *Pythagoras*, containing excellent Sentences of Morality, being directions for a Godly Life and contemplation of the Miracles and Fallacies of this World, which many of them do commit to memory, and repeat occasionally as they fall into discourse.

For other Sciences, as Logic, Phisick, Metaphisick, Mathematicks, and other our University Learning, they are wholly ignorant; unless in the latter, as far as *Mulick* is a part of the Mathematicks, whereof there is a School in part in the Seraglio. Only some that live in *Constantinople*, have learned some certain Rules of Astrology, which they exercise upon all occasions, and busy themselves in Prophecies of future Contingencies of the Affairs of the Empire, and the unconstant Estate of great Ministers, in which their Predictions seldom divine grateful or pleasing Stories. Neither have the wisest and most active Ministers or Soldiers amongst them, the least inspection into Geography, whereby to be acquainted with the situation of Countries, or disposition of the Globe, tho they themselves enjoy the possession of so large a proportion of the Universe.

Their Seamen, who seldom venture beyond sight of Land (unless they be those of *Barbary*, who are Renegades, and practised in the Christian Arts of Navigation) have certain Sea-charts ill framed, and the Capes and Headlands ill laid down, that in their Voyages from *Constantinople* to *Alexandria*, the richest place of their Trade, they trust more to their Eye and Experience, than the Direction of their Maps; nor could I ever see any Chart of the Black Sea, made either by *Turk* or *Greek*, which could give the least light to a knowing Seaman, so as to encourage him, according to the Rules of Art, to lay any confidence thereon in his Navigation.

The Art of Printing (a Matter disputable whether it hath brought more of Benefit or Mischief to the World) is absolutely prohibited amongst them, because it may give a beginning to that subtilty of Learning, which is inconsistent with, as well as dangerous to the grossness of their Government, and a means to deprive many of their Livelihood, who gain their bread only by their Pen, and occasion the loss of that singular Art of fair Writing, wherein they excel or equal most Nations: The Effect of which is evident amongst the Western People, where Printing hath taken footing. And though there be few Historians among them who have any knowledge of past Time, or the being of other Empires before the *Ottoman*, mixing all Stories in confusion together (as we have said before) without distinction of Persons, or respect of Chronology; yet as to the Successes and Progress of Affairs in their own Dominions, they keep most strict Registers and Records, which serve them as Presidents and Rules for the present Government of their Affairs.

And thus the Reader may found the depth of the *Turk* Philosophy; who tho they reach not those Contemplations of our profound *Sophies*, have yet so much Knowledge, as neither to be over-reached in their Treaties with the Wits of the World, nor for want of good Conduct of Affairs lose one inch of their Empire.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Affection and Friendship the Pages in the Seraglio bear each other.

Since in the foregoing Chapter we have made mention of the amorous Disposition that is to be found among these Youths each to other; it will not be from our purpose to acquaint the Reader, that the Doctrine of Platonic Love hath found Disciples in the Schools of the *Turks*, that they call it a Passion very laudable and virtuous, and a Step to that perfect Love of God, whereof Mankind is only capable, proceeding by way of Love and Admiration of his Image and Beauty entangled on the Creature. This is the colour of Virtue, they paint over the deformity of their depraved Inclinations; but in reality this Love of theirs, is nothing but libidinous Flames each to other, with which they burn so violently, that Banishment and Death have not been Examples sufficient to deter them from making Demonstrations of such-like Addresses; so that in their Chambers, though watched by their Eunuchs, they learn a certain Language with the motion of their Eyes, their Gestures, and their Fingers, to express their Amours; and this Passion hath boiled sometimes to that heat, that Jealousies and Rivalties have broken forth in their Chambers, without respect to the severity of their Guardians, and good Orders have been brought into confusion, and have not been again redressed, until some of them have been expelled the Seraglio, with the Tipsters of their Vests cut off, banished into the Islands, and beaten almost to death.

Nor is this Passion only amongst the young Men each to other; but Persons of eminent degree in the Seraglio, become inveigled in this sort of love, watching occasions to have a fight of the young Pages that they fancy, either at the Windows of their Chamber, or as they go to the *Mosque*, or to their Walkings or Baths; offer them Service and Presents, and so engage them, as to induce them to desire to be made of the Retinue of him that uses this Courtship towards them, which they many times obtain; and being entertained in the Service of a Master who so highly fancies and admires them, they become often flattered with him in his Riches and Fortune.

The Grand Signior's themselves have also been Slaves to this inordinate Passion. For Sultan *Murat* became so enamoured of an *Armenian* Boy, called *Musa*, as betrayed him, though otherwise a discreet Prince, to a thousand Follies; and at another time preferred a Youth for his Beauty only from the Novitiate of *Galata*, to be one of the Pages of his *Hac Odas*, or Chamber of his Royal Presence; and in a short time made him *Saklar Aga*, or Sword-bearer, one of the greatest Offices in the Seraglio. And this present Sultan became so enamoured of a *Constantinopolitan* Youth, one of the Pages of his Militians School, called *Kuloglu*, or Son of a Slave, that he made him his chief Favourite, never could content himself without his company; clothed him like himself, made him ride by his side, commanded all to prefer him and honour him, in the same manner as if he had made him Companion of the Empire.

This Passion likewise reigns in the Society of Women; they die with amorous Affections one to the other; especially the old Women court the

the Young, present them with rich Garments, Jewels, Money, even to their own impoverishment and ruin; and these Darts of *Cupid* are shot through all the Empire, especially *Constantinople*, the Seraglio of the Grand Signior, and the Apartments of the Sultans.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Mutes and Dwarfs.

Besides the Pages, there is a sort of Attendants to make up the *Ottoman* Court, called *Buchanis*, or *Mutes*, Men naturally born deaf, and so consequently, for want of receiving the found of words, are dumb: There are in number about forty, who by Night are lodged amongst the Pages in the two Chambers, but in the day time have their Stations before the *Mosque* belonging to the Pages, where they learn and perfect themselves in the Language of the *Mutes*, which is made up of several Signs, in which by custom they can discourse and fully express themselves; not only to signify their sense in familiar Questions, but to recount Stories, understand the Fables of their own Religion, the Laws and Precepts of the *Alchoran*, the name of *Mahomet*, and what else may be capable of being expressed by the Tongue. The most ancient among them, to the number of about eight or amongst them, are called the *Favourite Mutes*, and are admitted to attendance in the *Hac Odas*, who only serve in the place of Buffoons, for the Grand Signior to sport with, whom he sometimes kicks, sometimes throws in the Cisterns of Water, sometimes make fight together like the Combat of *Cineas* and *Dametas*. But this Language of the *Mutes* is so much in fashion in the *Ottoman* Court, that none amongst but can deliver his sense in it, and is of much use to those who attend the Presence of the Grand Signior, before whom it is not reverent or seemly so much as to whisper.

The Dwarfs are called *Gings*; these also have their Quarters among the Pages of the two Chambers, until they have learned, with due Reverence and Humility, to stand in the Presence of the Grand Signior. And if one of these have that benefit, as by Nature fortunate Error, to be both a Dwarf and Dumb, and afterwards, by the help of Art, to be castrated and made an Eunuch; he is much more esteemed, than if Nature and Art had concurred together to make him the perfectest Creature in the World; one of this sort was presented by a certain Prince, to the Grand Signior, who was so acceptable to him and the Queen, Mother, that he attired him immediately in Cloth of Gold, and gave him liberty through all the Gates of the Seraglio.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Eunuchs.

This libidinous flame of depraved Nature, is so common a Disease among the *Turks*, and so ancient a Vice, that both for Scute and prevention of this unnatural Crime, it hath not been esteemed safe or orderly in the Courts of Eastern Princes, to constitute others for the principal Officers of their Household than Eunuchs: The

like is observed in the Seraglio of the Grand Signior, where two Eunuchs especially have the principal Command, and are Persons of the highest and eminentest esteem, viz. the *Kindir-Agha*, who is Superintendent over the Women, and is a Black Eunuch.

The other is *Capa Agha*, or Master of the Gate, who is White, and commands all the Pages, and White Eunuchs residing in the Court; under him are all the Officers that are Eunuchs; as first the *Hac Odaschis*, or Lord Chamberlain, who commands the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber.

2. The *Serai Kidnash*, Lord Steward of the Household, who oversees the Chambers of the Pages, and the *Sefirli Odas*, or the Chambers of those Pages who are designed to follow the Grand Signior upon any Journey, and of these he hath care to see them provided of Cloaths and all other Necessaries for the Service they undertake.

3. The *Haznadar Bashi*, or Lord Treasurer of the Seraglio, who commands those Pages that attend the Treasury; I mean not that which is of present use, as to pay the Souldiery, or serve the publick and present Occasions of the Empire, for that is in the Hand of the *Tesdar*; but that Riches that is laid apart for the Expenses of the Court, and that which is amassed and piled up in several Rooms of the Seraglio, of which there have been Collections and Additions in the Time almost of every Emperor, distinguished and divided by the Names of the Sultans, through whose industry and frugality they had been acquired; but this Wealth is conferred as Sacred, not to be used or expended, unless on Occasions of extreme Emergency.

4. The *Kilargi Bashi*, that is, the chief Commander over the Pages, to whose care the charge of the Dispensatory is committed, or Expenses for the daily Provisions.

Other Officers there are of Eunuchs, as he that is first Master of Scholars for their Books, called *Kingsi Capa Oglani*, and his Usher; the chief *Mergidgi* or Priest of the Grand Signior's *Mosque*; under whom are two other Assistants, for cleaning and well ordering of the *Mosques*.

These are the only Officers of the White Eunuchs, the others are of Commonality, which are in number about fifty, and have ordinarily twelve Aspers a day pay, which also are augmented according to the *Wages* or Legacies of the Deceased.

Those that are Curates of the Royal *Mosques*, and have Pluralities of Benefices of that nature, have sometimes a Revenue of 100 *Chequins* a day; among these also due order is observed, the Younger, or Juniors in the *Seraglio*, always giving respect and reverence to Seniority.

Of the Black Eunuchs.

THE Black Eunuchs are ordained for the service of the Women in the Seraglio; as the White are to the attendance of the Grand Signior, it not seeming a sufficient Remedy by wholly disembling them, to take the Women off from their inclinations to them, as retaining some relation still to the Masculine Sex; but to create an abhorrence in them; they are not only castrated, but Black, chosen with the worst Features that are to be found among the most hard-favoured of their *African* Race.

The prime Officer of them all, as we have said before, is the *Kızlar Aga*, or Master of the Maids or Virgins.

2. *Falide Agası*, the Eunuch of the Queen-Mother.

3. *Schahzadeh Agası*, or the Eunuch to whose charge is committed the Royal Progeny, and in whose custody at present are three Sons of Sultan Ibrahim, Brothers to the present Emperor, viz. *Solymen*, on whom the *Turks* at present found their principal Hopes and Expectation; *Bejaser* and *Orchan*, the Mother of which two last is still living, and confined to the old Seraglio in *Conflamings*, which is the Monastery of the decayed Wives and Mistresses of former Grand Signiors, from whence there is no Redemption, until either their Sons die, or by good fortune one becomes Emperor.

4. *Is Fenna Agası*, or the Eunuch that is Treasurer to the Queen-Mother, and commands those Damfels that are Servants in the said Chamber.

5. *Kilar Agası*, or he that keeps the Sugar, Serbets, and Drugs of the Queen-Mother.

6. *Buyuk Oda Agası*, Commander of the greater Chamber.

7. *Kulchik Oda Agası*, Commander of the lesser Chamber.

8. *Bafı Capa Oglanı*, the chief Porter of the Women's Apartment.

9, & 10. Two *Mefjidi Barchi*, or the two *Emams* or Priests of the Royal Mosque belonging to the Queen-Mother, ordained for the Women's Prayers.

The Apartments of the Women.

AND since I have brought my Reader into the Quarters of these Eunuchs, which are the Black Guard of the sequestered Ladies of the Seraglio, he may chance to take it unkindly, should I leave him at the Door, and not introduce him into those Apartments, where the Grand Signior's Mistresses are lodged: And though I ingeniously confess my acquaintance there (as all other my conversation with Women in *Turkey*) is but strange and unfamiliar; yet not to be guilty of this discourtesy, I shall to the best of my information write a short Account of these Captivated Ladies, how they are treated, imured, educated and prepared for the great Achievements of the Sultan's Affection; and as in other Stories the Knight confines himself with Combats, Watching, and Penances, to acquire the love of one fair Damfel; here an Army of Virgins make it the only study and business of their Life to obtain the single nod of invitation to the Bed of their great Master.

The Reader then must know, that this Assembly of fair Women (for it is probable there is no other in the Seraglio) are commonly Prizes of the Sword; taken at Sea and at Land, as far fetched as the *Turk* commands, or the wandering *Tartar* makes his incursions, composed almost of as many Nations as there are Countries of the World, none of which are esteemed worthy of this Preference, unless Beautiful and undoubted Virgins.

As the Pages before mentioned are divided into two Chambers, so likewise are these Maids into two *Oda's*, where they are to work, sew, and embroider, and are there lodged on *Sofas*, every one with her Bed apart, between every five of which is a *Kadun* or grave Matron laid to oversee and hear what Actions or Discourses either immodest or unbecom. Besides this

School, they have their Chambers for Music and Dancing, for acquiring a handsome Air in their carriage and comportments, to which they are most diligent and intent, as that which opens the Door of the Sultan's Affections, and introduces them into Preference and Esteem.

Out of these the Queen-Mother chuses her Court, and orderly draws from the Schools such as she marks out for the most Beauceuties, Facetious, or most corresponding with the harmony of her own Disposition, and prefers them to a constant attendance on her Person, or to other Offices of her Court. These are always richly attired and adorned with all sorts of precious Stones, fit to receive the Addresses and Amours of the Sultan: over them is placed the *Kadun Kabia*, or Mother of the Maids, who is careful to correct any immodest or light Behaviour amongst them, and instructs them in all the Rules and Orders of the Court.

When the Grand Signior is pleased to daily with a certain number of these Ladies in the *Geni*, *Hafiz* is cry'd, which rings through all the Seraglio; at which word all People withdraw themselves at a distance, and Eunuchs are placed at every Avenue, it being at that time death to approach near those Walls. Here the Women strive with their Dances, Songs, and Discourse, to make themselves Mistresses of the Grand Signior's Affection, and then let themselves loose to all kind of lasciviousness and wanton Carriage, acquitting themselves as much of all respect to Majesty, as they do to Modesty.

When the Grand Signior resolves to chuse himself a Bed-fellow, he retires into the Lodgings of his Women, where (according to the Story in every place reported, when the *Turkish* Seraglio falls into Discourse) the Damfels being ranged in order by the Mother of the Maids, he throws his Handkerchief to her, where his eye and fancy best directs, it being a Token of her election to his Bed. The surprised Virgin flashes at this Prize and good Fortune, with that eagerness, that she is ravished with the Joy before she is delowered by the Sultan, and kneeling down, first kisses the Handkerchief, and then puts it in her Bosom, when immediately she is congratulated by all the Ladies of the Court, for the great Honour and Favour she hath received. And after she hath been first washed, bathed, and perfumed, she is adorned with Jewels, and what other Attire can make her appear glorious and beautiful; she is conducted at Night with Music and Songs of her Companions chanting before her to the Bed-chamber of the Sultan; at the Door of which attends some Favourite Eunuch, who upon her approaching, gives Advice to the Grand Signior, and permission being given her to enter in, she comes running and kneels before him, and sometimes enters in at the Feet of the Bed, according to the ancient Ceremony, or otherwise, as he chances to like her, is taken in a nearer way with the Embraces of the Grand Signior.

This private Entertainment being ended, she is delivered to the care of the *Kadun Kabia*, or Mother of the Maids, by whom she is again conducted back with the same Music as before, and having first washed and bathed, hath afterwards the lodging and attendants that belongs to *Hanlar Agası*, that is, the Royal Concubine: if it be her good Fortune to conceive and bring forth a Son, she is called *Hafiz Sultan*, and is honoured with a solemn Coronation, and crowned with a small Coronet of Gold beset with precious Stones. Other Ladies who produce like

like Fruits from the Grand Signior's Bed, have not yet the like Honour, but only the Name of *Bafı Hafiz*, *Iskingi Hafiz*, the first and second Concubine, and so forward.

The Daughters that are born from the Grand Signior, are oftentimes at four or five years of Age wedded to some great *Pasha*, or *Beglerbeg*, with all the Pomp and Solemnities of Marriage, who from that time hath care of her Education, to provide a Palace for her Court, and to maintain her with that State and Honour as becomes her rank with that of a Daughter to the Sultan. At this tenderness of Age, Sultan Ibrahim, Father of the present Grand Signior, married three of his Daughters; one of which called *Ghesher Han Sultan*, hath had already five Husbands, and yet, as is reported by the World, remains a Virgin; the last Husband deceased was *Shumad Pasha*, who was slain in the passage of the River *Ras*, and is now again married to *Gurgi Mahomet Pasha* of *Buda*, a Man of 60 Years of Age, but rich and able to maintain the greatness of her Court, though not to comply with the youthfulness of her Bed, to which he is a stranger like the rest of her preceding Husbands.

After the death of the Grand Signior, the Mothers of Daughters have liberty to come forth from the Seraglio and marry with any Person of Quality; but those who have brought forth Sons, are transplanted to the old Seraglio, where they pass a retired life without Redemption; unless the Son of any of those Mothers, by death of the first Heir, succeeding, release his Mother from that Restraint, and make her sharer with him in all his Happiness and Glory.

C H A P. X.

Of the Agiam-Oglans.

WE have hitherto spoken of the *Ichglans*, or Pages, Mutes, Dwarfs, Eunuchs, and the Feminine Court; it will now be necessary to speak of the under Officers and Servants called *Agiam-Oglans*, who are designed to the meaner Uses of the Seraglio: These are all Captives taken in War, or bought of the *Tartar*, but most commonly the Sons of Christians taken from their Parents at the Age of ten or twelve Years; in whom appearing more strength of Body than of Mind, they are set apart for labour and menial Services: These are

1. Porters.
2. *Befangiers*, or Gardiners.
3. *Balgars*, or Hatchmen, who cut and carry Wood.
4. *Agiers*, or Cooks, with all the Offices of the Kitchen.
5. *Paiski* and *Solaks*.
6. Butchers.
7. *Holougers*, or Confectioners.
8. The Attendants of the Hospital of sick Pages.

And all other set apart for servile Offices.

These are seldom the Sons of natural born *Turks*, but yearly collected (as I said) from the increase of poor Christians in the *Morva* and *Albania*; by which means those Countries are greatly dis-peopled; the yearly number of those

thus collected, amount most commonly, as I am given to understand, to about 2000, which being brought to *Conflamings*, are first prefented before the Vizier, who (according as his Humour directs him) are placed in divers Stations, either in the Seraglios of *Galata*, *Okmadon*, or *Adrianople*; or others are put forth to learn divers Trades in the City; others to be Seamen, and learn Navigation; others especially are placed in the great Seraglio, where they are made to serve in the Stables, in the Kitchen, to dig in the Gardens, to cleave Wood, to row in the Grand Signior's Barge, and to do what other Services they are commanded by the Superiors fit over them, called *Odabafes*, who are Men of Antient standing than the rest, having about fifteen Apfers a day Salary, two Vests of Cloth a Year, and two pieces of Linen Cloth for Shirts and Handkerchiefs, &c. and these are subject to the *Befangis Pasha*, who is the Head and absolute Commander of all those who have the Name of *Befangies*, or Gardiners, of which there may be 10000 in and about the Seraglios and Garden of the Grand Signior.

Of these *Befangies*, some are raised to a higher degree, and called *Hafiz*, which signifies Royal, and attend only to Messages sent by the Grand Signior himself, and are of special Authority. Their Habit or Clothing nothing differs from the *Befangies*, unless in the fineness of their Cloth.

The Power of the *Befangis Pasha* is very great; for though he himself arose but from the *Agiamoglan*, and wore a felt Cap, yet he hath the command of all the Grand Signior's Gardens and Houles of Pleasure; oversees all his Water-works, and hath Power and Jurisdiction along the *Bosphorus*, unto the Mouth of the Black Sea; commands also the Country at a large distance from *Conflamings*; having power to punish all Debaucheries and Extravagancies in and about the Country Villages, and is capable, by the Grand Signior's Favour, to become *Pasha* of *Grand Cairo*, *Babylon*, *Buda*, &c. and of the first degree, which is *Vizier Azem*.

The *Agiamoglan*s who are designed to the Grand Signior's Seraglio, are of the choicest amongst the whole number, the strongest Bodies, and most promising Apfers, and are distributed into several Companies as they want to make up their Complement. This Discipline is very severe and strict, so that they are taught Obedience, and readiness to serve, with Watchings, Fastings, and other Penances.

Their Clothing is of coarse Cloth made at *Salonica*, anciently called *Thessalonica*; their Caps of Felt, after the Form of Sugar-loaf, of a Hair colour. Some of them are taught to Read and Write, who are esteemed the most acute and fit to receive ingenious Learning; but the most part are exercised in activity of Body, in Running, Leaping, Wrestling, throwing the Iron Bar, and other Agility, wherein the strength and activity of Body is best practised. Their Lodgings are under several Pent-houses or Sheds, built under the Walls of the Seraglio; their Diet is *Flefh* and Rice, sufficient, though not luxurious.

Out of these belonging to the Seraglio, none are drawn out for Janifaries, but are sometimes preferred to service of *Pashas* for their Fidelity or good Deferts, and by those Masters arise to considerable Riches, and commodious manner of Livelihood; others of these, in great numbers, are made use of for attendance on the Grand Signior's Tents, when he goes to the Wars, and in other

other Journeys are useful for the management of the Grand Signior's Carriages and travelling Necessaries. Such *Agiams* (as we have said before) that are distributed into other Quarters besides the Royal Seraglio, are principally deputed, as they grow ripe, and of strength of body, to be made Janisaries in the place of the deceased; so that their principal Education is in order thereto, of whom we shall speak more largely when we treat of the Militia.

The Names of the *Agiams* are written in a Book, with the Places where they are distributed, their several Pays of two, three, or five Aspers a Day, which Book is under-written by the Grand Signior, and configned to the *Tesdar*, or Lord Treasurer, who pays their Salaries every three Months, being obliged at that time to enquire who is dead or removed, and so accordingly to make a true report to the Grand Signior.

And thus I have given you a brief account of the Grand Signior's Seraglio, and the Regiment of it, which, if well considered and weighed, is one of the most Politick Constitutions in the World, and none of the meanest Supports of the Ottoman Empire: which Relation I had from the Mouth of one who had spent nineteen Years in the Schools of the Seraglio. I must confess I have not treated so amply thereof as the Subject might require, because the Rules and Ceremony observed among the Women, Eunuchs, and other of the retired Apartments, I conceive to be a kind of digression from my purpose, my intention being principally to describe the Government, Maxims, and Policies of the Turk. And therefore I proceed to treat of the diversities of Offices, and Places of great Riches and Trust, which remain in the power of the Sultan to confer on those Favourites, Minions, and Creatures, whom thus at his own Charge he hath nourished, like a Father, from their Infancy, to invest in their riper Years with great Honours, for security of his own Person, and flourishing Estate of his Dominions.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Vizier Azem, or Prime Vizier, his Office, the other six Viziers of the Bench, and of the Divan or place of Judicature.

THE Prime Vizier, called in Turkish *Vizier Azem*, is as much as chief Counsellor; he is sometimes termed the Grand Signior's Deputy or Representative, or *Phaizan Imperii*, because to him all the Power of the Sultan is immediately devolved; there is no other Solemnity, as I know of, in the creating a Vizier, than the delivery of the Grand Signior's Seal, which he always carries about him in his Bosom, on which is engraven the Emperor's Name, by which he becomes invested in all the Power of the Empire, and can, without the formality and process of Law, remove all Obstacles and impediments which hinder the free sway of his Government. It hath always been the Policy of the great Princes of the East, to erect one as Superintendent over all the rest of their Ministers; so *Daniel* was constituted by *Darius* over the Presidents and Princes, because of the admirable Spirit and Wisdom that was in him; and *Joseph* was made chief Governor and absolute Commander over all Egypt; and by this means those Princes

who gave themselves much over to softness and luxury, could with more ease demand account of Miscarriages in the Rule of their Empire, it being their Policy to constitute one on whom all the blame of Miscarriages in Government might be thrown.

The first constitution that we meet with in History of the first Vizier, was in the time of *Amurath* the third, King of the Turks, who calling into Europe with his Tutor called *Sebahin*, he made him his chief Counsellor, and committed to him the Charge of his Army, with which he won *Adrianople*, formerly called *Orfina*, and ever since the Grand Signior hath continued to maintain that Office of Vizier, which common appellation of *Lala*, which signifies Tutor, whensoever in familiar Discourse he speaks to him.

There are besides the first, commonly six other Viziers, who are called Viziers of the Bench, that have no Power nor Authority in the Government, but only are grave Men, that have perhaps had Charges and Offices, and are knowing in the Laws, and sit together with the first Vizier in the Divan or Court where Causes are tried, but are mute, and cannot give their Sentence or Opinion in any Matter, unless the first Vizier please to demand their Counsel or Judgment in point of Law, which he seldom does, not to disparage his own Reason and Experience. Their Pay proceeds from the Grand Signior's Treasury, and is not above 2000 Dollars a Year: any of these six can write the Grand Signior's *Firme* or *Auquid* upon all Commands or Decrees that are sent abroad; and because their Riches are but moderate, and the Office they are in treats not much with the dangerous Parts of State, they live long without Envy or Emulation, or being subject to that inconstancy of Fortune and Alteration, to which greater degrees of Place are exposed. And yet when any great Matter is in consult, and of considerable Importance, these six, with the first Vizier, the *Mufis* and *Caddelescheers*, or Lord Chief Justices, are admitted into the Cabinet-Council, and are often permitted freedom to deliver their Opinions on the matter of Question.

The State and Greatness the Prime Vizier lives in, is agreeable to the Honour of him whom he represents, having commonly in his Court about 2000 Officers and Servants; when he appears in any solemnity or publick Show, he carries on his Turbant before two Feathers, as the Grand Signior wears three, set on with a handle of Diamonds, and other rich Stones; and before him are carried three Horse Tails, called *Yaghs*, upon a long Staff, upon the top of which is gilded Knob; the like distinction of Honour is permitted only to the three other principal Palhaes within their Jurisdiction, viz. the Palha of *Babylon*, of *Cairo*, and of *Buda*; the other inferior Palhaes have only one Horse Tail carried before them, without other Distinction or Badge of Authority; and these three fore-mentioned Palhaes have a right to be Viziers of the Bench, and can take their places in the Divan, when the Time of their Offices are expired, and any of them found at the Court in entire Grace and Favour.

The Prime Vizier, as he is the Representative of the Grand Signior, so he is the Head or Mouth of the Law; to him Appeals may be made, and any one may define the ordinary course of Justice, to have his Case decided by his Determination, unless the Viziers, through the multiplicity of his Affairs, and a small consideration

Chap. XI.

The Maxims of the Turkish Policy.

on of the Cafe, thinks fit to refer it to the Law. And thus he may evidence his care of the Publick Good, he is always present at the Divan, four times a Week, that is, *Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday*, and the other days (excepting *Friday*) keeps Divan in his own House; so diligent and watchful are these Men to discharge the Acts of Justice, and their own Office.

He is attended to the Divan, which is the Chamber of counsel, by a great number of *Chiaus*, and their Commanders in chief, who are a sort of Purfuevants, and other Officers, who only serve to attend him to the Divan, called *Musa-saracan*, and may be termed Serjants or Tipstaffs; as he descends from his Horse, and enters the Divan, or upon his return goes into his House, he is with a loud Voice of his Attendants, prayed for, with all the Salutations the *Roman* Subjects used to their Emperors; *Cum sub auspiciis Caesaris omnia prospera & felicia precabuntur*. When he is set upon the Bench, all Causes are brought before the *Caddelescheers*, who is Lord Chief Justice, and by him all Judgments pass, unless the Prime Vizier shall think the Cause proper for his Cognizance, or shall disapprove at his Verdict, and determine as he pleases. All Officers in the Divan wear a fringe sort of dress upon their Heads, called in Turkish *Magevazet*.

The Lord Chief Justices which sit with the Grand Vizier, are two of *Rogues* and *Miscreants*, called *Kaddelescheers*, or Judges of the Army. And this shall in short serve for what is necessary to speak of the Divan in this place, in regard we only touch upon it for the better explanation of the Vizier's Office.

The Prime Vizier hath his Power as ample as his Master who gives it him, except only that he cannot (though he is the Elder Brother of all the Palhaes) take off any of their Heads without the Imperial Signature, or immediate Hand-writing of the Grand Signior; nor can he punish a Spahie or Janisary, or any other Soldier, but by means of their Commanders. (The Militia having reserved themselves that Privilege, which secures them from several oppressions) in other Matters he is wholly Absolute, and hath so great a Power with the Grand Signior, that whomsoever he shall think fit of the Officers in the Empire to promote, he can speedily obtain the Imperial Hand to put it in execution.

Whatsoever Petitions and Adresses are made, in what Business soever, ought first to pass through the Hands of the Vizier: but yet when a Party hath suffered some notorious injury, in which the Vizier is combined, or hath refused him Justice, he hath liberty then to appeal to the Grand Signior himself; the aggrieved Person putting Fire on his Head, enters the Seraglio, to come to the presence of the Grand Signior, to whom he shall licence to declare his wrong. The like was done by *Sir Thomas Bendish*, when Ambassador at *Constantinople*, putting Pots of Fire at the Yard-arms of some English Ships then in the Port, and came to an Anchor near the Seraglio. The reason thereof was, the violent seizure of the Merchants Goods, as soon as arrived in Port, for the Service of the Grand Signior, without Bargain or Account of them; which being taken up by those Officers and great Persons who were out of the reach of Law, forced the worthy Am-

ballador at that time Resident to represent his Grievances with much resolution, signifying them to the Grand Signior, by Fire on the Yards of eleven English Ships then in Port, which were drawn off from the Scale, where they usually lay, to the side of the Seraglio; which coming to be discovered first to the Vizier, before the Grand Signior had notice thereof, he immediately extinguished those Fires by a fair Accommodation, before they burst into a more dangerous Flame, by the knowledge of the Grand Signior, who might justly destroy him for suffering such notorious Injustice to run to that publick and known extremity.

The *Persians* in like cases put on a Veil of white Paper, signifying, the aggravation of their Injury is not to be described in as much Paper as can cover their Bodies.

This great Office of Charge and Trust, as it is the highest, so it is the nearest to *Jove's* Thunder-bolt, and most exposed to Envy and Emulation; strange Stories are read and confirmed by Eye-witnesses in our days, concerning the unexpected rise and ascent of unworthy Men, on a sudden, without degrees, steps or approaches, to this mighty Power and Glory, and as soon have been thrown down, and been the Subject of the Peoples Cruelty and Revenge; some have been the Sons but of a few days growth, and the Sun hath scarce set, before their Greatness and Glory hath declined; others have continued but a Month, some a Year, others two or three; and withal, even in those who have lived longest and happiest, Fortune sports with that wantonness and inconstancy, that it may serve to be the Mirror and Emblem of the World's Vanity, and uncertain Riches: It is the Fate of great Favourites, with barbarous Princes, to be but short-lived. For either the Prince delights to exercise his Power in debasing folly, and advancing others, or hath bestowed so largely, that his Bounty is at a stop, and begins to be wearied with heaping of Favours, as the other is glutted and fatiated with receiving them; *Fas est potentia raro semperiterna, an satis capis aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hoc quod nihil reliquum est quod capiant*. Tacit. Lib. 3. Emulation and Flattery are likewise great, and the Factions are commonly many in the Ottoman Court, whereby the State of the first Minister is endangered. *In ista mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem agri oculis introspicere, modumque fortune a multis magis exigere, quam quos in aquo vident*. Tacit. Lib. 3. Sometimes the Queen-Mother rules, sometimes the *Kafir Aga* commands; perhaps a beautiful Woman is Mistress of the Power, as well as of the Affections of the Sultan; every one of these have some Favourites, some or other who watch Preferences, and are intent to observe all Miscarriages of State, which may reflect on, or question the Judgment or Honesty of the first Author, by which means the unhappy Vizier, either by the Sultan's immediate Command, or Tumults of the Soldiery raised by the powerful Factions afore-mentioned, yields up his Life and Government together; and as his Power and Greatness being only borrowed from his Master, and depending on another's Pleasure, by its short continuance and mutability, verifies that true saying of *Tacitus*, Lib. 12. *Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile & fluxum est, quam tanta potentie non sua vis*.

But it doth not always happen that the Prime Vizier, because he is deprived of his Office, should therefore lose his Life; for many times, not especially if he be a Man whose Disposition is not greatly

greatly suspected of Malice or Revenge to the Contrivors of his Fall, or he not of a generous Spirit, and great Abilities and Popularity, whereby he may be venturesome and capable of raising Rebellion or Mutiny, he is permitted calmly to retire, and quietly to defend from his high Throne of Honour, to enter into a lower Region and Air of a small and petty Government of a *Palha*; as not many Years past the Predecessors of *Kuprili*, Father of this present Vizer, being Degraded, had the *Pashalik* of *Konstia* (which is accounted one of the meanest of all the Governments which are subject to a *Palha*) conferred on him; and here I cannot tell whether such a Vizer hath not more reason to bless and congratulate his Fortune, than accuse it; for in this condition he is more free from Cares and Dangers, and much more happy, if his Ambition and greatness of Spirit render not his Repose and Ease less pleasing, because he is now in the highest Lodgings of Honour and Command. But it is seldom so among the *Turks*, for with them it is esteemed no disgrace to be transplanted from the Mountains to the Valleys; they know their Original and Composition partakes not much of Heavenly Fire, and that the Clay they are framed of, is but of common Earth, which is in the Hand of the Grand Signior, as the Pot to frame and mould, as is most agreeable to his Pleasure and Will. And as it is no disparagement to decline and go backward in Honour amongst the *Turks*, so it is no new thing, or absurdity in their Politics, to see Men rise like Murdromes in a Night, and from the meanest and most abject Offices, without Degrees or convenient Approaches, at once leap into the Seat and Quality of the Prime Vizer: I shall instance in one Example worthy of Record, which was of late days, and as yet that I know of, hath had no place in History. It happened that in *Constantinople*, there was either great scarcity of Flesh, or the negligence of the Butchers had made it so; for that they who were not so early abroad as to watch their usual time of making their days Provision, or came any thing late, were necessitated to pass that day with a Lenten Diet; among those who had missed one morning their common proportion of Flesh, was one *Deruvis*, a Cook of a Chamber of Janizaries; this Man knew the Blows and Punishment he was to suffer from the chief of the Chamber, and that through his doth and want of care, the whole Company should that day pass without their Dinner, which caused him in great passion, with loud Exclamations, as he passed the Streets, to accuse the ill Government, and little care was had to rectify these common Abuses: It fortune that at that time that *Deruvis* was lamenting his Case to all the World, and cursing the principal Officers, that the Grand Signior in disguise passed by, and seeing a Man in such disorder of Mind, came in a courteous manner to demand the Reason of his Passion; to whom the *Deruvis* replied, 'It was vain for him to be inquisitive; or for me, *faid he*, to inform you what you are able to afford no Remedy unto; for none but the Grand Signior himself is of sufficient Power to redress that for which I have so much cause to be troubled. *At last*, much much importunity, he told, what great Abuse there was in the Butchery, that the Shambles were ill served, that he had missed the usual proportion of Flesh that morning for his Janizaries Chamber; and what Punishment he was likely to suffer, for having come forth only one moment of his due time. *He added further*, 'That the Vizer, and other Offi-

cers, were negligent in rectifying these mean and low Disorders, being wholly taken up in enriching themselves, and listen to their own Interest: But if I were first Vizer, I would not only cause great plenty of Flesh in this City, but at all times of the day it should be found by those who wanted it. And now, what benefit have either you, *faid he*, by hearing this Story, or what release am I like to have of Punishment by repeating it to you?

The Grand Signior afterwards returning Home, and considering of the Discourse the Janizaries Cook had made him, whether to prove the Abilities of the Man, or because he conceived Providence had offered this Encounter; or that Princes delight to exercise their Power in creating great Men from Nothing, he sent immediately for the *Deruvis*; who being come into his Presence, and sensible of the familiar Discourse he had made him, trembling, cast himself down at his Feet, supposing that the free Language he used of the Vizer and the Government, was the cause he was now to lose his Life. But it happened quite contrary, for the Grand Signior encouraging him to lay aside his fear, told him, he was resolved to make him first Vizer, to try an Experiment, whether he was able to amend those Abuses he complained of. And that herein he might not transgress the Degrees whereby he was gradually to pass, he first made him chief of his Chamber, the next day Captain, the day following Agent or General of the Janizaries, and thence with one step to be great Vizer, who not only remedied the Abuse in the Shambles, according to his promise, but proved a famous and excellent Minister of State. And though Examples of the like nature are frequent among the *Turks*, yet this may serve at present to shew in part the Fortune and Fate by which Men are raised, and the uncertainty of Greatness and Glory amongst the *Turks*, above any other part of the World besides.

It was a hard Problem in the *Turkish Policy*, which as a wise Prime Vizer proposed to certain *Palhaes*, amongst other Questions, What courses were possible to be found out for a first Vizer to maintain and continue his Office, and acquit this so dangerous Charge, from the hazard and uncertainty to which it is liable; *For you see, Brothers*, said he, *how few enjoy or grow old herein, their Virtues, their Care, and their Innocence, are no protection; some remain a Day, a Week, a Month; others protrude the Thread to a Year or two, but as length they are (to use our own Proverb) like the Ant, to whom God gives Wings for their speedier destruction*. The *Palhaes* were for a while all silent, not knowing what Reply to make, or how to resolve so difficult and knotty a Point, until *Kuprili* (who was then the most ancient, and perhaps the wisest *Palha*, as the Actions of his following Life have sufficiently testified) first replied, 'That in his Opinion, the only and most probable Means for a tottering Vizer to secure himself, is to divert the Mind of the Grand Signior, and other working Brains, upon some Foreign War; for Peace is that which corrupts the Dispositions of Men, and sets them on work to raise themselves with Intestine and Civil Evils; when War bufiles their Spirits, and employs them to gain Renown and Glory by Martial Actions, by which means Plots and Treachery are driven from our own Homes; *Conflictus est apud res externas moliri, arma precul habere*. Tacit. Lib. 6. And it is possible that *Achmet* the Son of *Kuprili*, who began the last War with Germany, might go upon this Maxim of his Fathers; for in all Mat-

ters of his Government, he is observed to walk by the same Rules and Directions, which were bequeathed to him as well as his Inheritance.

And yet for all this doubtful Estate of the Prime Vizers, some have been known to manage this Office eighteen or nineteen Years, and afterwards wearied with Care and Pains; to acquire it by a natural Death; or from whence this Question may arise, Whether the Favour or Displeasure of the Prince depends on the Dexterity or Fortune we are born to, or whether humane Council can assign a way between Contumaciousness and Flattery, wherein to steer free from Danger and Ambition? *Unde dubitare cogor, fato & sorte nascendi, ut cetera, ita Principum inclinatio in bono, offensus in illo, an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis, licetque inter abruptum contumaciam, & deformem obsequium pergere stier, ambigens & periculosum vacuum*. Tacit. Lib. 2. But we find but few Examples of this kind; for if Vizers have been Evil, their own Cruelty and Covetousness have hastened their Fate; if Good, their Merits have been their Ruin; left the great Benefits their Merits have procured to their Prince should seem to want Reward, or be dangerous or difficult to require; *Beneficia consueque leta, dum videntur exsolvi posse, ubi malum anteceneret, pro gratia eadem redditur*. Tacit. Lib. 4.

The Revenue of the first Vizer, which issue immediately from the Crown, and are certain appendages to the Office, are not great, being not above 20000 Dollars yearly, which arise from certain Villages in *Romelia*; the rest of the Immense Riches which accrues to this Charge full of Cares and Danger, flows from all the Quarters of the Empire. For no *Balhaw*, or Minister of Trust, enters his place without his Present and Offering to the first Vizer, to obtain his Consent, and purchase continuance of his Favour. Those that have Governments abroad, have always their Agents at Court, who with Gifts continually mollify the Vizer's Mind, entreating him to represent their Service to the Grand Signior in an acceptable and grateful manner. And though at the Equinoctial in the Spring, all *Palhaes*, and any that have Governments of note, are obliged to make their Presents to the Grand Signior of considerable value, at which time the first Vizer neither will nor want his own acknowledgments, he is yet farther treated by all Persons with Sums of Money, as the Nature of their Business is, which is not secretly, but boldly and confidently demanded, and the Bargain beaten as in matters of Merchandize and Trade; and Justice and Favours made as vendible, and set as publick to sale, as Wares and Commodities are in the Shops and Places of common Mart; so that if the first Vizer proves covetous, (as commonly they do who are raised from nothing, and used always to thrive, and resolves to lose nothing of what he may get) his Income is incredible, and may equal that which is the Rent of the Grand Signior, and in a few Years amass immense Riches and Wealth. But of this the Prince and the *Turkish Policy* is not ignorant, and accordingly provides Remedies to drain the Inundations of the Vizer's Coffers; at first, by extorting great Sums of Money from him at his entrance to the Charge; then, under colour of Friendship and Favour, the Grand Signior makes him Visits, in requital whereof, rich Presents are made him, as gratitude for so much Honour; next, he many times lends to him for a Gift of 100000 Dollars, for Jewels, Horfies, and other things of great value; and in this manner several Contrivances are used to turn these

Rivulets to pay their Tribute to the great Ocean; amongst which this present Grand Signior *Almahmet* the Fourth, hath found out one way amongst the rest, putting the Vizer often to the charges of his Dinner, sending to his Kitchen for twenty Dishes of Meat, which is the usual proportion of the Grand Signior's ordinary Table, and by inviting himself to a Banquet many times at the Vizer's Expences; and his being done so frequently, gives the World occasion to believe, that he demands it out of no other Design than narrowness of Soul to take the Charges of his own Dinner; and the rather it is so believed, because this Emperor is reputed of a covetous Disposition, and of no affinity with *Solyman* the Magnificent. But the Ways and Means by which the Grand Signior comes in the end to be possessed of the Gains and Profits collected by his Vizer, and other Officers, requires a particular Discourse apart, which shall in its due time and place be treated of; and this shall for the present suffice to have spoken concerning the Prime Vizer and his Office.

CHAP. XII.

The Offices, Dignities, and several Governments of the Empire.

HE that will describe the Politics of a Country, must endeavour, especially in the most exact and punctual manner possible, to declare the several Offices, Dignities, and Riches of it, that for a more easy computation may be calculated of its Strength, numbers of Men, Fortifications, Forces by Sea, where best defended, and where most easily vulnerable and exposed.

The next to the Vizer *Acem*, or the first Vizer, are the several *Beglerbegs* (which may not unaptly be compared to Arch-dukes in some parts of Christendom) having under their Jurisdiction many *Sanguacks* or Provinces, *Beys*, *Agas*, and others: To every one of these, the Grand Signior in honour bestows three Ensigns (called in Turkish *Tugh*) which are Staves trimmed with the Tail of a Horfe, with a Golden Bull upon the top, and this is to distinguish them from *Balhawes* who have two Ensigns; and the *Sancizabegs*, who hath also the name of *Pashas*, and hath but one.

When a *Pashas* is made, the Solemnity used at the conferring his Office, is a Flag or Banner carried before him, and accompanied with Music and Songs by the *Musicians*, who is an Officer for this purpose only, for investiture of *Palhaes* in their Office.

The Government of *Beglerbegs*, who have several Provinces called *Sanguack* under their Command, are two sorts; the first is called *Hu sie Beglerbeglik*, which hath a certain Rent assigned out of the Cities, Countries, and Signiories allotted to the Principality; the second is called *Salyane Beglerbeglik*, for maintenance of which is annexed a certain Salary or Rent, collected by the Grand Signior's Officers, with the Treasure of the whole Government, out of which are paid also the *Sanguack Beglers*, that is, the Lords of the several Countries, Towns, or Cities, and the Militia of the Country.

It is impossible exactly to describe the Wealth and ways of Gains exercised by these potent Governors to enrich themselves; for a *Turk* is ingenious to get Wealth, and hally to grow Rich,

3. Is the Government of the *Pascha* of *Temen*, which is in *Arabia Felix*, whose place of Residence

Which signifies a free command.

dence is at *Adem* upon the Red Sea; which Place and Country being recovered for the most part again from the *Turks* by the *Arabians*, it is neither needful to mention the Revenue, nor the *Sangiack* it formerly commanded.

4. The *Palha* of the *Abissines* hath his Residence at *Saqen*, a small Isle in the Red Sea, and commands the Ports of *Mefana* and *Erkeke*, which the *Turks* lately took from the *Abissines*, but this *Palha* being very poor, and far distant from the Succours of the *Turks*, we cannot align any *Sangiack*, or render any thing certain of his Estate.

5. In the Government also of *Bofra*, on the Confines of *Perfia*, were reckoned 26 *Sangiacks*, but now not held by the *Turk*, who hath no other Power there, nor Benefit thence, excepting only that Prayers are made constantly for the Sultan.

6. In the Government of *Lahsa*, on the Confines of *Ormus* in *Perfia*, are accounted six *Sangiacks*, viz. *Aizen*, *Sakul*, *Negnie*, *Natif*, *Benderazir*, *Giriz*; but these Countries are poor, and have scarce any place in the Grand Signior's Registers.

To these we should add the Governments of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Triply* in *Barbary*; but that being much fallen off from the *Turky* Obedience, and become almost independent of them, we shall pass by the Difficulties of them, especially because of late Years the mutual Treaties with *Barbary*, and interchanges of War and Peace with those Countries, hath made the State and Condition of that People well known and familiar in England.

The use of the particular Catalogue foregoing, is to demonstrate the Greatness and Power of the *Ottoman* Empire, which hath so many considerable Governments and Principacies in its Possessions, wherewith to encourage and excite the endeavours of Heroick Spirits to an ambition of great and noble Enterprizes, whereby to merit the Rewards which remain in the Power of the Sultan to gratify them with. And also to help in the just computation of the number of Men the *Turk* can bring into the Field, every *Palha* being obliged, for every 5000 *Aspers* *Pay*, to bring a Soldier to the Wars, though notwithstanding, they often appear, for ostentation and gain of the Grand Signior's Favour, with more Men than their own Complement: as in the last War with *Germany*, the *Beglerbeg* of *Romania* brought 10000 effective Men into the Field.

Of these *Beglerbegs*, five have the Titles of Viziers, which signifies as much as Counsellors, viz. the *Palha's* of *Anatolia*, *Babylon*, *Cairo*, *Romania* and *India*; which are charges of the greatest Riches, Power, and Fame; the others have their pre-eminence, rank or order, according to the priority of Conquest, and Antiquity in the possession of the *Turks*.

These are all the great Governments of the Empire, in whose respective Jurisdictions are always three principal Officers, viz. the *Mufli*, the *Reis Efendi*, otherwise called *Reis Kitabi*, which is Lord Chancellor, or Secretary of State, or rather those two names united into one; the third is *Teferdar* *Palham*, or Lord Treasurer. These three Officers are near Counsellors and Attendants on their *Palhas*; and so also they are on the Prime Vizier, whose *Mufli*, *Reis Efendi*, and *Teferdar*, have a Superiority and dignity above others, and are to them as the Original to the Copy.

Of the *Mufli* we shall speak in due place. The

Reis Efendi, which signifies chief of the Writers or Book-keepers; (for the *Turks* call always Men of the Law, and Professors of the Pen, and Parochial Priests by the Title of *Efendi*) is always present and attending on the Vizier, for passing Orders, Decrees, Patents and Commissions in to all parts of the Empire; which are daily dispatched in those Numbers into all Places, as is incredible; for the *Turks* governing more by their Arbitrary Power, and according to the Exigencies of Affairs, than by a set Rule or Form, every Business requires a distinct Order; and the very Courts of Justice are moderated according to the Commands and Directions they receive from Above; by which means the *Reis Efendi's* Hands are filled with such a multitude of Business, as employs great numbers of Writers; and consequently brings in Riches flowing to his Coffers; some in which Office, who by their Parts, Industry, and Courage, have gained Authority and Respect, have amassed Wealth, which might compare with the Riches and Treasure of Princes; We shall here instance in one of late years, famous in *Turky*, for his Knowledge and Riches, called *Samsade*; one who had piled those heaps of all things that were rich and curious, as were too tedious and long to insert in a Catalogue in this place. It may suffice, that being executed in the time of the last Wars against the Emperor of *Germany*, for some Conspiracy against the Great *Vizier*, such a Treasure was found appertaining to him (all which was confiscated to the Grand Signior) as was sufficient to have enriched and raised his Prince, had he been impoverished, and in a declining condition.

The other great Officer, is the *Teferdar* or Lord Treasurer, who receives the Revenue of the Grand Signior, and pays the Souldiery, and makes other publick Disbursements; this Office is different from the Treasurer of the *Seraglio* (of whom we have already spoken) who attends to nothing else but the Expenses of the Court, and to gather in the accidental Profits and Presents paid to the Grand Signior; which is so considerable, that every Sultan (for the most part) amasses a particular Treasure of his own, which after his death is inclosed in a certain Chamber, and shut with an Iron Gate, and the Key-hole stopp'd with Lead; and over the Port is writ, in Golden Letters, *The Treasures of such a Sultan*. And this shall suffice to have been spoken of the Offices and Dignities of the Empire.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Tartars and Tartar Han, and in what manner they depend upon the Turks.

THE *Tartars* may very well be accounted amongst the other Princes subject to the *Ottoman* Power; I mean not the *Asiatick Tartars*, or the *Tartar of Embeck*, (though so much *Mahometan* as to wear green Turbants, and to deduce their Race from the Line of *Mahomet* himself) for having conquered *China*, and possessing a greater Empire than the *Ottoman*, they are far from acknowledging any subjection or degree of Inferiority to the *Turks*; nor are all the *European Tartars* Subjects to the Sultan; for the *Kalmuk* and *Cirabian Tartars* (Men of strange barbarity, and countenance different from all the other Race of Mankind) though Professors of the *Mahometan* Religion, are yet faithfully and piously obedient

obedient to the Duke of *Muscovy* their lawful Prince.

But the *Presepation Tartar*, which inhabits *Taurica Cherfonfus*, now called *Crim*, the principal City of which is *Theodosia*, now *Cafa*, and the *Nagaeian Tartar*, which inhabits by the *Palus Meotis*, between the Rivers of *Volga* and *Tanais*, are the People which may be accounted amongst the Subjects, or at least Confederates of this Empire; though only the City of *Cafa*, of all those Dominions, is immediately in Possession and Government of the *Turks*, which in my opinion appears to be a cautionary Town and Pledge for their Obedience; and though the *Han*, or Prince of the Country, is Elective, yet he is chosen out of that true Line, and confirmed by the Grand Signiors, who have always taken upon them a Power to depose the Father, and in his place constitute the Son, or next of the Lineage, when found remiss in affording their Auxiliary helps to the War, or guilty of my disrespect or want of Duty to the *Ottoman* Port.

This present *Han* which now governs, called *Mahomet Ghirci*, (for that is the Surname of his Family) remained, during the Life of his Father (according to the custom of the eldest Son of this Prince) a Hostage to the *Turk* in *Janiboli*, a Town in *Thrace*, four days journey distant from *Adrianople*, situate on the Coast of the Black Sea; but from thence, upon a jealousy of too near a vicinity to his own Country, was removed to *Rhodes*, where he passed an obscure and melancholy Life until the Death of his Father; and then being recalled to *Constantinople*, had there his Sword girt on, swore Fealty to the Grand Signior, with all other Formalities performed according to their Custom of Regal inauguration: But being fettered in his Kingdom, and mindful of his subjection at *Rhodes*, he had ever longed the Pride of the *Ottoman* Emperor; by which, and the diffusion of the *Polonians*, and the other Neighbouring *Tartars*, as a thing dishonourable to so ancient and powerful a People, to resign the Heir of their Kingdom a Hostage to their Neighbours; this present Prince hath refused this part of Subjection, which the *Vizier Koprulili* often complained of; but not being in a condition to afford a Kennedy unto it, thought it prudent to dissemble.

But yet these People are esteemed as Brothers, or near Allies with the *Turks*, to whom, for want of Heirs Male in the *Ottoman* Line, the Empire is by ancient Compact to defend; the expectation of which, though afar off, and but almost imaginary, doth yet conferre the *Turk* in as much observance to the *Turks*, as the hopes of an Estate doth a young Gallant, who is allured to a complacency and obsequiousness, with the perulant Humour of a Father that adopts him, who is resolved never to want Heirs of his own Family. And thus the *Tartar* is as obedient as his Subjects; and though the *Turk* exercises not his Power there by Commands, as in other places of his Dominions, but treats all his Business by way of Letters; yet these Letters serve in the place of Warrants, for the signification of the Grand Signior's Pleasure, and are as available as the *Charakter*, and other Formalities of the Imperial Edicts, are in other places (in subjection to the *Turk*).

When the Sultan writes to the *Chan* of *Tartary*, he uses this style,

To the Government wherein flourisheth the Mañ, and Original of Regency, on

which Fortune depends, and by which Felicity is obtained. Possessor of Excellent Power, and Established Glory, elected by the Favour of that King from whom Succours are to be demanded. The King of Grim, Gian, Begh, Ghirai Chaw, whose Height be for ever maintained.

After respect had to those Blessings, which are freighted with Ambers, and Salutations performed with *Nareffia*, proceeding from the Imperial Grace. *Be it known unto you, &c.*

By ancient Compact between the Empire and the Kingdom of *Tartary*, it is agreed, that whenever the Grand Signior goes in Person to the War, the *Tartar Han* is to accompany him in Person, with an Army of one hundred thousand Men; but if the Vizier, or some other General be in the Field, then is he only obliged to send forty or fifty thousand under the command of his Son, or some principal Officer of his Kingdom, who are paid and maintained out of the Booty and Pillage they acquire.

In the Year 1663, the *Tartar* called on occasion of the War in *Hungary*, to the assistance of the *Turks*, they made such Incursions into that Country, *Moravia* and *Silicia*, sacking and burning all Cities and Towns, that they carried away One hundred and sixty thousand Captive Souls in one Year; which precise number I am informed from those who had received good information of the *Pengick* or Certificates that were given upon every Head; for the *Tartar* being an absolute Free-booter, makes prize of all that comes within his Power; and left he should prey on the Subjects of the *Turks*, they are bound to take out Attestations from certain Registers, of the Names, Countries, and Age of their Captives, lest they should deceive the *Turk* with the sale of those, who are already their own Subjects and Slaves.

The *Tartar* is to the *Turk*, as the Gial to the Lion, who hunts and finds the Prey for the Lion to overcome and feed: And so the *Tartars* make Incursions into the Neighbouring Countries round about, and pass in great Bodies, sometimes ten or twelve days, without doing the least damage or spoil in their Journey outward; but as soon as they turn their Faces Home, they rob, spoil, burn, and carry all the Inhabitants, of what Age or Sex soever, like a Torrent before them; and every one of them leading three or four Horses apiece, on which they mount their Captives, and load their Prey, make a running march Day and Night with few hours intermission for natural Repose, too fast for any orderly Army to overtake; and any other, that is not so, is not able to give them Battle. Such of their Slaves as in their journey are wounded and infirm, and not able to accompany the Camp, they kill; those which they bring safe into their own Country they sell to the *Turks*, who come thither to trade for this Merchandise, which is the most profitable Commodity that *Tartary* affords. Young Boys and Girls are rated at the highest Price, the latter of which being beautiful are like Jewels held at an unknown value; but few of them escape the lust of the *Tartars*, who despoil them even in the Years of their infancy. This sort of People were by the Ancients called *Sarmata*, and were always famous for their exploits on Horseback, but heavy and ignorant of Foot-service; which Character Tacitus gives of them, *Lib. 1. Hist. Omitis Sarmatium*.

manum virtus quasi extra ipso, nihil ad pedem
pugnam, tam ignem ubi per turmas adven-
ire, ubi illa esse differit, inter videtur sudore ac-
quiere, quod possit sanguine parare, mirā diversitate
naturæ cum ident homines sic ament incertum, &
edere vident. They live very hardly, and feed
especially on Horle-flesh, which dying in their
march, they never examine his Disfates, whe-
ther sufficed or overheated; but distributing
his Flesh amongst their Companions, place it
under their Saddles: and thus baked between
the heat of the Man and the Horle, chafed with
that day's labour, is a night jugged sufficiently
prepared, as a Dish fit for the Table of their
Prince.

And as the Men are nourished with a Diet of
raw Flesh, Herbs and Roots, or such as the Earth
naturally produces, without the concoction of
the Fire to prepare it for their Stomachs, so also
their Horses are of a hardy temperament, pa-
tient of Hunger and Cold; and in the sharp
Winter of those Countries, when the ground is
covered with Snow, nourish themselves with the
Barks of Trees, and such Herbage as they can
find at the bottom of the deep Snow.

Their Towns or Villages consist of Huts ra-
ther than Houses, or Hurdles made with Sticks
and covered with a coarse hair-Cloth; of which
Villages there are counted Two hundred thou-
sand, so that taking one Man out of every Vil-
lage (as their custom is when they go to the
War) they speedily form an Army of Two hun-
dred thousand fighting Men. But now having
carried great Riches out of *Poland*, and gained
a considerable Wealth by the Market of their
Slaves, some of them throw off their homely
Piaids to wear Sables, and some more frugal,
employ their Money for building Houses; the
riotous and dissolute are addicted to strong Wa-
ters, and a drink called *Bexa* made of a certain
Seed (which drank in a great quantity does in-
toxicate, and is now much in use amongst the
Turks) and give themselves up to a glutony, as
brutish, as that which is natural unto Swine,
having no art of Sauced to provoke their Ap-
petite, but rest delighted with the mere content-
ment of Idleness and a full Stomach.

But this shall be sufficient to have spoken of
the relation the *Tartars* have to the Government
of the *Turks*, and their subjection to this Empire,
their Customs and Manners being more amply
and fully described in other Books.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Tributary Princes to the Grand Sig-
nior, viz. Moldavians, Walachians, Trans-
ylvanians, Raguleans, &c.

THE Power and Puissance of an Empire
is not more judged of by the many Go-
vernours, the rich Offices it can dispose of,
the multitude of Provinces it contains in Obedience,
and the necessity it can impose on other Princes
to seek its confederacy (which we have already
treated of) than it is by the many Tributaries
which to redeem the reward of their worldly
Goods, willingly sacrifice the best part to ap-
pear his Fury, in whose Power it is to master
all: and so these distressed Nations, long wear-
ied out with tedious Wars, oppressed between
the Emperor of *Germany*, the *Polander*, and the
Turks, and more damaged by their own Civil Dis-

sensions, and Domestic Perfidiousness, than
vanquished by the Force of Arms, were forced
at last to surrender up their fruitful Provinces
to the devotion of the *Turks*, which are now
harassed and oppressed beyond all expression,
and are the miserable Slaves to the *Turk* of all o-
ther his Subjects; and may well be compared to
the industrious Bee and profitable Sheep, whom he
cares for and maintains alive for the sake of their
Honey, and the interest of their Wool; and as
if all this were too little, when it shall be so
thought fit, he opens the Gate to the Incursions
of the *Tartars*, who having gained a considerable
booty of Goods and Captives, sells out the *Turks*
for Slaves, those which were before his Subjects.
These three poor Provinces formerly called the
Daci, which withstood so long the *Roman* Arms,
were always esteemed a valiant and warlike Peo-
ple, according to that of *Virgil*, lib. 8. *Æn.*

Indomitus Dacia, & pontem Indignatus Araxes.

Et Juvenal. Sat. 5.

Dacius & scripto radiis Germanicus antro.

Which Countries have been the Graves and
Cemeteries of the *Turks*, and in these modern
Times been the Stage on which so many Tra-
gedies of War have been acted, being defended
with as much valour and variety of Successes, as
could humanely be expected in so unequal a Match
as was between those Provinces singly and the
Ottoman Empire. But now at last they are forced
to yield, and become not only Tributaries, but
Slaves and Subjects to the *Turks*, who having
deprived them of the true Line of their natural
Princes succeeding in a lawful Inheritance, place
over them some Christians of the Greek Church,
without consideration of their Conditions or
Riches, or Qualifications; nay rather chuse to
give the Standard (which is the sign of the Grand
Signior's Confirmation of the Prince) to some
inferior Person, as Taverners, Fishmongers, or
other meaner Professions, purposely to disparage
the People with the baseness of their Govern-
ours, and expose them to the oppressions of
Men of no Worth or Dexterity in their Office.

It hath several times been under the considera-
tion of the *Turks*, at length to reduce these
three Provinces to the command of so many
Pashas; contrary to the Original Capitulations
agreed on at the time that these People first sub-
mitted to the *Ottoman* Yoke: but as yet it hath
been carried to the contrary, as more profit-
able, and better serving the Ends of the Empire;
for hereby Christians become the Instruments
of Torment to their own Brethren; Outrages
and Spoils may be the more boldly acted; more
Turkish Officers employed on every slight Occa-
sion on gainful Mesfages; and the People, by
long Oppressions, living under the Jurisdiction
of a Prince, who can rather spoil than protect,
may be reconciled more willingly to the *Turkish*
Government, and learn to value the Gentleness
and Power of a *Pasha*, compared with the re-
membrance of their former Aggravations. But
of this Government they will rather let them
imagine the Ease and Sweetness, than enjoy it;
for were a *Pasha* the Governor, the Power of a
Turk would be concerned for their Protection,
he would esteem himself their Patron, and his
Honour engaged in their Defence, by which
Means these Countries would be relieved in a
great measure of Extortions and Violences,
which is not so beneficial to the *Turks*, as the pre-
sent miserable Estate in which they remain.

Moldavia

Moldavia.

The word
Vayvod
signifies as
much as
Prefectus
Militie,
viz. General
of an Army.

Moldavia called by the *Turks* *Eugden*, was first
made Tributary to the *Turks* by *Mahomet* the
Great, but under the small Tribute of 2000
Crowns per Annum; afterwards *Bozdanus*, *Vay-
vod* thereof, Anno 1485, fearing to become ab-
solute Vassal to the *Turks*, taking to his Alliance
the Kingdom of *Poland*, took up Arms against
Selymus the Second, by whom being drawn out
from his Country, *John* a *Moldavian* born, but
one who had embraced the *Mahometan* Super-
stition, was preferred by *Selymus* to the Principa-
lity; but no sooner was he settled therein, but
he returned to his former Religion, for which
cause the *Turks* taking into his assistance the Pro-
vince of *Walachia*, made War upon *Moldavia*;
but *John* the *Vayvod* by treachery losing his Life,
this Province fell totally into the Power of the
Turks. The Tribute in those days of this Province
is recorded in the *Turkish* History to have
been 40000 *Zechins*, or 80000 Dollars; but
now whatsoever may be reported, the Tribu-
te of these Countries is, or was, the Reader may
take this following Account for what is certainly
paid, being related to me from one who had
many Years been employed for *Vayvod*, both in
Moldavia and *Walachia* by the *Turks*, viz.
the yearly Tribute of *Moldavia* is,

In Annual
Tribute.

1. To the Grand Signior, 120 Purfes of Mo-
ny; each Purfe containing 500 Dollars, makes
60000 Dollars.
2. Ten thousand Oks of Wax, each Oke
being two pounds and a half English weight.
3. Ten thousand Oks of Honey.
4. Six hundred Quintals of Tallow for the
Arfenal.
5. Five hundred Ox Hides.
6. Five hundred Pieces of Canvas for Cloa-
thing, and Shirts for the Slaves, and others Ser-
vices for the Gallies.
7. One thousand three hundred and thirty
Oks of Wax, for the service of the *Arfenal*.
8. To the chief Vizier ten Purfes of Mony,
or 5000 Dollars, and a Sables Fur for a Vell.
9. To the Viziers *Kahija*, or chief Steward,
one Purfe, or 500 Dollars.
10. To the *Tesferdar*, or Lord Treasurer, the
same as to the *Kahija*.

This is the ordinary and annual Tribute this
Country acknowledges to the Supremacy of the
Sultan; and it were well and happy for this Peo-
ple were it all; but there are so many accident-
al Expences, Pretensions, and Artifices of the
Turks, framed and contrived Mesfages merely
to extract Mony, and Presents from this oppres-
sed and harassed People, as do more than equal,
and sometimes double the charge of their yearly
Tribute.

To which you may add the Price paid for the
Principality, which is every three Years set to
sale, and is,

- To the Grand Signior 150 Purfes, or 75000
Dollars.
- To the *Valide* or Queen-mother 50 Purfes, or
25000 Dollars.
- To the Grand Signior's Favourite, who is
commonly some handsome young Youth, 10 Pur-
fes, or 5000 Dollars.

And to the *Kulij Aga* or chief Black Eunuch,
who is Superintendent over the Ladies in the Se-
raglio, 10 Purfes of Mony.

And lastly, To the Prime Vizier and other
Officers, for as much as they can beat the Bar-
gain.

All which Mony is taken up at Interest at 40
or 50 per Cent. and sometimes on condition to be

doubled; and this is done by Men, who having
no Estates of their own, the Debt comes to be
charged on their Country, which is pillaged
and sold for it to the very Bones, first to fa-
tisfy the Price of the Principality with the In-
terest-mony, for what it is valued, then to pay
the annual Tribute, then to satisfy the multi-
tude of covetous *Turks*, who like so many Vul-
turs pursue after the Skeleton of this consumed
Carcase.

And lastly, the Prince himself must take his
Accounts, and take his Measures to be capable
for the future, after he hath laid aside the Or-
nament of his Office, to live in some proporti-
on agreeable to his pait Condition; and this is
neither done moderately nor modestly, but
with a covetousness and greedy Appetite, com-
monly incident to the nature of Men born of
mean Parentage, and educated with the pari-
mony of a scanty House; who also therunto
add many grants of allowance to the limits of
their Gains, in consideration of the yearly Gra-
tuities they must make to reconcile the Friend-
ship of the *Turkish* Ministers, whereby they may
enjoy protection for their Persons and Estates.

The State and Condition of the Province of
Walachia is not better, but rather worse, and
more afflicted than that of *Moldavia*; for this
Country, is now equally with the former in the
file and entire disposal and possession of the
Turks, to whom it became first Tributary under
their own Princes in the time of Sultan *Bajazet*:
Afterward in the Year 1462, *Mahomet* the
Great undertook the entire Conquest of it, then
governed by its *Vayvod* *Wladis*, whose younger
Brother supported by the *Turks*, and Factious
Party in that Country, possessed himself of the
Principality, contenting himself to be Vassal to
the *Turkish* Empire; afterwards in the Year 1595,
Michael the *Vayvod* thereof joining himself
with *Sigismund* of *Transylvania*, and with the
Vayvod of *Moldavia*, waged a long and terrible
War against the *Turks*, until Revolutions, Un-
quietness and Factious have so spent them, as
that they are at length become another addition
to the Empire of the *Turks*, who now impose
on them a heavy Yoke and Irait Curb, not to
be imputed to any thing more than to Divine
Justice, which takes occasion to exercise a hand
of severity against the unreasonable negligence,
Sedition, and Variance of Christians amongst
themselves, at a time when the common Enemy
to their profession attended only the opportunity
of their own Difficulties, to enter and devour
them.

The Tribute of *Walachia* to the Grand Signi-
or was formerly 120 Purfes of Mony, or 60000
Dollars yearly, according to that of *Moldavia*,
and so still continued, had not lately *Mathew*
the *Vayvod* about the Year 1655, grown rich, and
therefore forgetful of his Condition (having by
Friends and large Presents at the Port, procured
continuation of his Office for the space of nine-
teen or twenty Years) rebelled against the *Turks*,
taking false measures of his Wealth and Power,
as able to encounter with the puissance of the
Ottoman Empire; but being soon put to the
worst, and forced to yield, his Life was spared
and the safety of his Country redeemed upon the
augmentation of their Tribute; so that now,
that which was yearly paid, being 120 Purfes of
Mony,

Is become to the Grand Signior 260 Purfes,
or 130000 Dollars.

2. There is paid 15000 Oks of Honey.
3. Nine thousand Oks of Wax.

E 2

4. To

Every Oke
is two
pounds and
a half
English.

4. To the Prime Vizier ten Purles of Money, or 5000 Dollars, and a Veil of Sables.

5. To the *Tefdarar*, or Lord Treasurer, one Purle of Money, or 50 Dollars, and a Veil of Sables.

6. To the *Kusful Aga*, or chief Eunuch of the Women 12000 Aspers.

7. To the Vizier's *Kabaja* or Steward 500 Dollars, and a Veil of Sables.

The other Charges and Value fit on this Province, when triennially fold, is no less than that of *Midiveia*; the Method and Art used for extorting Money from thence are the same, the Oppression in every point equal, unless the remembrance of the extravagant disorder of *Mathien* the *Yayoud* still kept in mind, emboldens the *Turk*, with more confident Pretences, to work more Defolation and Impoverishment in this Province.

Now lately a Prince was settled there by Order of the Grand Signior, in the Year 1664, called *Stridaa Bes* by the *Greeks*, which signifies a Lord that had gained some Fortune from selling Oysters and Fish; this Person succeeded *Gregafora* the late Prince, who fearing the Anger of the Prime Vizier for returning Home with his Army without Licence, defeated by General *Sifia* near *Lema*, fled for safety of his Life into the Dominions of the Emperor. The *Turk*, who always avenges the Crimes of the Governors on the People, or of the Subjects on the Governors, raised the Price of the Principality to a higher value, causing *Stridaa Bes* (as I am confidently informed, who was contented to accept it at any Rate) to pay for it 800 Purles of Money, or 400000 Dollars; to which being added the Interest before-mentioned, the Sum may easily be computed that this new *Yayoud* engulfed himself in; and I leave the Reader to imagine with what glad Hearts and Blessings the People of that Country went forth to receive their Bankrupt Prince.

Nor is *Transylvania* wholly exempted from the Oppression of the *Turk*; for after several Revolutions, from the time of *Hunyadi* made *Yayoud* by *Uladiass* the fourth King of *Hungary*, Anno 1450, a great Defender of his Country against the Infidels, until the time of *Stephen* the Seventh, surnamed *Ragatzki*, Patronized by the *Turk*, Anno 1450. This Principality remained sometimes at the Devotion and Disposal of the King of *Hungary*, of *Poland*, of the Emperor, and sometimes of the *Turk*; until by the growing greatness of the *Ottomans*, the *Turk* became Masters of the best part of this Country. But yet *Transylvania* is more tenderly and more honourably treated than the other two Provinces, their Tribute being much less, and their Princes chosen for the most part more regularly from the ancient Line, or at least from the honourable Houses of the Boyars or Nobility, who have an affinity or alliance with the true Blood of the former *Yayouds*. Their ancient Tribute was added 9000 more annually, for acknowledgment of certain Castles which *Ragatzki* had taken from *Poland*, which the *Turk* demanded to have resigned into his possession, were for that Sum redeemed, and still detained in the Hands of the *Transylvanians*; over and above which they only pay 300 Dollars and two Silver Bowls to the seven Viziers of the Bench: And this is all the acknowledgment they make to the *Turk*, who demonstrates more respect always to this Prince and his Messages, than those of the Neighbour Provinces, by reason that that Country is not to-

tally in his Power (certain Fortresses being in the hand of the Emperor of *Germany*) for whose sake this People is more gently dealt with, lest too much severity should occasion them to revolt; and this consideration induced the *Turk* to treat modestly with *Michael Apafi* the Prince of this Country in the late Wars in *Hungary*, by trusting much to his Conduct, by using him like an honourable Confederate, by permitting him freely to possess *Zekshid* after its voluntary Surrender in a Mutiny, without the controul or superintendency of a *Turk* as his Superior; and for his farther encouragement, gave out, that when the Sultan had totally subdued *Hungary*, those parts which were not subject to *Pashaws*, should be annexed to his Dominions, and he honoured with the Title of King of *Hungary*.

These Princes of the three foregoing Provinces, are farther obliged to serve the Grand Signior in his Wars, whensoever summoned thereto; but with what number, and in what manner, we reserve for its due place in the Treatise of the *Turk* Militia and Auxiliaries.

The City and small Dominion of *Ragatzki*, is also another Tributary to the *Turk*; which is a petty Common-Wealth, not vouchsafed the Title of a Republick, neither by the *Venetians*, nor the *Pope*, and only styled *la Communita di Ragatzki*, which is a Town in *Dalmatia*, commanding over a narrow and barren Territory of a few Villages, which for the space of 150 miles extends it self along the Sea Coast, and some little Islands of no great consideration: It was anciently called *Epidaurus* (of which name there were two other Cities in *Peloponnesus*) but that being razed by the *Goths*, the Inhabitants after their departure rebuilt again this City of *Ragatzki*, giving it a new Name, as well as a new Foundation. The Government of it, in the nature of a common-Wealth, is more ancient than that of *Finice*, having preserved it self more by Art and Submission to some powerful Protector, than to its own Force; which caused them to court the Friendship of the *Turk*, before he was Master of any part of *Europe*; and as their Records report, it was upon the Advice of a Holy Nun, esteemed a great Saint amongst them, who prophesying of the future greatness of the *Turkish* Empire, assured them, That the only Means to preserve, for many Ages, their Common-Wealth free and happy, was, to submit themselves to one of the most prosperous of Princes, to whose Dominion the best part of the World should be subdued. Whereupon two Ambassadors were dispatched to the City of *Prusa*, (then the Regal Seat, before the utter ruin of the *Grecian* Empire) with Presents to the Sultan *Orchan*, desiring to become his Tributaries; and in consideration thereof to strengthen their weak Common-Wealth with assistance under the shadow of his prevalent Protection. There is no doubt, but the Sultan then received them the more courteously, and promised the maintenance of a former League, by how much the distance they were at as yet, gave them the less cause to fear his Arms; wherefore the Tribute being agreed on, of Twelve thousand and five hundred *Zechins* yearly, they were returned Home with all demonstrations of Courtesy, and assurances of Defence: *Orchan* entered into Articles with them, bestowed on them a Grant of all the Immunities and Privileges they desired, the which he signed with the form of his whole hand wetted in Ink, and clapped on the Paper, which was all the Firm and Seal

in those days, and is now revered amongst the *Turk* with the same esteem, as the *Jews* do the Tables of *Moses*, or we the most Sacred and Holy Reliques; ever since that time this Tribute hath yearly continued, and been brought always in the month of *July* by two Ambassadors, who reside at the *Turkish* Court for the space of a Year, the former returning Home; these are relieved at the same Season of the following Year, by the accession of two others with the like Tribute; which with the Presents they also bring to the Prime Vizier, chief Eunuch of the Vizier, the Queen-Mother and other Sultans, with the Charges and Expenses of the Embassy, is computed to amount yearly to the Sum of twenty thousand *Zechins*.

They were in Times past, before the War between the Republick of *Venice* and the *Turk*, very poor, and put to hard Shifts and Arts to raise the *Turkish* Tribute; but this War hath opened their Scale, and made it the Port for transmitting the Manufactures of *Venice*, and all *Italy* into *Turkey*, which yields them such considerable Customs, as thereby their Tribute is supplied with Advance, and other Necessities provided for: So that now the old Ornaments of the Ambassadors, as their black Velvet Bonnets, and Gowns of Crimson Satin, lined heretofore with *Martins* Fur, but now with Sables, are not laid up in the common Treasury, but the Ambassadors of the succeeding Year, but a new Equipage and Accoutrements are yearly supplied at the common Charge: and thus they pass honestly and in good esteem at the *Ottoman* Court, being called the *Dowbray Vendick*, by the *Turk*, or the Good *Venician*.

This petty Republick hath always supported it self by sublimation, and addresses for Favour and Defence to divers powerful Princes, contending the Favour of every one, never offering Injuries, and when they receive them, patiently support them; which is the cause the *Italians* call them *le fuste Bandiere*, or the seven Banners, signifying that for their Being and Maintenance of the name of a free Republick, they are contented to become Slaves to all parts of the World. And it is observable on what a strange form of jealous Policy their Government is founded; for their chief Officer, who is in imitation of their Doge at *Venice*, is changed every month, others weekly; and the Governour of the principal Castle of the City, is but of 24 hours continuance; every night one is nominated by the Senate for Governour, who is without any Preparation or Ceremony taken up as he walks the Streets, having a Handkerchief thrown over his Face, is led away blindfold to the Castle, so that none can discover who it is that commands that Night; and by that means all possibility of Conspiracy or Combination of betraying the Town, prevented.

These People, in former Times, were great Traders into the Western Parts of the World; and it is said, that those vast *Caracks* called *Argefes*, which are so much famed for the valeness of their Burthen and Bulk, were corrupted by some one can discover who it is that commands that Night; and by that means all possibility of Conspiracy or Combination of betraying the Town, prevented.

Some of the Provinces also of *Georgia*, formerly *Iberia*, but now supposed to be called from *St. George* the Cappadocian Martyr, and the poor Country of *Mengrelia*, are also Tributaries to the *Turk*, who every three Years send Messengers with their Sacrifice to the Grand Signior of seven young Boys, and as many Virgins a piece,

besides other Slaves, for Presents to great Men; this People chuse rather this sort of Tribute than any other, because Custom hath introduced a forwardness in the Parents, without remorse, to sell their Children, and to account Slavery a Preferment, and the miseries of Servitude a better Condition than Poverty with Freedom. Of the whole retinue which these Beggary Ambassadors bring with them, (for so the *Turk* called them) being about seventy or eighty Persons, a crue of miserable People are all set to sale, to the very Secretary and Steward, to defray the Charge of the Embassy, and bring back some Revenue to the Publick Stock; so that the Ambassadors return without their Pomp, referring only the Interpreter as a necessary Attendant to their Voyage home.

The Emperor of *Germany* may also not improperly be termed one of the Tributaries to the *Ottoman* Empire, (whom for Honour's sake we mention in the last place in our ungrateful Office) being obliged, according to the Articles made with *Solyman* the Magnificent, to pay a yearly Tribute of 3000 *Hungars*; but it was only paid the first two Years after the conclusion of the Peace; afterwards it was excused by the *Germans*, and dissembled by the *Turk*; until taking a resolution to make a War on *Hungary*, made that one Ground and Occasion of the Breach: for upon the Truce made for eight Years, between Sultan *Solyman*, and the Emperor *Ferdinand*, as *Angerius Bubeck* reports in those Capitulations, that the Tribute is made the Foundation of the Accord. *Cuius concordia, pacis ac confederationis he conditiones sunt primæ, ut sua dilectio quotannis ad aulam nostram pro arra induciarum 30000 Hungaricos Ducatos mittere teneatur, nec cum refusa, quod nobis proxime preterlapsam biennium refoverat.*

C H A P. XV.

The Defolation and Ruin which the Turks make of their own Countries in Asia, and the Parts most remote from the Imperial Seat, esteemed one cause of the conservation of their Empire.

THIS Position will appear a Paradox at first sight to most Men who have read and considered the *Roman* Conquest, whose jurisdiction and Dominions were far larger than this present Empire; and yet we do not find that they so studiously endeavoured to dispeople, and lay waste the Nations they subdued, but rather encouraged Industry in Plantations, gave Privileges to Cities newly stored, invited People to inhabit them, endeavoured to improve Countries rude and uncultivated, with good Husbandry, and Maritime Towns with Traffic and Commerce; made Citizens of their Confederates, and conferred on their conquered Subjects oftentimes greater Benefits than they could expect or hope for under their true and natural Princes; and certainly the *Romans* thrived, and were richer and more powerful by their Policy; and therefore why the *Turk* might not proceed in the same manner, and yet with the same advantage, is worth our consideration.

For the Solution of which Difficulty, it will be necessary to consider, that these two Empires being compared, there will be found a vast difference in the Original Foundation; Progress

The Tributaries to Georgia and Mengrelia.

and Maxim. each of other. For the *Romans* built their City in Peace, made Laws, by which the Arbitrary Will of the Prince was corrected; and afterward, as their Arms succeeded, and their Dominions were extended, they accommodated themselves often to present Necessities and Humours, and Constitutions of the People they had conquered, and accordingly made Provision, and used proper Arts to keep them in Obedience; and next, by their Generosity and Mildness, won those Nations to admire and imitate their Virtues, and to be contented in their Subjection.

But the *Turks* have but one sole Means to maintain their Counties, which is the fame by which they were gained, and that is the cruelty of the Sword in the most rigorous way of execution, by Killing, Confusing, and laying desolate the Countries, and transplanting into parts where they are nearest under the Command and Age of a Governor, being wholly desolate and ignorant of other refined Arts, which more civilized Nations have in part made to serve in the place of Violence. And yet the *Turks* made this course alone answer to all the Intents and Ends of their Government.

For the Subjects of this Empire being governed better by Tyranny than Gentleness, it is necessary, that courses should be taken, whereby these People may remain more within compals and reach of Authority; which they would hardly be, were every part of this Empire so well inhabited to afford entertainments within the Fortifications of its vast Mountains and Woods, to the many unquiet and discontented Spirits that live in it. And this may be one cause, that so rarely Rebellions arise amongst the *Turks*, though in the remotest parts of *Asia*; and when they do, are easily suppressed. This also is one Cause, why great Men so easily resign themselves up to the Will of the Grand Signior to Punishment and Death, whether the Sentence be according to Law, or only Arbitrary: This is the reason that Fugitives and Homicides cannot escape; for having no place for flight, neither the inhabited Cities, which are immediately under the Eye of a vigilant Commander, will afford them refuge, nor can the desolate Countries entertain them; and Christendom is so abhorred by them, that they will never take it for their sanctuary. And thus deprived of all means of Safety, they wholly extend to themselves and serve their Great Master, in whose Favour and Hands alone is the Reward and Punishment.

Another Advantage, and that not inconsiderable, that this manner of dispooping the Country brings to this Empire, is the difficulty an Enemy would find in their March, should they with a Land Army attempt to penetrate far into the Country; for without great quantities of Provision they could not possibly be sustained; what the Country none can be expected; what little it affords, the Inhabitants will conceal or carry away, and leave all Places as naked and barren of Food for Man as the Sea it self.

And though it is known often, that in *Asia* the Troops of some discontented *Beis* or *Aga*, to the number of three or four hundred Men, in the Summer-time, having their retirements in the Woods and Mountains, assault *Cavans*, and rob all Passengers from whom there is any hope of Booty; yet in the Winter they are dispersed, because they have no Quarters against the Weather, nor Provisions for humane Sufferance, every one shifting for himself in some

place where his Condition is the least known or suspected.

And it may not be here from our Purpose to admonish the Reader, that as the *Turks* account it one good part of their Policy, to lay a considerable part of their Empire desolate; so on the contrary, they observe in their new Conquests to fortify, strengthen and confirm, what they have gained, by numbers of People, and new Colonies of their own; and when they have reduced any considerable Country to their subjection, they commonly are inclined to make Peace with that Prince from whom they have won it, so as to have time to settle and secure their new Conquests; for Countries over-run in haste, are almost as speedily again recovered, and are like Tempests and sudden Storms, which are the sooner dispersed for being violent. *Augustus Caesar*, who was a wife and judicious Prince, considering the extent of the *Roman* Empire, wrote a Book, *id est Tacitus*, which was published after his Death, wherein he described the publick Revenues, the number of Citizens and Confederate, lifted for the War, the Fleets, Kingdoms, Provinces, Tributes, Customs, &c. *Ad idcircoque in super Conflum coercendi inter terminos imperii, incertum*, (saith that Author, *Chap. Lib. 1. Annal.*) *metu, an per invidiam*: Which doubtless this wife Emperor meant of a moderate, and not a precipitate progress of their Arms, as well as of preferring fixed limits to the ultimate Confine of the Empire, beyond which a Statute should be made of *Non plus ultra*, notwithstanding the most promising Designs and Incitements that could offer.

CHAP. XVI.

All Hereditary Succession in Government, as also the preservation of an Ancient Nobility, against the Maxims of the Turkish Policy.

HAVING formerly entred into Discourse of the several great Officers of State, it will be necessary to declare what care the *Turks* take to preserve the Body of their Empire free of Faction and Rebellion; for there being many Provinces in the Sultan's Gift, which are remote, rich, and powerful, and so administer temptation to the Governors to throw off the Yoke of their Dependence, and make themselves and their Posterity Absolute; great care is taken to prevent this Mischief by several Arts, none of which hath been more effectual amongst the *Turks*, nor more sedulously practised, than the destruction of an Ancient Nobility; and admitting no direct Succession to Offices of Riches, but only in the direct *Ottoman* Line, as my Lord *Verulam* says, *Essay 14. A Monarchy, where there is no Nobility at all, is ever pure and absolute Tyranny, as that of the Turks; for Nobility attempts Sovereignty, and draws the People from what side from the Line of Royal*. By which means it comes to pass, that the *Pashas* Education in the Seraglio, (in the manner as we have said before) without knowledge of their Blood or Family, and without the support of powerful Relations or Dependencies, being sent abroad to Foreign Governments, where they continue but for a short season, have no opportunity or possibility of advancing any Interest of their own above that of the Sultan.

And

And though some have, out of an aspiring and ambitious Spirit, assumed a blind Confidence of renting away part of the Empire, as *Alfonso* *Pashaw* of *Aleppo* of late Years, with a strong and powerful Army marched as far as *Scutary*, threatening the Imperial City; and the *Turkish History* tells us of the revolt of several *Pashas*; yet all these Rebellions have been but of short duration; the Grand Signior never desisting, by open Force and Dint of Sword, to try his Title to the Empire with his own Slaves, but only by some secret Plot and Strata, getting the Head of the Rebel, he is assured of the Victory without other hazard or dispute of War: for immediately thereupon the whole Army disperses, and every one shifts by flight to save himself from the Sultan's Anger. Nor is it imaginable it can be otherwise; for these Men are but Strangers and Foreigners in the Countries they ruled, have no Relations there, or Kindred, to second or revenge their Quarrel, have no ancient Blood or Possessions, which might entitle their Heirs to the Succession, or out of Affection or Piety, move their Subjects to interst themselves in their behalf; but being cut off themselves, all falls with them, which affords the strange Spectacle, and Example of Fortune's unconquancy in the World; for a *Turk* is never reverebered but for his Office, that is made the sole Measure and Rule of his Greatness and Honour, without other consideration of Vertue or Nobility.

And this is the Reason for which the *Turks* value not their great Men when taken by the Enemy; for not otherwise looking on them than ordinary Soldiers, they exchange them not with Commanders and Persons of Quality on the Christians; for the Favour of the Sultan makes the *Pashaw*, and not the Noble Blood or Vertues; so that the *Pashaw* imprisoned, losing the Influence of his Sovereign's Protection and Greatness, loses that also which rendered him noble and considerable above other Persons.

There are notwithstanding some *Pashas* of petty Governments, who have obtained to themselves, through some ancient Grace and Privilege from the Sultan, an Hereditary Succession in their Government, and as I can learn, those are only the *Pashas* of *Gaza*, *Cordayan*, and three *Sangiacs* formerly mentioned under the *Pashaw* of *Damascus* and *Marrick*, and *Turcoman*, under the *Pashaw* of *Aleppo*.

And since I have mentioned the *Pashaw* of *Gaza*, it will be but requisite to recal to mind the Memory of one lately of that place, with much Honour and Reverence, being one whose Actions and Devotion to the Christian Worship might conclude him not far from the Kingdom of God: for besides his favourable inclination in general, to all who professed the Christian Faith, he was much devoted to the Religious of *Jerusalem*, to whom he often made Presents, as Provisions of Rice and other Supplies for their Monastery; and when once the *Father Guardian* of the *Elois Sepulchre* came to make him a Visit, with great respect and reverence, he met him at a good distance from his House, giving him a reception much different from what the *Turks* usually bestow on any, who profess other than the *Mahometan* Faith: and might deserve the Character that *Lucius* gives of *L. Valerius*, that he was, *Ergo, Lucius, cui Septaginta quinquae anni* *hunc viderunt, prescripque opus bonis artibus, insensu se Imperatorum malitia fuit*. And yet this good Man having for Seventy five Years lived innocently in that Government, and received the Inheritance from his Father, was by pro-

mise of fair Treatment allured to the Port, where without farther Process, or any accusation, his hoary Head was severed from his Body, for no other Reason, than left the Permission and Indulgence to this long continuance and success in Office, should prove too ample a deviation from the Rules of the *Turkish Policy*.

And that all means of attaining ancient Riches, which is the next degree to Nobility, may be cut off, the *Turks* observes this Maxim of *Adulianus*, *et reprimere la insolence d'un non vie plus fiero, emeno* [scandalosa modo, che preoccupargli quelle vie, per le quale viene quella potenza. And for the Grand Signior suffers no possibility of arriving to ancient Wealth; for as eldest Brother to great Men, he makes seizure of the Estates of all *Pashas* that die, who having Children, such part is belittled on them for their maintenance as the Grand Signior shall think fit and requisite. If a *Pashaw* dies that is married to a *Sultana*, which is the Grand Signior's Sister, Daughter, or other Relation, her Kabin or Dowry is first deducted from the Estate (which is commonly 100000 Dollars) and the remainder accrues to the Sultan, as Heir to the left; and by this means all ancient Nobility is suppressed, and you shall find the Daughters of ancient Greek Houses exposed to Shepherds and Carters, and the ancient Reliques of the Noble Families of *Casacanzo* and *Palologi*, living more contemptuously at *Constantinople*, than ever *Diomysius* did at *Corinth*.

But not only in *Pashas* and great Men is care taken to clip their Wings, which may hinder them from soaring too high, but also in the *Ottoman* Family it self greater severity and strictness is exercised than in others, to keep them from growing great in Offices or Wealth, whereby to have possibility of aspiring to the Supreme Power; and therefore by the Original and Fundamental Laws of the *Turks*, the Children of a *Sultana* married to a *Pashaw* are not capable of any Office in the Empire, and at most cannot rise higher, than to be in the quality of a *Capagibaches*, which is one of the Porters of the Grand Signior's Gate. They that are of this Race never dare vaunt of their Pedigree, it is a contemptuous and almost Treason to name it; nor have I learned that there is any Family amongst the *Turks* of this Line, of any account or esteem, but one alone, who is called *Ibrahim Hun Ogleri*, or the Off-spring of Sultan *Ibrahim*, their Father being a Son of the Grand Signior's Sister, and married to a *Sultana* (and are said to be of the Race of the *Tartars*) for that proceeding by the Women is only, the less notice is taken of their Blood: their Rent or Revenue is yearly about 70000 Dollars, *Quibus magna opes, immoetate partes, & modesta habitus*, which they manage with prudence and discretion, live honourably without Ostentation, seek no Office, or intermeddle in the Affairs of State; by which means they hitherto have preserved themselves from envy and suspicion in the revolutions of the *Turkish* Government.

The Grand Signior, many times, when he fears the Greatness of any *Pashaw*, under colour and pretence of Honour, prefers him to the Marriage of his Sister, or some other of his Female Kindred; by which means, instead of increasing Power and Glory, he becomes the miserable Slave in the World, to the Tyranny and Pride of an insulting Woman. For first, he cannot refuse the Honour, lest he should seem to neglect and content himself with the Sultan's Favour; and then before the Espousals, he must refuse to continue

The Marriage of a *Pashaw* with a *Sultana*.

continue constant to Her alone, and not suffer his Affections to wander on other Wives, Slaves, or Diffractions of his Love: If he hath a Wife whom he loves, whose long Conversation and Children he hath brought him, have endeared his Affections too far to be forgotten; he must yet banish Her and all other Relations from his home, to entertain the embraces of his unknown *Sultana*. Before the Elpoufals, what Mouy, Jewels or rich Furs he sends for, he must, with complement and cheerfulness, present, which is called *Aybirlick*; besides this, he makes his Dowry called *Kahin*, of as much as Friends that make the Match can agree; when the *Kahin* is concluded and pulled before the Justice in form or nature of a Recognisance; and the Bridegroom is conducted to the Chamber of his bride by a Black Eunuch, at whose entrance the eunuchs, for the *Sultana* to draw her Dagger, and imperiously to demand the reason of his bold Access, which he with much submission replies to, and shews the *Emmery Podaflang*, or the imperial Firm for his Marriage; the *Sultana* then arises, and with more kindness, admits him to nearer familiarity. The Eunuch takes up his Sippers and lays them over the Door, (which is a sign of his good Reception) then he bows with all reverence before her to the ground, and retires a few paces back, making some brief Oration to her full of Complement and Admiration of her Worth and Honour; and remaining afterwards a while silent, in an humble posture, bowing forward with his hands before him, until the *Sultana* commands him to bring him, which he readily obeys, taking a Pot of Water provided for that purpose, and kneeling before her, delivers it to her hand; then she takes off her red Veil from before her Face, embroidered with Gold and Silver Flowers, and so drinks; in the mean time her Serving-maids bring in a low Table, on which are set a pair of Pigeons roasted, and a Plate of Sugar-candy; the Bridegroom then invites his Bride to the Collation, which she refuses, until other Presents are brought her, which lie prepared in the outward Room; with which her Modesty being overcome, and her Stomach brought down, she is persuaded to the Table, and sitting down, receives a Leg of a Pigeon from the hand of her Bridegroom; tastes a little, and then puts a piece of Sugar-candy into his Mouth; and so rising up, returns to her place. All the Attendants then retire, and leave the Bridegroom alone with his *Sultana* for the space of an hour to court her singly; that time being past, the Music sounding, he is invited forth by his Friends to an outward Room where having past most of the Night with Songs and Sports, at the approach of the Morning, the *Sultana* weary of her pastime, retires to her Bed, which is richly adorned and perfumed. It is to entertain Nuptial Joys: The Bridegroom, as he is advised hereof by the Bride-chamber, where stripping himself of his upper Garments, he kneels a-while at the feet of the Bed, and then by little and little turning up the Cloaths, gently rubs her feet with his hand, and kissing of them, ascends higher to the embraces of his Spouse, which she willingly admits him to, and wishes her self and him a happy Bedding: in the morning betimes the Bridegroom is called by his Friends to the Bath; at whose call arising, he is presented by the Bride with all sorts of Linen to be used in Bathing. After these Ceremonies are past, they are better acquainted, yet in publick the keeps

him at a distance, wears her *Haniarre* or Dagger by her side, in token of her Superiority; and so frequently commands Gifts and Riches from him, until she hath exhausted him to the bottom of all his Wealth.

Nor is this esteemed sufficient to mortify these poor Slaves by Womens Tyranny, but they are always put forward upon desperate attempts, as lately *Ismail Pashan*, who was killed passing the River Raab, in the overthrow given the *Turks* by the Emperor's Forces under *Monsieur de* and others I could name in like manner, left the honour of their Marriage in the Royal Family, without the crosses and mortifications which attend it, should puff them up with the ambition and proud thoughts, which is not lawful for them to imagine.

But it may well be objected how it came to pass that the present Prime Vizier, called *Abmet*, should succeed his Father *Kuprlee* in the Government of the Empire. 'Tis true, it was a strange deviation from the general Rule of their Policy, and perhaps such a President as may never hereafter be brought into Example; but Accidents concur oftentimes to the Fortune of some Men without Order or Reason; and yet *Kuprlee* the Father, had so well deserved of the Sultan, and his whole Dominions, for having by his own Wisdom and Resolution saved the Empire from being rent in pieces by the Faction and ambition of some aspiring Persons, and by the Blood of thousands of Murtherous and Rebellious Heads, had cemented and made firm the Throne of his Master, that no Honour could be thought sufficient to be paid to his Ghost, unless it were the succession of his Son in his place; which the more unusual and irregular it was esteemed, the greater Glory it was to that Family; and here, in also this subtle Fox paid his Master-piece, by representing the State of Affairs to remain in that posture, as was necessary to be carried on with the same Method as begun; which he had entrusted to the knowledge of his Son; and this was the Reason why this young Vizier then scarce arrived to thirty Years, but with an ordinary *Kadse* or Justice of the Law, was both, as to his Age and Relation, thus irregularly preferred to the Office of Vizier.

Nor hath Hereditary Succession, nor long continuance in Authority, been only avoided amongst the *Turks*; but we find that the *Romans* often changed their Governors, and never suffered them to continue long in one Province. And so the King of Spain doth at present in the Government of *Flanders*, the *Indies*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, and other parts, the space of three Years being commonly allotted them for their Residence.

But amongst the *Turks* there is no fixed term of Time appointed to their *Pashas*, but only they remain as Tenants at Will of the Grand Signior; who, according to his Pleasure, and as he sees Reason, cuts them off, recalls them, or transplants them to another Province; only the *Pashaw of Grand Cairo in Egypt*, hath a certain space of three Years appointed, to which his Government is confined; and there may be very good reason for it, it being a place of great Traffick, Riches, and Power, in which *Pashas* grow in a short time vastly wealthy, it cannot be wisdom to continue them long there; the Revenue of which we have had occasion already to discourse of. And therefore the Grand Signior doth often, not only abbreviate their time, but also at their return shares in the best part of the Prizes they have made.

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Lib. I.

The *Romans* had that Opinion of the Wealth and Power of Egypt, that *Augustus* made a Decree, and held it *inter alia dominionum arcanis*, that it should not be lawful for any, without particular Licence to enter Egypt, and expressly forbids Senators and Gentlemen of *Rome*, without Order from the Prince, or for the Affairs of State, to visit those Parts. And *Tacitus* gives this reason for it; *Ne summa urgens Italiani quiescat cum Provinciam, claustraque terra ac mari, quavis levis praesidio adversum ingentes exercitus infidat*.

Another Danger to the Empire, which the *Turks* sedulously avoid, besides Hereditary Succession in Office, is Rivalry among Princes of the Blood, during the time of their Father's Life; for afterwards the Successor takes care to secure his Brethren beyond possibility of competition. The Story of *Selymans* and *Bejaset*, the Sons of *Solyman* the Magnificent, is a perfect Experiment of the Feud and Diffention which is bred in the Desires of Barbarous Princes; so that when they arrive to any maturity of Age, they are always transplanted to different Seraglios, Abroad, where they keep their Courts distinct, and cannot enter within the Walls *Constantinople*, during the Life of their Father: left by interview with each other, their Minds should be moved with Emulation, or inhabiting in the Imperial City, should be provided with Means before their Time to attempt the Throne of their Father. And for this Reason the Grand Signior, his hath scarce performed the Ceremonies of his Inauguration, before he hath bestowed his Brothers; which barbarous custom began in the time of Sultan *Bayazet*.

But if the Brothers are but few, and the Grand Signior of a disposition more naturally inclined to Clemency than Cruelty, he secures them in the Seraglio, under the tuition of Masters, and care of a faithful Guard; differing nothing from Imprisonment, but in the Name, prohibiting them the Society and Conversation of Sultan *Mahomet*, live in as much obscurity and forgetfulness, as if they had never been born, or having past a private Life, were departed to the place where all things were forgotten.

It is no great digression from our purpose here, to take notice of two sorts of Governments purely popular; the one hath already had its Period, and the other is of late beginning, and at present flourishes; and those are the Common-Wealths of Egypt under the *Mamlukes*, and the other in our days in the Dominions of *Algier*: The first not only depoving the whole Family of their Prince from having Power of all: and thus the Law of all Succession, but also made it an immutable Law, that the Sons of the *Mamlukes* might succeed their Father in the Government, and from all Succession, but the Inheritance of their Estate, as Lands and Goods, but could not assume the Title or Government of a *Mamluke*; nor not only so, but that all that were born in the *Mahometan* or *Jewish* Family, were incapable, *ipso facto*, of the Order of a *Mamluke*; and only such preferred thereunto, who had been Sons of Christians, and become Slaves, and had been educated in the *Mahometan* Superstition, or else Men of mature Age, who having abjured God and their Country, were come thither to seek Preferment in that Kingdom of Darkness. And this slavish and strange Constitution of Government, flourished for the space of two hundred sixty seven

Years, until overthrown in the Year of our Lord 1517, by the Arms of *Schims* that victorious Emperor of the *Turks*.

The present Government of *Algier* is but of a few Years; the first Original of which was by one *Babarofe* a famous Pyrat, and afterwards by the acclamation of great quantities of *Turks* out of the *Levant*, the Protection of the Grand Signior was craved, and a *Pasha* received from the Port; but now the *Pasha* remains without any Power: the whole Government being transferred to the Scum of the People, who fearing the Power should at last become subject to the Natives, have made it a Law, that no Sons of a *Turk* born in that Country, whom they call *Calolitz*, can be capable of an Office in their Common-Wealth, but only such, who having been born Christians, are perverted to the Turkish Sect, or else such who come from parts of the Turkish Dominions, to be Members of their Republick.

And thus much shall serve to have declared how much the *Turks* are jealous of all Successions in Office and Authority, which may prejudice the Absolute Monarchy of their great Sultan.

CHAP. XVII.

The frequent Exchange of Officers, viz. the sitting up of one, and degrading another, a Rule always practised as wholesome, and conducing to the Welfare of the Turkish State.

HE that is an Eye-witness, and strict Observer of the various changes in Greatness, Honours, and Riches of the *Turks*, hath a lively Emblem of Contemplation before him, of the uncertainty and mutability of Humane Affairs; Fortune so strangely sports with his People, that a Comedy or Tragedy on the Stage, with all its Scenes, is scarce longer opened and ended, than the Fate of divers Great Men, who in the Day-time being exalted to high Sublimity, by the powerful Rays of the Sultan's Favour, in the Night fall, or vanish like a Meteor.

The Reason hereof, if duly considered, may be of great use as Things stand here, that is, to the Power of the Grand Signior; for in this Constitution, the Health and Benefit of the Emperor is consulted, before the Welfare of the People: And the Power of the Emperor is in no Action more exercised and evidenced, than by withdrawing and conferring his Favours; for by these Means, having many whom he hath educated and prepared for Offices, and stand Candidates to receive them, his Power would seem to be at a *Nephus*, and appear like an Inconsiderable Father, who had spent more Money in the breeding of his Sons, than the Patrimony amounted to he had to bestow upon them: and therefore the Grand Signior, to imitate the Sun, bestows some part of the World to enlighten others, that so, by a general influence and communication of his Beams, he may be acknowledged the common Parent of them all.

And this Course doth not evidence the Power of the Grand Signior, but likewise enriches it; for none are advanced in these times to Office, but pay the Grand Signior vast Sums of Money for it, according to the Riches and Expectations

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of Profit from the Charge; some pay, as the Pathways of *Grand Cairo* and *Babylon*, three or four hundred thousand Dollars upon passing the Commission; others one, others two hundred thousand, some fifty thousand, as their Places are more or less considerable: and this Money is most commonly taken up at Interest, at forty or fifty per Cent. for the Year, and sometimes at double, when they are constrained to become Debtors to the Covetous Eunuchs of the Seraglio; so that every one, upon his first entrance into Office, looks on himself (as indeed he is) greatly indebted and obliged, by Justice or Injustice, right or wrong, speedily to disburthen himself of the Debts, and improve his own Principal in the World; and this Design must not be long in performance, lest the heavy Edicts overtake him before his Work is done, and call him to account for the improvement of his Talent.

Think then (taking all Circumstances together of the covetous Disposition of a Turk, the cruelty and narrowness of Soul in those Men commonly that are born and educated in want) what Oppression, what Rapine and Violence must be exercised to satisfy the Appetite of these Men, who come furnished with immense Desires, and strange Considerations to satisfy! *Dis fordidus repone dixit mutationem fortuna male regit, accensis egessat longa cupidinis inmoderatus. Tac. Lib. 1. Hist.* So that Justice in its common course is fit to fail; and it is very rare, when any Law-Suit is in Hand, but Bargains are made for the Sentence, and he hath most Right who hath most Money to make him *reflex* in *Causa*, and advance his Cause. And it is the common course for both Parties at difference, before they appear together in presence of the Judge, to apply themselves singly to him, and try whose Dative and Present hath the most in it of temptation; and it is no wonder if corrupt Men exercise this kind of Trade in Trafficking with Justice; for having before bought the Office, of consequence they must sell the Truth.

Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.

Add herunto a strange kind of Facility in the Turks, for a Trifle or small Hire to give false Witnesses in any case, especially, and that with a word, when the Controversy happens between a Christian and a Turk, and then the Pretence is for the *Muslimanekke*, as they call it; the Cause is Religious, hallows all Falsehood and forgery in the Testimony; so that I believe in no part of the World can Justice run more out of the Current and Stream than in *Turkey*, where such Maxims and Considerations corrupt both the Judge and Witnesses. *Turca magna pietatis loco ducunt dicere falsum testimonium adversus hominem Christianum; non expellant ut rogentur; injussu adsum seque ultra ingerunt.*

This Consideration and Practice, made an *English* Ambassador upon renewing the Captivities, to insert an Article of Caution against the Testimony of Turks, as never to be admitted nor pleaded in any Court of Turkish Justice, against the *English* Interest; and nothing to be admitted as evidence in that Case, but only a *Hoger*, which is the Nature of a Recognizance made before a Judge, or a Bill or Writing under the Hand of him on whom the Demand is made; which Article, as it was very advantageously, and with great Prudence and Wisdom obtained, so it hath proved of admirable Consequence and Security to the Traffique, and Merchants Estates;

which before being liable to the Forgeries and false Pretences of every dissolute Turk, hath now this Point as a Defence and Fortification, by which false Pretences and Suits for considerable Sums of Money, and Matters of great value have been blown away, and decided with great Facility and little Expense.

In the time of *Bajazet*, the fourth King of the Turks, the Courts of Justice, in like manner corrupted, as at present; for reformation of which, the Prince resolved to execute a great Number of the Lawyers, until it was pleasantly represented by his Jester, (to whom, being Jett and Earnest, he had given liberty to speak the Truth, which forer Men durst not) that all the cause of Bribery and Corruption in the Judges, proceeded for want of Stipends and necessary Maintenance: Whereupon *Bajazet*, growing cooler, and sensible of the Cause of that Evil, applied a Remedy, by granting their Pardon, allowing them Salaries and Stipends, with additional Fees of twenty Aspers in all Causes exceeding a Thousand; and twelve Aspers for every Writing and Instrument out of Court.

And in the Times of the best Emperors, when Verue and Deferre were considered, and the Empire flourished and encreased, Men had Offices conferred for their Merits, and good Services were rewarded freely and with bounty, without Sums of Money, and Payments, to be a foil to the lustre of their better Parts: But now it is quite contrary, and all Matters run out of course; a manifest Token, in my Opinion, of the declension and decay of the *Ottoman* Empire, as *Livy* faith. *Omnis profusus pecunia dres, adversa autem spernitibus.* However in part this serves the great End of the Empire, for Pathways and great Men, having a kind of necessity thereby to oppress their Subjects, the People thereby lose their Courages; and by continual Taxes and Seizures on what they gain, Poverty subdues their Spirits, and makes them more patiently suffer all kinds of Injustice and Violence that can be offered them, without thoughts or motion to Rebellion: And so the Lord *Verulam* says in his *Esays*, That it is impossible for a People over-laden with Taxes, ever to become Martial or Valiant: for no Nation can be the Lion's Whelp, and the As between Burthens: By which means the Turk preserves for many different sort of People, as he hath conquered, in due Obedience, using no other help than a severe hand joined to all kind of Oppression: but such are Turks, and bear any Name of Office or Degree in the Service of the Empire, feel but part of this Oppression, and live with all freedom, having their Spirits raised by a Licence, they attain to insult over others that dare not resist them.

But the Issue and Conclusion of the Spoils these great Men make on Subjects, is very remarkable; for as if God were pleased to evidence his just Punishment more evidently and plainly here, than in other Sins; for one of all those Pathways who have made haste to be Rich, have escaped the Grand Signior's Hands, but he either devotes them of all, or will share the best part of the Prey with them. Amongst which I have observed none passes so hardly as the Pathways of *Grand Cairo*, because it is the richest and most powerful of all the Governments of this Empire: and so either in his Journey home, or after his return, he loses his Life by publick Command, or at least is rid of his Goods as ill got, which are condemned to

Turkish History, in the Reign of Bajazet the fourth King of the Turks.

Essay 25.

Lib. 6. A. poth.

to the Grand Signior's Treasury: And it is strange to see, yet with what heat these Men labour to amass Riches, which they know, by often Experiences, have proved but Collections which the oppressed Wretches have vented against their Rapine, remain to themselves; *Rebus secundis avidi, adversis autem incauti.* Tac. And this is like the Policy that *Cesar Borgia* used, otherwise called *Il Duca Valentino*, who the better to reduce *Romagna*, lately subdued to Obedience, made one *Messer Romiro d'Orco* his Deputy, a Man of a cruel and tyrannical Disposition, who by Rigour and Force reduced Affairs to the Will and order of his Prince: And the Work now done, and the People remaining extraordinarily discontented, the Duke thought it time to purge the Minds of his People of the ill apprehension they had of his Government, by demonstrating that the former hard usage proceeded from the bad Inclination of his Minister; commanding the same *Romiro d'Orco*, at *Cesana* to be cut in pieces, and exposed to the publick view of the People, with a piece of Wood, and a bloody Knife by his side. This faith *Machiavelli*, Lib. del Principe, cap. 7. *Fece aquillo populo in un tempo remanere spavido & sollicito;* and the Turk understands well how profitable in the same manner it is for the constitution of his Estate, to use evil Instruments, who may oppress and poll his People, intending afterwards for himself the whole Harvest of the Labours; they remaining with the hatred, whilst the Prince, under colour of performing Justice, procures both Riches and Fame together.

If it is suspected that any great Man intends to make Combination or Mutiny in his Government, or that his Wealth or natural Abilities render him formidable; without farther Inquisition or scrutiny, all discontent of the Grand Signior is diffembled, and perhaps an Horse, a Sword, or Sabres Vell is reported to be presented, and all fair Treatment is counterfeited, until the Executioner gets the Bow-string about his Neck, and then they care not how rudely they deal with him: just like the Birds in *Plutarch*, who beat the Cuckoo, for fear that in time he should become a Hawk.

And to make more room for the multitude of Officers who crowd for Preferments, with the cruel Edicts of the Empire with the least noise; times when a great Personage is removed from his place of Trust, and sent with a new Commission to the Charge, perhaps, of a greater Government; and though he depart from the Royal Seat with all fair demonstrations of Favour, before he hath advanced three days in his journey, triumphing in the multitude of his Servants, and his late Hopes, the fact of combination or Cause, other than the Will of the Sultan, he is barbarously put to death, and his Body thrown into the Dirt of a foreign and unknown Country, without solemnity of Funeral or Monument; that he is no sooner in the Grave, than his Memory is forgotten. And this methinks is somewhat agreeable to the crafty Policy of *Tiberius*, who sometimes would commission Men hand he had designed not to permit licence to depart the City. *Postremo eo provectus est, non mandaverit quibusdam provinciis quae egressi urbe non erat possent.*

Hence are apparent the Causes of the decay of Arts amongst the *Turks*, of the neglect, want

of care in manuring and cultivating their Lands; why their Houses and private Buildings are made slight, not durable for more than ten or twenty Years; why you find no delightful Orchards and pleasant Gardens and Plantations; and why in those Countries, where Nature hath contributed so much on her part, there are no additional labours of Art to complete all, and turn it to a Paradise; for Men knowing no certain Heir, nor who shall succeed them in their Labours, contrive only for a few Years enjoyment. And moreover, Men are fearful of fleeing too much ostentation or magnificence in their Palaces, or ingenuity in the pleasures of their Gardens, lest they should bring on them the same Fate that *Nabab's* Vineyard occasion'd to his Master: and therefore Men neglect all application to the Studies of Arts and Sciences, but only such as are necessary and conducing to the mere course of living; for the very Fear and Crime of being known to be Rich, makes them appear outwardly Poor, and become naturally Sloths and Philosophers in all the points of a reserved and cautious Life. And here I am at a stand, and cannot conclude this Chapter without contemplating a while, and pleasing my self with the thoughts of the Blessedness, the Happiness, the liberty of my own Country; where Men, under the protection and safe influence of a gracious and the best of Princes in the World, enjoy and eat of the Fruit of their own Labour, and purchase to themselves, with security, Fields and Manors, and dare acknowledge and glory in their Wealth and Pomp, and yet leave the Inheritance to their Posterity.

C H A P. XVIII.

The several Arts the Turks use to encrease their People, is a principal Policy, without which the greatness of their Empire cannot continue nor be encreased.

There was never any People that laid Foundations and Designs of a great Empire, but first thought how to make it populous, and by which means they might best supply them with People, not only sufficient for the Sacrifice and Slaughter of the War, but for the Plantation of Colonies, Possession and Security of what the Sword hath conquered. We never understood how one People alone that was Martial, and by success in War had framed a large Empire, was able, from the mere original of its own Stock, to abound with issue of natural Subjects, to bear proportion with the stronger Nations; nor how a handful of People, with the greatest Policy and Courage in the World, was able to embrace a large extent of Dominion and Empire: It is true, that *Alexander* did with an Army, for the most part, composed of *Macedonians*, as it were in a Rant, make a Conquest of the best part of the Eastern World; but this Empire, like a Ship that had much Sail, and no Ballast, or a fair Tree over-charged with Boughs too heavy for its Stem, became a Wind-fall on a sudden.

The *Turks* therefore, during the continuance of their Empire, have not been ignorant of this Truth; for no People in the World have ever been more open to receive all sorts of Nations to them, than they, nor have used more Arts to encrease the number of those that are

called *Turks*; and it is strange to consider, that from all parts of the World, some of the most dissolute and degenerate in Wickedness, should flock to these Dominions, to become Members and Professors of the *Mahometan* Superstition; in that manner that at present, the Blood of the *Turks* is mixed with that of all sorts of Languages and Nations, that none of them can derive his Lineage from the ancient Blood of the *Saracens*.

Eilays.

The *Romans*, who well knew the benefit of receiving Strangers into their Bosome, called this freedom they gave *Jus Civitatis*, whereby Foreigners became as lawful Possessors of Estates and Inheritances, and had as much right to the common Privileges, as any that were born in the Walls of *Rome*; and this *Jus Civitatis* was given to whole Families; so that as Sir F. B. says well, that the *Romans* did not over-spread the World, but the World it self. The *English* call it Naturalization, the *French* Enfranchisement, and the *Turks* call it Becoming a Believer; for they joining with it a point of Religion, not only the Professors of the Goods of this World, but also of Delights in the World to come, make the Allurements and Arguments the more prevalent; and it being an Opinion amongst them, as over all the World, that it is a Meritorious Work to create Professes, for any who hath Money to purchase a Slave, but will procure one young and fit for any Impression, whom he may name his Convert, and gain Reputation amongst his Neighbours of having added to the number of the Faithful. Of all this Number, which yearly are added to the Professors of *Mahomet*, none can retreat on lower Terms than Death and Martyrdom for Christ, which causes many who Confess, though touched with the sense of the denial of their Saviour; yet having not Grace or Courage to assert their Faith on so hard a Lesson, grow desolate or careless, and die in their Sin. This sort of People become really *Turks*, and some through Custom and their own Lusts, are really perverted of the truth of this Profession, and have proved more venerate and fatal Enemies to Christianity, than the natural *Turks*; which will appear, if we consider, that all the Successes they have had, and Exploits they have done at Sea, have been performed by such who have denied the Christian Faith, as namely *Chilgals*, *Oglis*, and others.

It was the custom formerly amongst the *Turks*, every five Years, to take away the Christians Children, and Educate them in the *Mahometan* Superstition; by which means they encreased their own People, and diminished and enfeebled the Force of the Christians; but now that custom, in a great part, is grown out of use, through the Abundance of *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Temes*, and all Nations where the Iron Rod of the *Turk* Tyranny extends, who flock in to enjoy the imaginary Honour and Privilege of a *Turk*. And indeed it is no wonder to humane Reason, that considers the Oppression and Contempt that poor Christians are exposed to, and the Ignorance in their Churches, occasioned through Poverty in the Clergy, that many should be found who retreat from the Faith; but it is rather a Miracle, and a true verification of those words of Christ, *That the Gates of Hell shall not be able to prevail against his Church*, that there is conferred still amidst so much Opposition, and in despite of all Tyranny and Arts contrived against it, an open and public Profession of the Christian Faith; which next to God's Provi-

dence, considering the stupid Ignorance of the *Greek* and *Armenian* Churches, their conservation of their Faith is not to be attributed to any instance more, than to the strict observation of the Feasts and Fasts of their Churches; for having rarely the helps of Catechisms or Sermons, they learn yet from these outward Ceremonies, some confused Notions and Precepts of Religion, and exercise with feverity and rigour, this sort of Devotion; when through Custom, Confusion, and fear of knowing Guides, all other service is become obsolete and forgotten amongst them.

The *Turks* have another extraordinary supply of People from the Black Sea, sent them in by the *Tartars*, who with their light Bodies of Horse make incursions into the Territories of the neighbouring Christians, and carry with them a Booty of whole Cities and Countries of People, most of which they send to *Constantinople* to be sold, and is the chief Trade and Commodity of their Country (as we have already discoursed.)

It is sad to see what numbers of *Saykes*, or *Turkish* Vellies, come sailing through the *Bosphorus*, freighted with poor Christian Captives of both Sexes, and all Ages, carrying on the Main-top a Flag, either as a Note of Triumph, or else as a Mark of the Ware and Merchandise they carry.

The number of the Slaves brought yearly to *Constantinople* is uncertain; for sometimes it is more, and sometimes less, according to the Wars and Successes of the *Tartars*; but as it is apparent in the Registers of the Customs at *Constantinople* only, one Year with another at the least 20000 are yearly imported, amongst which the greatest part being Women and Children, with easy Persuasions, and fair Promises become *Turks*; the Men being ignorant, and generally of the *Russian* or *Moscovite* Nation (who are reported not to be over-devout, or of famed constancy and perseverance in Religion) partly by Menaces and Fear, partly by good words and allurements of Reward, despairing of Liberty, and return to their own Country, renounce all Interest in the Christian Faith.

Of this sort of Men most of the *Turks* are in these days composed, and by the fecundity of this Generation, the Dominions of this Empire flow; for the *Turks* of themselves, though they have the liberty of *Polygamy*, and free use of divers Women allowed them by their Law, than the severity of Christian Religion doth permit, are yet observed to be less fruitful in Children, than those who confine themselves to the chaste embraces of one Wife. It is true, we have heard how in former Times there have been particular Men amongst the *Turks*, that have feverally been Fathers to an hundred Sons; but now, through that abominable Vice of *Sodomy*, which the *Turks* pretend to have learned from the *Indians*, and is now the common and professed shame of that People, few fecundities which milies are found amongst them, especially amongst the Persons of the greater Quality, who have Means and Time to act and contrive their fitness with the most deformity. And in this manner the natural use of the Women being neglected amongst them, as St. Paul saith, *Men Rem. c. i. burning in lust one towards another*; so little is Mankind propagated, that many think, were it not for the abundant supplies of Slaves, which daily come from the Black Sea (as before we have declared) considering the Summer-plagues of the Plague, and destructions of War, the

the *Turk* would have little cause to boast of the vast Numbers of his People: and that a principal Means to begin the ruine of this Empire, were, to prevent the taking of so many Captives, or intercept those numbers of Slaves which are daily transported to nourish and feed the Body of this great *Babylon*; by which means, in time, they would not only find a want of Servants, but a decay and scarcity of Masters; since as it is before-mentioned, these Slaves becoming *Turks*, are capable of all Privileges, and being commonly Manumitted by their Patrons, through the help of Fortune, arrive equally to Preferences with those who are of the ancient *Mahometan* Race: This is the true Reason the *Turk* can spend so many People in his Wars, and values not the lives of Ten thousand Men to win but a span of Ground, and yet almost without any sensible diminution of his People; and on the contrary, the invention, of an Inquisition, and the distinction between *Christians* *vices*, and *Nouveaux* in *Spain* and *Portugal*, have caused that decay and scarcity of People in those Countries, as hath laid the best part of those fruitful Soils desolate, and forced them both to a necessity of entertaining a mercenary Soldiery.

It is no small inducement to the vulgar People, who is most commonly won with outward Allurements, to become *Turks*; that when they are so, by a white Turbant, or such a particular Note of Honour, they shall be distinguished from other-like Sects, (all People amongst the *Turks* being known by their Heads, of what Religion or Quality they are) and so may the better be directed where they may have a privilege to dominion and injure with the most impunity.

If we consider how delightful the Mode is in *England* and *France*, especially to those who are of a vain and gay Humour, and that nothing seems handsomer or comely, but what is dressed in the Fashion and Air of the Times; we shall not wonder, if the ignorant and vain amongst Christians, born and educated in those Countries should be caught and entrap with the fancy and enticement of the *Turkish* Mode, and be contented to despoil themselves of the Garment of Christian Vertues, to assume a dress more Courtly and pleasing to the Eyes of the World; for so the *Britains*, and other Nations, after Conquered by the *Romans*, began to delight themselves in their Language and Habit, their Banquets and Buildings, which they accounted to be Humanity, and refinement of their Manners; but *Tacitus* saith, *Pars servitutis erat*, a signal Symptom of their subjection.

And it is worth a wife Man's observation, how gladly the *Greeks* and *Armenian* Christians imitate the *Turkish* Habit, and come as near to it as they dare; and how proud they are, when they are privileged, upon some extraordinary Occasion to appear without their Christian distinction. And thus the *Turk* makes his very Habit a bait to draw some to his Superstition; Riches to allure the Covetous; Rewards and Hopes to rouse the Ambitious; fears and terrors of Death, the cowardly and timorous; and by all means works on the Dispositions and Humours of Men, to make additions to his Kingdom. Such as adhere to the Christian Faith, the *Turk* makes no account of, and values no otherwise in the place of Subjects, than a Man doth of his Ox or Ass, merely to carry the Burthens, and to be useful and servile in slavish Offices: they are oppressed, and are subject to all advantages and Pretences; and their Goods and Estates

gained with Labour, and the Sweat of their Brows, liable to the Rapine of every great Man; they are disarmed, and never exercised in War, by which means they become Effeminate, and less dangerous in Rebellion: only the People of *Transylvania*, *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*, under the conduct of their respective Princes, that the Grand Signior sets over them, serve him in their Persons in the War, and are the first thrust forward in all desperate Enterprises; so that the oppression of the poor Christians under the *Turk*, is worthy our compassion, how poor they are become, how their former Wealth is exhausted, how the fatness of their rich Soil is drained, and made barren by poisonous Suckers; so that it is evident that the *Turks* Design is no other, than by impoverishment and enfeebling the Interest of Christianity, to draw Profelytes and Strength to his own Kingdom.

Wherefore some sort of poor Christians, either actually Subjects to the *Turkish* Tyranny, or Borderers on them, who often feel the misery of their Incursions, being fearful of their own constancy in the Faith, have contrived ways to preserve themselves from any other Profession: wherefore in *Mongrelia*, the Christians, at the Baptism of their Children, make a Cross on their Hands; and in *Servia* their custom is to make it on their Foreheads, with the Juice of a certain Herb, the stain of which never wears out; so that some of these Nations, who become Renegades to the Christian Faith, bear always a Badge and Note of designation about them, as Holy Professions, which may serve to uphold their Perfidious defection of the Faith; the Cross on their Forehead appearing for a shame and discountenance to the White Turbant on their Heads. By which pious Art, many of these distressed Christians have, notwithstanding fear and despair of Liberty, and promises of reward, through the apprehension of this incongruity between the Cross and the Banner of *Mahomet*, preserved themselves firm to their first Colours.

C H A P. XIX.

The manner of Reception of Foreign Ambassadors amongst the *Turks*, and the esteem they have of them.

There was no Nation in the World ever so barbarous, that did not acknowledge the Office of an Ambassador Sacred and Necessary.

Sanctum populis per saecula nomen.

And Cicero saith, *Sic enim sentio jus legatorum cum De hominum praesidio munitionem, tum etiam divino jure rursus esse vallatum; the Altoraric it self calls this Office inviolable; and it is a *Turkish* Canon, *Elchi kazal yokerler*, Do not hurt an Ambassador; so that the *Turks* do confess themselves obliged by their own Law to Rules of Civilities, Courteous Treatment and Protection of Ambassadors.*

The greatest honour they shew to any Foreign Ministry, is to him who comes from the Emperor, because his Confines are contiguous with theirs, and have had occasion more frequently, than with other Christian Princes, to try the Power of the Imperial Sword.

An Ambassador coming from the Emperor, as soon as he enters the *Ottomah* Dominions, hath his Charges deplayed by the Sultan, according to the importance of the Buñess and Negotiation he is designed to, until the time of his return; and a Resident continuing in ordinary, hath in like manner his *Costs* Allotied. As it hath always been a Custom amongst the Eastern Princes, to send Presents each to other, as Tokens of Friendship and Amity; so the Emperor is, by an ancient Custom and Agreement, obliged to accompany his Ambassador to this Court with Presents and Gifts, as Offerings of Peace: and on the contrary, that the Emperor may not remain with the Disadvantage, the Grand Signior is bound to recompense the Embassy with another from himself, and adorn it with Presents of equal value with those that were sent him.

But Ambassadors and Representatives, from other Princes, who have their Dominions more remote, and whose principal Design is esteemed for the promotion of Trade and Commerce, as the *English*, *French* and *Dutch*, are always admitted with their Presents, which the Turk by custom calls his right, and judges not himself obliged to return the like, esteeming his *Complacations* and *Articles* he makes with those Princes, Privileges and Immunities granted their Subjects.

The Ceremonies they use at the Audience of every Ambassador are acted (as in all parts of the World) most to set off the Glory of the Empire; and represented with such Advantages, as may best afford a Theme for an Ambassador's Pen to describe the Riches, Magnificence, and Terror of the *Ottoman* Power.

The Audience with the Grand Signior (having first passed a Complement with the Prime Vizier) is commonly contrived on days appointed for payment of the Janissaries, which is every three Months; and with that occasion, the Order and Discipline of the Militia, the Money and Stipends that are issued forth, are there exposed to the observation of the publick Minister. The Money is brought into the *Divan*, and there piled in heaps, where the Ambassador is first introduced, and seated on a Stool covered with Crimion-velvet, placed near the first Vizier, and other Viziers of the Bench: as soon as the Money is paid out to the chief of every *Od* or Chamber, who afterwards distribute it amongst their Souldiers, a plentiful Dinner is prepared for the Ambassador; who together with the first Vizier, and other Viziers of the Bench, and *Treasurers* or *Lord Treasurers*, are seated at the same Table, which is not raised as high as the Tables we use, but something lower, covered over with a capacious Voyer of Silver, in which the Dishes are set, without ceremony of Table-cloth or Knives. In the same Room are two other Tables for the principal Attendants of the Ambassador, and other Personages amongst the Turks of chief Note and Quality: the Dishes are served in by one at a time, which as soon as touched, or tasted, are taken off to make room for another; and thus there is a succession of threefold or forefold Services, all the Dishes being of *China*, worth about an hundred and fifty Dollars a piece; which are reported to have a virtue contrary to Poison, and to break with the least infusion thereof, and for that reason esteemed more useful for the Service of the Grand Signior;

*Nam nulla aconia bibuntur
Filiis, &c. Juvenal.*

The Banquet being ended, the *Chausbahet*, or chief of the Purifiers, conducts the Ambassador, with some of his Retinue, to a place apart, where several gay Velts, or long Garments, made of Silk, with divers Figures, are presented to them (as a sign of the Grand Signior's Favour) which the Ambassador first pining on, and then the others, to the number of eighteen or nineteen, attended with two *Capughahes*, or chief of the Porters, Persons of good esteem in that Court, with Silver Staves in their Hands, he is conducted nearer towards the Grand Signior's Presence; then follow the Presents brought by the Ambassador, which are carried to the best advantage for appearance, and are delivered to Officers appointed to receive them. The Courts without are filled with Janissaries, amongst whom is observed so profound a silence, that there is not the least noise or whisper underfoot; and the Salutation they give their principal Officers as they pass, bowing altogether at the same time, is warlike, and yet courtly, and favours of good Discipline and Obedience.

The Ambassador is then brought to a great Gate near the Audience, the Porch of which is filled with white Eunuchs, clothed in Silks and Cloth of Gold; farther than this, none is suffered to proceed, besides the Secretary, Interpreter, and some other Persons of best Quality: at the door of the Chamber of Audience is a deep silence, and the murmuring of a Fountain near by adds to the melancholy; and no other Guard is there but a white Eunuch: and here a pause is made, and they tread softly in token of fear and reverence, so as not to disturb with the least noise the Majesty of the Sultan: for access to the Eastern Princes was always difficult, and not permitted with the same familiarity as hath been practised amongst the *Romans*, and at present with us, where the sight of the King is his own Glory, and the Satisfaction of his Subjects: For it is with the Turks, as it was with the *Perinthians*, when they received *Venous* their King, educated in the *Roman* Court, who conforming to those manners, saith *Tacitus*, *Irresistibilem Græci Comites, prompti aditus, obvia comitatus, ignota Partis virtutes*; the affability and easiness of address to their Prince, was a scandal to the Nation.

At the entrance of the Chamber of Audience, hangs a Ball of Gold, studded with precious Stones, and about it great Chains of rich Pearl; the Floor is covered with Carpets of Crimion-velvet, embroidered with Gold-Wire, in many places beset with Seed-pearl. The Throne where the Grand Signior sits, is raised a small height from the ground, supported with four Pillars plated with Gold; the Roof is richly gilded, from which hang Balls, that seem to be of Gold; the Cushions he leaned upon, as also those which lay by, were richly embroidered with Gold and Jewels. In this Chamber with this occasion remains no other Attendance besides the first Vizier, who stands at the right Hand of the Grand Signior with modesty and reverence. When the Ambassador comes to appear before the Grand Signior, he is led in, and supported under the Arms by the two *Capughahes* before-mentioned; who bringing him to a convenient distance, laying their hands upon his Neck, make him bow until his Forehead almost touches the Ground; and then raising him again, retire backwards to the farther parts of the Room: The like Ceremony

The Audience of Ambassadors.

Lib. aam.

Ceremony is used with all the others, who attend the Ambassador, only that they make them bow somewhat lower than him: The Reason of this Custom, as *Busbequius* saith, was, because that a *Crave* being admitted near to *Amurath*, to communicate something to him, made use of that opportunity to kill him, in revenge of the Death of his Master *Marcus*; but the Turkish History saith, That this was done by one *Miles Corbelitz*, who after the defeat given *Lazarus* the Despot of *Servia*, rising from amongst the Dead, had near access to the presence of *Amurath*.

The Ambassador, at this Audience, hath no Chair for him, but standing, informs the Grand Signior, by his Interpreter, the several Demands of his Master, and the Buñess he comes upon; which is all penned first in Writing; which when read, is with the Letter of Credence, consigned into the Hands of the Great Vizier, from whom the Answer and farther Treaty is to be received.

This was the manner of the Audience given to the Earl of *Winchelsea*, when Ambassador there for his Majesty, and is (as is there said) the Form used to others, who come from a Prince equally honoured and respected.

But though the Turks make these outward Demonstrations of all due Reverence, and Religious Care to preserve the Persons of Ambassadors Sacred, and free from Violence; yet it is apparent, by their Treatment and Usage towards them, in all Emergencies and Differences between the Prince they come from, and themselves, that they have no esteem of the Law of Nations, or place any Religion in the maintenance of their Faith. For when a War is proclaimed, the Ambassador immediately is either committed to close Imprisonment, or at least to the custody of a careful Guard, confined within the Limits of his own House. In this manner, the Representative of *Venice*, called there the *Bailo*, by name *Soranzo*, in a trait Chamber of a Castle, situated on the *Bosphorus*, endured a severe Imprisonment, having his Interpreter strangled, for no other cause than performing his Office in the true Interpretation of his Master's Sense.

Afterwards this *Bailo* (for so they call there the Ambassadors from *Venice*) was removed to another Prison at *Adrianople*, where he continued some Years; and in fine, by force of Presents, mollifying the Turks with Money, (with which their Nature is easily made gentle and pliable) he obtained liberty to remain in the House appropriated to the Representatives of *Venice*, but under a Guard, whose Office was to secure him from escape, and observe his Actions; and yet with Liberality and Presents, which overcome the Turks more than any Consideration in the World, he enjoyed, as he pleased, licence for his Health to take the fresh Air, and use what freedom was reasonable.

Nor less injurious to the Law of Nations, have been the Examples of Violence and Rage, acted on the Persons of the French Ambassadors; first on the *Sieur Sensi*, accused upon suspicion of having contrived the escape of *Konjopolitz*, General of the *Polish* Army, taken Captive in a Fight, and sent Prisoner to the above-said Castle on the *Bosphorus*; the means was, by a filken Cord sent him by *La Pye*, with Instructions to cut the Iron Bars; and having first secured his Guard with the strength of Wine, in the dead of the Night, let him down by the Cord from the highest

Tower; where finding Horses ready, he got safe into *Poland*. The contrivance of this Stratagem, and the Instruments of the Escape, was laid to the Charge of the French Ambassador; who was committed, for that Reason, to the Prison of the Seven Towers, where he remained for the space of four Months, until his Money, and the French King his Master mediated for him, promising to send another speedily to succeed him; he was delivered from his Imprisonment, and returned home by the way of *Poland*.

The Successor of this Ambassador was the Count *Cefi*, a Man too generous and splendid, to live amongst covetous and craving Turks, exhausted most of his Wealth in Gifts and Presents, to which adding a vanity and ambition to court the Grand Signior's Mitresses in the *Seraglio* (as is said) he paid such vast Sums of Money to the Eunuchs for his admittance, that in few Years he became so indebted, and importuned with the Clamours of his Creditors, as wholly discredited and lost the Honour and Authority of his Embassy; so that the French King thinking it dishonourable to continue his Minister, in that Charge, who was failed and undone in the reputation of the World, sent his Letter of Revocation to recal him Home; but the

Turks gave a stop to his return, pretending, that their Law which was indulgent to the Persons of Ambassadors, did not acquit them from payment of their Debts, or privilege them with impunity to rob the Believers, and other Subjects of the Grand Signior, contrary to that Rule of *Grosius*, who not only excuses the Persons, but the Servants and Moveables of Ambassadors from Attachments; and no Law can compel him to the satisfaction of Debts by Force, but by friendly persuasion only, till being returned to his own Country, and put off the quality of a publick Person, he becomes liable to common Process; *Si quid ergo debiti contraxit, & ut fit, res sibi ex loco militis possidet, quæ compellenda erit amica, & si directrix, is qui misit, ita ut ad postremum inferatur ea, quæ adversus debitores extra territorium populos usurarii solent.*

Nor less remarkable was the barbarous usage of the *Sieur La Haye*, Ambassador also from the French King to the Port, under the Government of the great Vizier *Kuperli*.

The Court being then at *Adrianople*, and the Treaty in hand between the Grand Signior and the Republick of *Venice*, through the Mediation of the French Ambassador, by Consent and Command of his Master, certain Letters of his wrote in Characters, were intercepted by the Turks; by what Means, and upon what Information, the Matter was too evident then, to be apprehended other than an Italian Contrivance. The Cipher, as containing Matter prejudicial to the State, was carried to *Adrianople*; and being known, by examination and confession of the Messenger, to have been delivered to him by the Secretary of the French Affairs, immediately in all haste, the Ambassador then at *Constantinople* was called to appear at Court; but being ancient, and indisposed in his Health with the Gout and the Stone, dispatched his Son as his Procurator, with Instructions and Orders how to answer what might be objected; hoping by that means to excuse the Inconvenience of a Winter's Journey.

The Son being arrived there, immediately was called to Audience, accompanied with the Chancellor, or Secretary for the Merchants (for the other Secretary of the Private Affairs of the Embassy,

Grot. lib. Belli & Pac.

Embally, apprehending the Fury and Injustice of the Turk, had timely secured himself by flight. Discourse was first had concerning the Contents of the Characters; the Turks insolent in their Speeches, provoked this *Sieur la Haye* the Younger, to utter something tending towards a contempt of that Power the Turks had over him, encouraging himself with the thoughts of the protection of the King his Master; who was soon sensible, and moved with the least Injuries offered his Ministers. The Turks who can endure nothing less than Menaces, and *Kaput*, through natural Cruelty, and choler of old Age, and particular Malice against the French Nation, moved with this Reply, commanded the *Camballader*, who is chief of the Parliament, to strike him on the Mouth; which he did with that force, being a rude robustious Fellow, that with a few blows of his Fitt, he struck out two of his Teeth before, and in a most undecent and barbarous manner, dragged him, with the Secretary for the Merchants, to a Dungeon for loathsome and moist, that the ill Vapours oft-times extinguished the Candle. The old Ambassador the Father, was with the *Sac* Turkish Envoy sent for, the Turks executing all they do with strange haste and violence, *Barbarus convito servilis, statim exequi regum videtur*; and being arrived at *Adrianople*, was also committed to Custody, though not with that rigor and severity of Imprisonment as the Son, until the space of two Months passing with Presents and Solicitations, they both obtained their Liberty, and returned again to *Constantinople*; where scarce were they arrived, before News coming of a French Ship, which had loaded Goods of Turks, and run away with the Cargo, the Ambassador was again committed to another Prison in *Constantinople*, called the *Seven Towers*, where he remained, until with Gifts and Money, the Anger of the Turks was abated.

And till the Malice of *Kaput* persecuted this *Sieur la Haye*, until after his Embassy of 25 Years continuance, unfortunate only at the Conclusion, he was dispatched Home obscurely and in disgrace, without Letters of Revocation from his Master, or other intimation to the Grand Signior, which might signify the desire of this Ambassador's return.

The Reason of this irreverent Carriage in the Turks towards the Persons of Ambassadors, contrary to the custom of the Ancient Romans, and other gallant and civilized People, is an apprehension and Maxim they have received, that an Ambassador is endued with two Qualifications: one of representing to the Grand Signior the Desires of his Prince, the Breach of Articles or League, the Aggravances and Abuses of Merchants trading in his Dominions, that to Satisfaction and Amendment may be made: And the other, that he remains in nature of a Hostage, called by themselves *Mahapan*, or Pledge; by which he becomes responsible for what is acted by his Prince, contrary to the Capitulations of Peace, and remains for a Pawn for the faithful and sincere carriage of his Nation, and as Security to insure what Goods belonging to Turks are lodged on their Vessels.

As the Resident from *Holland* was in the Year 1683, imprisoned at *Adrianople*, for miscarriage of a Ship belonging to his Nation, taken by *Mulise* Men of War, whereon at *Alexandria* were Goods laden belonging to the Grand Signior, and other considerable Persons of State, and was not released, until he engaged to Eight

ty five thousand Dollars, in the space of One hundred and twenty days, which was the full import of the Turkish Interest.

Nor hath this Law of Nations, to the Sacred esteem of Ambassadors, found better observation towards the Representatives of the German Emperor, who have, upon all conjunctures of Discord, and breaches of Peace between those two powerful Princes, been subject to Confinement and Custody of a Guard, nothing differing from formal Imprisonment: or else, as it happened to the German Resident in the last War, are transported from Place to place, according to the motion of the Armies, as a barbarous Trophy in the Time of their prosperous Successes, and as a Means to reconcile and mediate when civil Fortune compels them to composition.

What ill Fate forever hath attended the Ministers of other Princes in this Court, the Ambassadors from his Majesty of Great Britain, our Sacred King, have never incurred this Dishonour and Violation of their Office; the Negotiations and Differences since the English Trade hath been opened in *Turkey*, have been various and considerable, and Matters as to the security of the Ambassador and Merchants, have been often reduced to a doubtful Condition, as far as Words and rude Speeches, full of Menaces and Choler, might make a sober Man suspicious of a greater Ruin: And yet through the Constancy, Prudence, and good Fortune of Ambassadors, the Turkish Ruffiness hath not drawn upon themselves the guilt of violating their Persons, but have either prevented Troubles in the beginning, or wily compounded them before they made too far a Breach.

It is worth observation, that the Turks make no difference in the Name, between an Ambassador, Resident, Agent, or any petty Messenger, sent or residing upon a publick Affairs: the Name *Elchi* serves them to express all; though they have the Name of *Kapikubay*, which signifies an Agent at Court, and is commonly attributed to those who reside at the Port, for the Princes of *Transylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Wallachia*, and also for the Agents of *Pascha's*, every one of which hath his Minister at the Court, to send him Advice, and to answer for him, if any thing should be amiss represented. And though the Turks, on occasion of Ruptures, and other Discontents, lose their Respect towards the Person of Ambassadors, yet still it is commendable in them, that they commonly abstain from the Spoil and Plunder of the Merchants Estates, with whose Prince they are at Enmity; for they look on Merchants as Men, whose Profession is best advanced by Peace; and as their own Compassion is, like to Hive, and is innocent, industrious, and profitable, and therefore an Object of their Compassion and Defence.

CHAP.

C H A P. XX.

How Ambassadors and Publick Ministers govern themselves in their Negotiations and Residence amongst the Turki.

Ambassadors in this Country, have need both of Courage and Circumspection, wisdom to dillembe with Honour, and discreet patience, seemingly to take no notice of Affronts and Contempts, from which this uncivilized People cannot temperate their Tongues, even when they would seem to put on the most courteous deportment and respect toward Christians.

The French Ambassador, *Monsieur le Haye*, sent once to advise the great Vizier *Kaput*, that his Master had taken the strong City of *Aras* from the *Spaniards*, and had obtained other Victories in *Holland*, supposing that the Turk outwardly have evidenced some signs of Joy, and return an Answer of Congratulation; but the Reply the Vizier gave, was no other than this, (*What matters it me, whether the Dog worries the Hog, or the Hog the Dog, so my Master's Head be but safe*!) intimating, that he had no other esteem of Christians, than as Savages or Beasts, and with no other Answer than this, due to an officious Courtship towards a Turk, the Messenger returned.

There is no doubt, but of all those means wherewith Kingdoms and States are supported, there are two more principal and chief of all others: The one is the substantial and real Strength and force of the Prince, which consists in his Armies and Interest; and the other is the Honour and Reputation he gains Abroad, which hath sometimes proved of that Authority and Consequence, as to make the State of the weaker Prince to appear more considerable, or at least, equal to the greater Forces of the other.

This Reputation is principally maintained by a prudent manner of Negotiation, and depends on the discretion of the Representative, in which, for many Years, the Republick of *Venice* had great Advantages in the Turkish Court, through the Caution and Policy of their Ministers, who nourished in the Turks an opinion of their strength of Arms, and force of Wisdom, beyond the reality thereof; that before the War broke forth, no Nation in Amity with the Turk had their Affairs treated with more honour and respect than this Commonwealth.

An Ambassador in this Court ought to be circumspect and careful to avoid the occasion of having his Honour blemished, or of incurring the least violation of his Person; for afterward, as one baffled in his Reputation, he becomes scorned, loses his Power and Interest, and all esteem of his Worth and Wisdom; for having endured one Affront, their Infidelity soon presumes farther to trespass on his Patience: For certainly Turks, of all Nations in the World, are most apt to crush and trample on those that lie under their Feet. As on the contrary, those who have a Reputation with them, may make the best

and most advantageous Treaties of any part of the World; according to that of *Bisbequius*, Ep. 1. *Sunt Turci in utramque partem nimis sine indulgentia, cum pro amico se probare volunt, pro acerbitate cum vixi sunt*. To reply; according to the Pride and Ignorance of a Turk, is properly to blow up Fire into a Flame; to support with submission, and a pusillanimous Spirit, his Affronts and Indignities, by negotiating faintly or coldly, is to add Fuel and Wood to the burning Piles; but solid Reason and Discourse, accompanied with cheerful Expressions, vivacity and courage in Argument, is the only manner of dealing and treating with the Turks.

That which is called good Nature, or flexible Disposition, is of little use to a Publick Minister in his Treaty with Turks: A punctual adherence to former Customs and Examples, even to Obstinacy, is the best and safest Rule; for the concession of one Point serves to embolden them to demand another, and then a third; and for their Hopes increase with the Success, having no Modesty nor Wisdom to terminate their Desires; one Act or two of Favour is enough afterwards to introduce a Custom, (which is the chiefest part of their Law) and to make that which is merely voluntary, and of Grace, to become of Obligation.

But a particular Matter, which a publick Minister ought to look too, is to provide himself of spirited, eloquent, and intelligent Interpreters; spirited, I say, because many times the Preference is great they appear before, and the Looks big and four of a barbarous Tyrant; and it hath been known, that the Ambassador hath been forced to interpose his own Person, between the Fury of the Vizier and his Interpreters, whose Offence was only the delivery of the words of his Master; some of whom have notwithstanding been imprisoned, or executed, for this Cause, as we have partly intimated in the foregoing Chapter: The reason of which Tyranny and Presumption in these prime Officers over the Interpreters, is because they are most commonly born Subjects of the Grand Signior, and therefore ill support the least word misplaced, or favouring of Contest from them, not distinguishing between the Sense of the Ambassador, and the Explication of the Interpreter; and therefore it were very useful to breed up a Seminary of young English Men, of sprightly and ingenious Parts, to be qualified for that Office, who may, with less danger to themselves, Honour to their Master, and Advantage to the Publick, express boldly, without the usual mimicry and submission of other Interpreters, whatsoever is commanded and declared by their Master.

The French Nation hath taken a very good course, in breeding up Youths to make their Druggier-men or Interpreters; some few Years past, twelve were sent to *Soyun*, where being a while instructed in the Convent of *Calachin*, and there taught the Turkish and Vulgar Greek, they are afterwards dispersed to the several Factories; such as were of most pregnant Parts, being placed with the Ambassador at *Constantinople*. Such a provision of young Druggier-men, at least twelve, ought to be allowed, for some of them die, some grow weary of the Country, and are desirous to return Home; others not having a sufficiency of Parts, nor Health, answer not Expectation.

pectation; so that if two or three of such a Number happen to succeed well, they are a great help to the Amballador, and the Consul where they serve.

The English Ambassador had once three Youths sent Aboard on this Design, but they are now all three dead, and one alone came into Employment.

It is certainly a good Maxim for an Ambassador in this Country, not to be over-lustidious in procuring a familiar Friendship with Turks; a fair comportment towards all in a moderate way, is cheap and secure; for a Turk is not capable of real Friendship towards a Christian; and to have him come only, and thoughtless of his own Power, is to have him without Profit; for in great Emergencies, and Times of Necessity, when their Affluence is most useful, he must be bought again, and his Friendship renewed with Presents, and farther Expectations: howsoever this way of Negotiating by Presents and Gratuities, is so much in custom amongst the Turks, that to speak truly, scarce any thing can be obtained without it; but is the Wisdom of the Minister, to dispose of these Presents with a due Occasion and Advantage. For there are, and have been always, two or three powerful Persons in this Court, which in all Times carry the principal sway, and command of all; these must necessarily be treated with Respect, and often sweetened with Gratuities: He that hath Mony, may doubleless make Friends when he needs them, and with that secure his Capitation and his Privilege, purchase Justice, and his own Part, and that Justice, that can so comfortably be imagined; yet it is the most profitable and prudent way, to refer something to Friendship and good Correspondence, and not all to mere force and strength of Mony.

CHAPTER XXI.

How Foreign Princes in particular stand in the Esteem and Opinion of the Turks.

THE Turks, as we have occasionally indulged before, are naturally a proud and insolent People; confident, and conceited of their own Vertue, Valour, and Force, which proceeds from their ignorance of the Strength and Constition of other Countries; so that when the Danger which may arise from the Conjunction and Union of Chriftian Princes to the *Mahometan* Interest, is discoursed of, they compare the Grand Signior to the Lion, and other Kings to little Dogs, which may serve (as they say) to rouse and discompose the quiet and Majesty of the Lion, but can never bite him, but with their utmost peril.

They fay farther, as by an ingenious Confeflion, that they are unable to encounter the Christians at Sea, to whom God hath given that untable Element for Dominion and Poffeffion; but that the Earth is the Lot and Inheritance of the Turks, which is demonftrable by that great Circuit of Empire, obedient to the *Mahometan* Arms.

These are the Thoughts and Apprehensions of the Commonalty concerning Christendom in general, (which I have heard often discour-

fed amongst them) but the Opinion and Esteem which knowing Men and Ministers frame of Foreign Kingdoms and States distinctly, is for the most part according to these following Particulars.

Of all the Princes so far removed as *England*, none amongst this People stands in better account than His Majesty of Great Britain; not only for the convenience of the Trade, which provides the Empire with many necessary Commodities, but for the fame of His Majesty's Shipping, and Power at Sea, which makes him, though divided from all parts of the World, yet a Borderer on every Countrey, where the Ocean extends: And this Esteem and Honour the Sultan bears towards His Majesty, hath been evidenced in several Particulars, and more than once by the Security and freedom His Merchants enjoy in their Dominions, and a readiness to give every reasonable Request, to gratify His Majesty's Ambassadors.

As for the Emperor, the Turk knows that his own proper and peculiar Force in it self, is considerable, but that with the conjunction and assistance of the *German* Princes, they are assured, and have proved it to their experience, in the Year 1664, that his Strength is equivalent to the *Ottoman* Power; but yet they are not ignorant, that the diversity of Religions and Sects in *Germany*, abate much of that vigor and coalition amongst themselves, which is requisite to the vigorous opposition of so potent an Enemy.

And it is evident, that the Emperor's unfeasonable Severity against the Protestants in Hungary, disfiguring his whole Dominion there, by depriving them of their Churches, and exercising other courses for suppression of the Reformed Religion, ripened the Turk's Design of War, first laid in the Year 1663, against Hungary, which he effected, holding forth the specious pretence of Liberty, of Honour, and Confidence, the Hungarians would either wholly desert the Emperor, or very coldly and faintly apply themselves to his Succour: The Effect of which was in the succeeding Years plainly verified, and known, that the Hungarians were not only sparing in their Contributions and Supplies of Men in the Service of the Emperor, but also in their Assemblies and Councils, Whether it were not better to accept the Turk's Sovereignty, on the Conditions proposed, with Liberty on their Religion, rather than to continue in Allegiance to the Emperor, who neither afforded them freedom of Conscience, which is the Destruction of their Spiritual Estate, nor was able to afford them the Assistance, which was insufficient to yield them Protection in their Temporal.

The Emperor sends his Ambassador to the Turk, under Notion of the King of Hungary, because at his Infalliment as Emperor, he swears to make a perpetual War with the Turk; and indeed their Peace is little better than a War, considering their frequent Incursions into each others Territories; and that to skirmish or fight in Bodies, under the number of five thousand, not taking Forts, or bringing Cannons in the Field, is no Breach of the Capitulations.

The *French King*, though the first Christian Prince, that having no Confines bordering on these Dominions, entred into Capitulations with the Turk for a free and open Commerce

Chap. XXI.

merce and Traffick; and obtained the Title of *Pedeghaw*, which signifies as much as Emperor, and is denied to all other Christian Kings, and even to the *German* Emperor himself, being adjudged an Honour amongst the Turks, proper and peculiar only to the Grand Signior: Yet their esteem of the *French* is not so great as some would perfwade the World it is, having (as we have at large declared in the foregoing Chapter) given ample Testimonies in the Persons of the Ambassadors, of their scorn and neglect of the Prince he represented.

I have heard the wife Lord Chancellor *Salmade* say, That the *French* gained that Title of *Podeshaw* to their King, by Craft and Subtility, and was never fully examined nor considered: and in that Business there is a strange Romance told of a fair *French* Lady, who preferred to the Seraglio, whom the Turks were willing to receive for a Princess, and thence challenging Affinity with the King of *France*, was the more profuse in the honour of his Titles.

It is true, there was a time when the *French* Ambassadors was called to secret Councils, and admitted within the Walls of the Seraglio, to private Meetings and Debates of the Turk; but it was when the *French* plotted, and openly assisted in transportation of the Turks, for the Invasion of *Italy*; but since that time, and especially in the Year 1664, through the Force given the Emperor, and the Bravado upon *Barbary*, the *French* hath always (and that not without some reason) gone declining in the good Opinion and Esteem in the Ottoman Court.

The Pope is more esteemed, as a Prince able to blow the Coals, and excite other Princes to the Damage of the *Mahometan* State, rather than by his own Power or Force to effect any thing himself; and having no Confines bordering on the Turks, his Riches, Power, or Greatness, seldom falls as a Subject for their consideration.

As little account would they make of the King of *Spain*, but that the *Granadine Turks*, of which there remains in *Constantinople* a considerable number since their Expulsion, through an extreme Affection, naturally inherent in them to *Spain*, discourse of it with a Passion, not altogether free of a little *Rodomontado*, and Vain-glorie, Vices incident to their Country; whereby they create in the *Turks* a conceit of the Greatness, Riches, and Force of *Spain*, according as it flourished in the Time that the *Moors* possessed their Seat and Habitation there.

But yet the Turks, though a People injurious and negligent of the accurate state of other Places, besides their own, are not altogether ignorant of the decay of *Spain*, the Wars in *Portugal*, and the Menaces from *France*, which makes them aim at one of the *Venetian* Ports in *Dalmatia*, to have the better prospect and easier passage into *Sicily*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The esteem the *Venetians* are in at this time amongst them, is greater than when the War first began, for then they entertained an Opinion of their Force, much inferior to the real estimation thereof; as they do now the contrary beyond their true Strength, making always calculates from the Effect and Success of Things.

Yet the Turk knows, that the *Venetian* Power is not comparable to his by Land, and that nothing but *Friuli* stands between him and the mastery of *Venice*; which makes him ashamed and angry, that after so many Years Wars, no greater Additions should be acquired to the Empire, than his footing in *Candia*, the whole possession of which was imagined at the beginning of the War, would, upon a bare Demand, been quietly presented as the Price and Purchase of the Peace.

The King of *Poland* is none of the least amongst the Christian Princes esteemed at the *Ottoman* Court, by reason of his great Power, consisting chiefly in Horse, which in the Opinion of the Turks, is the most Warlike, and looks on the People as Martial, and with much difficulty brought under their subjection.

But by reason of the great Combuſtions and Inteline Troubles of that Country, the *Poles* apply themſelves with much Dexterity and Caution in their Treaties with the *Turks*; and eſpecially, being Borderers with them, and ſubject to their Incursions and Robberies of Men and Cattel, they endeavour all means of fair and reaſonable compliance. And on the other ſide, the *Turk* is well inclined to the *Pole*, and delires his Proximity beyond others of his Neighbour-Princes; becauſe he looks on him as the only Curb, upon all Occaſions, of the *Moscovites*, and whom they may make uſe of, to give ſome ſtop and arreſt unto the progreſs of his Arms.

The *Moscowite* hath yet a greater Fame and Renown with the Turks, being reported to make One hundred and fifty thousand Horse ; so that he treats with the Turk on equal Terms, and fills his Letters with high Threats and Hyperbolicall Expressions of his Power, and with as swelling Titles as the Turk.

The *Greeks* have also an inclination to the *Moscovite* beyond any other Christian Prince, as being of their Rites in Religion, terming him their Emperor and Protector; from whom, according to the ancient Prophecies and modern Predictions, they expect delivery and freedom to their Church.

But the greatest dread the Turk hath of the *Moscovite*, is from the Union with the *Soffi*, or *Perfian*, which two uniting together, would be too unequal a Match for the *Ottoman* Empire.

Empire, above all the great Potentates of the World, the King of *Perſia* was moſt feared and eſteemed by the Turk, not only by reaſon of his great Force, and that the Borders of his Dominions run a long Space on the Confines of the Turks; but alſo becauſe it was almoſt impoſſible for him to be ſubdu'd, and to be ſubdu'd in ſuch United Places, to carry a War into his Country, without the cumbersome Carriages of all neceſſary Proviſions, which with how much difficulty and incommodity were performed in the laſt Wars between theſe two great Princes, the Hiſtory ſufficiently ſhews; but ſince the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, and decay of the Race of *Abdoly*, they are now the ſubjects of the Turkiſh ſcorn and contempt:

The nearness of their Faith, though derived from the same Founder, but afterwards receiving some difference, by the interpretation of *Holy*, is in no-wise a reconciliation of their Affections; but rather a ground and matter of their Fear and Jealousy, lest at any time, waging a War against the *Persian*, that

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Hereby should begin to be set on foot amongst the People, which, like a Spark that causes the Conflagration of a whole City, may breed those intestine Civil distractions, which may prove of more danger and ruin than the former War.

It will not be necessary to speak much of the *Hollanders*, in regard, that though they have a Resident there, they are scarce taken notice of as a Nation different, but depending on the *English*.

These foregoing words of *Holland*, have been liable to censure amongst the *Dutch*; but for my Apology therein, I have thus much to say, That though the Assertion may seem strange in these our Times, yet when it was first wrote, which is now above seventeen Years past, it might have pass'd for Current Truth; *Distingue tempora & bene decet*.

When I came first into *Turky*, which was in the Year 1660, there were very few of the *Dutch* Nation then in *Turky*, and their Trade very inconsiderable.

At *Aleppo* they had no Consul, till some Years after my arrival *Levinus Warner*, Resident at *Constantinople*, sent his Brother first to that place; but before that time, they always lived under the *English* protection.

At *Smyrna* they had no other for their Consul, than one *Evan Ogle* a *Greek*, of whom either the *Dutch* or *Turks* took little notice, having recourse very often to the *English* Consul for his Advice, and Assistance.

At *Constantinople*, for many Years, the *Dutch* lived under the *English* Ambassador, which was the occasion of those differences debated in the *Divan* between ours, and the *French* Ambassador. Likewise *Levinus Warner*, a *German* born, lived for some Years in the House of the *English* Ambassador, until afterwards, that by the Lords the States, he was promoted to be their Resident at the *Port*.

All which happening in so short time after my arrival in *Turky*, it will not appear strange to considering Men, that the *Dutch* Nation should not at that time, by the generality of the People (though the Ministers of State might know otherwise) be distinguished from ours, or their Puffance, and Greatness so well understood as it is at present. The Heer *Cobers*, formerly Resident, but now dignified with the Title of Ambassador at the *Port*, and the several Consuls in their respective Factories being much respected and esteemed.

And these are all the Nations considerable, with whom the *Turk* hath occasion to Treat, or that fall under his Cognizance or Business.

When the Grand Signior hath occasion to write unto any of the Christian Princes, he commonly uses these Expressions, at the beginning of the Letter.

To the Glory of the great Princes of *JESUS*, Elected by the Reverend Senators of the Religion of the Messiah, Composer of the Publick Affairs of the Christian Nation. Patron (or Master) of a Courtiers and Modest Train, Lord of those Ways which lead to Honour and Glory, whose End may it be happy, &c.

CHAP. XXII.

The regard the *Turks* have to their Leagues with Foreign Princes.

AS the Christian Religion teaches Humility, Charity, Courteise, and Faith towards all that are within the Pale of Humane Nature, to be φιλόδοξοι καὶ φιλανθρώποι; so the Turkish Superstition furnishes its Followers with Principles, not only to abhor the doctrines, but also the Persons of such whom they term not Believers. The fardness of their Blood, and ungentleness of their Education, makes them insolent and swelled with a Prosperity; and their Victories and Spoils upon Christians, render the Arms and Force of other parts contemptible in respect of theirs.

Upon these Considerations of the vileness of Christianity, and scorn of their Power, they allume this into a Maxime, That they ought not to regard the Leagues they have with any Prince, or the Reasons and Ground of a Quarrel, whilst the Breach tends to the enlargement of their Empire, which consequently infers the propagation of their Faith.

Many and various are the Examples and Stories in all Ages, since the beginning and increase of the Turkish Power, of the Perfidiousness and Treachery of this People; that it may be a Question, Whether their Valour and Force hath prevailed more in the time of War, or the little care of their Faith, and maintenance in their Leagues hath availed them in the time of Peace?

Thus *Didymachum* in the time of Peace, under *Amurath*, third King of the *Turks*, whilst the Walls and Fortifications were building, was by the *Asian* Labourers, which were entertained in the Works, and the help of other *Turks* which lay near in Ambush, surprized and taken.

So also * *Rodestum*, in the time of Peace, by command of *Amurath*, was by *Euxemyses* surprized and taken by stratagem.

So *Adrianople* in the Reign of the same Emperor, after Peace made again, and Assurances given of better Faith, was by the Art and Disguise of *Christians*, pretending to be a discontented Captain, and a fugitive from the *Turks*, by fair Speeches, and some Actions and Skirmishes Abroad, gained such confidence amongst the credulous *Greeks*, as enabled him afterwards to set the Gates open to *Amurath's* Army, which after some Conflicts, was taken, and never recovered again by the power of the *Greeks*.

It is an old and practised Subtily of the *Turks*, immediately after some notable Misfortune, to entreat of Peace, by which means they may gain time to recollect their Forces and Provisions to prosecute the War.

It is notable and worthy of Record, the Treachery of the Treaty used the Year 1604, begun in the time of *Mahomet* the Third, and broken off by *Achmet* his Successor. The Overtures for a Treaty were first propounded by the *Turks*; and Commissioners from the Emperor appointed, and met the *Turks* at *Buda*; twelve days Truce were concluded for con-

consideration of the Articles, and Presents sent by the *Turks* to the Emperor, to persuade of the reality of their Intentions. *Mahomet* dying, *Sultan Achmet* renews his Commission to the *Basha* of *Buda* to continue the Treaty; whereupon the Christian and *Turks* Commissioners have another meeting at *Pest*; where whilst the Christians were courteously treating the Infidels in Tents near the Town, and they to create in the Christians an assurance of their faithful Dealings, were producing Letters from their *Sultan*, and Prime Vizier, filled with Oaths and Protections, as by the God of Heaven and Earth. By the Book of *Moses*, by the Souls of their Ancestors, and the like, that their Intentions for Peace were real, and meant nothing but what was honourable and just: At that very time the *Turks* of *Buda*, conceiving, that in the time of this great Jollity and Confidence, the Walls of *Pest* were neglected and slightly manned, lifted out in great numbers to surprize it; the Alarm of which ended the Banquet, and the *Turks* finding Matters contrary to their Expectation, returned only with the shame of their Treachery.

It is no wonder the Disciples should, in a Point of so great Liberty and Advantage, follow the Example and Doctrine of their Master; for the like *Mahomet* did when overthrown, and repulsed at the Siege of *Mecca*, made a firm League with the Inhabitants of strict Peace and Amity; but the next Summer, having again recruited his Forces, easily surprized and took the City, whilst that People relying on the late Agreement, suspected nothing less than the Prophet's Treachery.

And that such perfidiousness as this might not be Chronicled in future Ages, in disparagement of his Sanctity; he made it lawful for his Believers, in Cases of like Nature, when the Matter concerned those who are Infidels, and of a different Perswasion, neither to regard Promises, Leagues, or other Engagements; and this is read in the Book of the Institutions of the *Mahometan* Law, called *Kutab Hadis*.

It is the usual Form and Custom, when a

noble Advantage is espied on any Country, with which they have not sufficient ground of Quarrel, to demand the Opinion of the *Muslime*, for the lawfulness of War; who without consulting other Consideration and Judgment of the reasonable Occasions, than the utility of the Empire, in conformity to the foregoing Precept of his Prophet, passes his *Fetva*, or Sentence; by which the War becomes warrantable, and the Cause justified and allowed.

It is not to be denied, but even amongst Christian Princes, and other the most gallant People of the World, Advantages have been taken, contrary to Leagues, and Faith, and Wars commenced upon frivolous and slight Pretences; and the States have never wanted Reasons for the breach of Leagues; though confirmed by Oaths, and all the Rites of Religious Vows: We know it is controverted in the Schools, whether Faith is to be maintained with Infidels, with Hereticks, and wicked Men; which in my Opinion were more honourable to be out of Question.

But we never need that Perfidiousness, by Act and Proclamation, was allowable, or that it was wholly to be Faithless, until the Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law, by the Example of their Prophet, recorded and commanded this Lesson, as a beneficial and useful Axiom to their Disciples.

And here I cannot but wonder at what I have heard and read in some Books of the Honesty and Justice of the *Turks*, extolling and applauding them, as Men accomplished with all the Virtues of a Moral Life; thence seeming to infer, that Christianity it self imposes none of those Engagements of Goodness on Mens Natures, as the Professors of it do imagine. But such Men, I believe, have neither read the Histories, nor consulted the Rules of their Religion, nor practised their Conversion; and in all Points, being ignorant of the truth of the *Turks* dealing, it is not strange, if through a charitable Opinion of what they know not, they err in the Apprehension and Character they pass upon them.

OF THE Turkish Religion.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Religion of the Turks in General.

THE Civil Laws appertaining to Religion amongst the Turks, are so confounded into one Body, that we can scarce treat of one without the other; for they conceive that the Civil Law came as much from God, being delivered by their Prophet, as that which immediately respects their Religion, and came with the same Obligations and Injunctions to obedience. And though this Polity was a Fiction of some, who first founded certain Governments, as *Numa Pompilius, Solon*, and the like, to put the greater Engagements and ties on Men, as well of Conscience, as through fear of Punishment; yet in the general that Proposition is true, That all Laws which respect Right and Justice, and are tending to a Foundation of Good and Honest Government, are of God; *For there is no Power but of God, and the Powers that be, are ordained of God.* And then if God owns the Creation and Constitution of all Princes and Rulers, as well the Pagans as Christians; the Tyrants, as the Indulgent Fathers of their People and Country; no less doth he disallow the Rules and Laws fixed to the Constitution and Government of a People, giving no Dispensation to their Obedience, because their Prince is a Tyrant, or their Laws not founded according to true Reason, but to the humour of their corrupted Judgments or Interest.

Rom. 13.

It is vulgarly known to all, that their Law was compiled by *Mahomet*, with the help of *Sergius* the Monk (and thence this Superstition is named *Mahometanism*) whose infamous Life is recorded so particularly in many other Books, that it were too obvious to be repeated here: and therefore we shall insist, and take a view of the Rites, Doctrines, and Laws of the *Turkish Religion*, which is founded in three Books, which may not improperly be called the *Codes* and *Fundamentals* of the *Mahometan* Constitutions.

The first is the *Alchoran*; the second, the Consent or Testimony of *Wise-men*, called the *Affnahs*, or the Traditions of the Prophets; and the third, the Inferences or Deductions of one thing from another.

Mahomet wrote the *Alchoran*, and prescribed some Laws for the Civil Government: the other Additions, or Superstructures, were composed by their Doctors that succeeded, which were

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Ebbubecher, Omer, Ozman and *Haly*; the *Califfs* of *Babylon* and *Egypt* were other Doctors and Expositors of their Law; whose Sentences and Positions were of Divine Authority amongst them; but their esteem of being Oraculous failing with their Temporal Power, that Dignity and Authority of Infalible Determinations, was by force of the Sword transferred to the *Turkish Mufli*. And though there is great diversity amongst the Doctors, as touching the explication of their Law, yet he is esteemed a true Believer, who observes these five Articles or Fundamentals of the Law, to which every Turk is obliged.

The first is, Cleanliness in the Outward Parts of their Body and Garments.

Secondly, To make Prayers five times a day.

Thirdly, To observe the *Ramazan* or Monthly Fast.

Fourthly, To perform faithfully the *Zekat*, or giving of Alms according to the proportion prescribed in a certain Book, wrote by the four Doctors of theirs, called *Afsan, Embela*, &c.

Fifthly, To make their Pilgrimage to *Medeas*, if they have means and possibility to perform it.

But the Article of Faith, required to be believed, is but one, *viz.* That that there is but one God, and *Mahomet* his Prophet.

Other Rites, as Circumcision, Observation of a *Friday* for a Day of Devotion, Abstinence from Swines-flesh, and from Blood, (as they say) amongst the five principal Points, because they are enjoined as Trials and Proofs of Man's Obedience to the more necessary Law.

CHAP. II.

The Toleration that Mahometanism in its infancy promised to other Religions; and in what manner that Agreement was afterwards observed.

WHEN *Mahometanism* was first weak; and therefore put on a modest Countenance and plausible Aspect to deceive Mankind, it found a great part of the World illuminated with

with Christianity, endured with active Graces, Zeal, and Devotion, and established within it self with purity of Doctrine, Union, and firm profession of the Faith, though greatly shaken by the Heresies of *Arins* and *Nestorians*; yet it began to be guarded, not only with its Patience, Long-suffering, and Hope, but also with the Fortifications, Arms, and Protection of Emperors, and Kings: so that *Mahometanism* coming then on the disadvantage, and having a hard Game to play, either by the lustre of Graces, and Good Examples of a *Christ* Life to out-shine Christianity; or by a looseness and indulgence to corrupt Manners, to pervert Men dedicated to God's Service; or by Cruelty or Menaces to gain riots who accounted Martyrdom their greatest Glory, and were now also defended by the Power of their own Princes; judges it best policy to make professors of Truce and Peace between the Christian and its own Profession: and therefore in all places where its Arms were prevalent and prosperous, proclaimed a free Toleration to all Religions; but especially in outward appearance, courted and favoured the Christian, drawing its Tenets and Doctrines in some conformity to that Rule, confessing *Christ* to be a Prophet, and greater than *Moses*; that he was born of a Virgin; that *Mary* conceived by the smell of a Rose; that the blessed Virgin was free from Original Sin, and the Temptations of the Devil; that *Christ* was the Word of God, and is so styled in the *Alchoran*, and cured Diseases, raised the Dead, and worked many Miracles; and by his Power his Disciples did the like: and I have heard some speak of him with much reverence, and with heat to deny *Christ's* Passion; saying, it were an impiety to believe that God, who loved and had conferred so much Power, and so many Graces on *Christ*, should so far dishonour him, as to deliver him into the Hands of Men; who were the worst and most fœdered of Men; or to the Death of the Cross, which was the most infamous and vile of all Punishments.

In this manner they seemed to make a League with Christianity, to be Charitable, Modest, and well-wishers to its Professors; and *Mahomet* himself says in his *Alchoran* thus: "O Infidels, I do not adore what you adore, and you adore not what I worship; observe you your Law, and I will observe mine." And for a farther assurance of his Toleration of Christianity, and evidence to the World, that his Intention was neither to persecute nor extirpate their Religion; he made this following Compact, the Original of which was found in the Monastery of Fryars on Mount *Carnel*, and, as it is said, was transported to the King's Library in *France*; which because it is Ancient, and of Curiosity, it will not be impertinent to be inserted here.

"*Mahomet* sent from God to teach Mankind, and declare the Divine Communion in Truth, wrote these things. That the Cause of Christian Religion determined by God, might remain in all parts of the East, and of the West, as well amongst the Inhabitants, as Strangers, near, and remote, known, and unknown; to all these People I leave this present Writing, as an inviolable League, as a decision of all farther Controversies, and a Law whereby Justice is declared, and strict observance enjoined. Therefore whosoever of the *Moslems*, man's Faith shall neglect to perform these Things, and violate this League, and after the manner of Infidels, break it, and trans-

gress what I command herein, he breaks the Compact of God, retracts his Agreement, and contents his Testament, whether he be a King, or any other of the Faithful. By this Agreement, whereby I have obliged my self, and which the Christians have required of me, and in my Name, and in the Name of all my Disciples, to enter into a Covenant of God with them, and League and Testament of the Prophets, Apostles, Elect, and Faithful Saints, and blessed of Times past and to come. By this Covenant, I say, and Testament of mine (which I will have maintained with as much Religion, as a Prophet, Millionaire, or as an Angel next to the Divine Majesty, is strict in his Obedience towards God, and in observance to his Law and Covenant) I promise to defend their Judges in my Province; with my Horse and Foot, Auxiliaries, and other my faithful Followers; and to preserve them from their Enemies; whether remote, or near, and secure them both in Peace and War; and to protect their Churches, Temples, Oratories, Monasteries, and Places of Pilgrimage, wheresoever situated, whether Mountain or Valley, Cavern or House, a Plain, or upon the Sand, or in what sort of Edifice soever: also to preserve their Religion and their Goods in what part soever they are, whether at Land or Sea, East or West, even as I keep my self and my Sceptre, and the faithful Believers of my own People. Likewise, to receive them into my Protection from all Harm, Vexation, Offence and Hurt. Moreover, to repel those Enemies which are offensive to them and me, and stoutly to oppose them, both in my own Person, by my Servants, and all others of my People and Nation. For since I am set over them, I ought to preserve and defend them from all Adversity, and that no Evil touch them before it first afflict mine, who labour in the same Work. I promise farther to free them from those Burthens which Confederates suffer, either by Losses of Money, or Impositions; so that they shall be obliged to pay nothing but what they please, and no molestation or injury shall be offered from his. In a Bishop shall not be removed from his Diocese, or a Christian compelled to renounce his Faith, or a Monk his Profession, or a Pilgrim disturbed in his Pilgrimage, or a Religious Man in his Cell: Nor shall their Churches be destroyed, or converted into Mosques: for whosoever doth so break this Covenant of God, opposes the Messenger of God, and frustrates the Divine Testament. No Impositions shall be laid upon Fryars or Bishops, nor any of them, who are not liable to Taxes, unless it be with their own consent. And the Tax which shall be required from Rich Merchants and from Fisher-men of their Pearl, from Miners of their Precious Stones, Gold and Silver; and all other rich and opulent Christians, shall not exceed above twelve fillings yearly, and it shall also be from them, who are constant Inhabitants of the place, and not from Travellers, and Men of an uncertain Abode; for they shall not be subject to Impositions or Contributions, unless they are Possessors of Inheritance of Land or Estate; for he which is lawfully subject to pay Money to the Emperor, shall pay as much as another, and not more; nor more required from him above his faculty and strength. In like manner, he that is taxed for his Land, Houses, or Revenue, shall not

be barthened immoderately, nor oppressed with greater Taxes than any others that pay Contribution: Nor shall the Confederates be obliged to go to the War with the *Moslems* against their Enemies, either to fight, or discover their Armies, because it is not of duty to a Confederate to be employed in Military Affairs; but rather this compact is made with them, that they may be the less oppressed; but rather the *Moslems* shall Watch and Ward, and defend them: And therefore, that they be not compelled to go forth to fight, or encounter the Enemy, or find Horse or Arms, unless they voluntarily furnish them; and he who shall thus willingly contribute, shall be recompensed and rewarded. No *Moslem* shall insult the Christians, nor contend with them in any thing but in kindness, but treat them with all courteous, and abstain from all oppression or violence towards them. If any Christian commit a crime or fault, it shall be the Part of the *Moslem* to assist him, intercede and give caution for him, and compound for his miscarriage; liberty shall also be given to redeem his life, nor shall he be forsaken, nor be destitute of help, because of the Divine Covenant which is with them, that they shall enjoy what the *Moslems* can, joy, and suffer what they suffer: and on the other side that the *Moslems* enjoy what they enjoy, and suffer what they suffer. And according to this Covenant, which is by the Christians just request, and according to that endeavour which is so required for confirmation of its Authority, you are obliged to protect them from all calamity, and perform all offices of good-will towards them, so that the *Moslems* may be sharers with them in prosperity and adversity. Moreover, all care ought to be had, that no violence be offered to them, as to matters relating to Marriage, viz. That they compel not their Parents to match their Daughters with *Moslems*: Nor shall they be molested for refusal either to give a Bridegroom or a Bride; for this is an act wholly voluntary, depending on their free-will and pleasure. But if it happen that a Christian Woman shall join with a *Moslem*, he is obliged to give her liberty of Conscience in her Religion, that she may obey her Ghostly Father, and be instructed in the Doctrines of her Faith without impediment; therefore he shall not disquiet her, either by threatening discipline, or by solicitations to forsake her Faith: but if he shall be contrary hereunto, and molest her herein, he despises the Covenant of God, rebels against the Compact of the Messenger of God, and is entered into the number of Lyars. Moreover when Christians would repair their Churches or Convents, or any thing else appertaining unto their Worship, and have need of the liberality and assistance of the *Moslems* hereunto, they ought to contribute, and freely to bestow according to their ability; not with intention to receive it again, but gratis; and as a good-will towards their Faith, and to fulfill the Covenant of the Messenger of God, considering the obligation they have to perform the Covenant of God, and the Compact of the Messenger of God. Nor shall they oppress any of them living amongst the *Moslems*, nor hate them, nor compel them to carry Letters, or shew the way, or any other manner force them: for he which exercises any manner of this Tyranny against them, is an Oppressor,

and an Adversary to the Messenger of God, and refractory to his Precepts. These are the Covenants agreed between *Mahomet* the Messenger of God, and Christians. But the conditions on which I bind these Covenants on their Consciences, are these, That no Christian give any entertainment to a Soldier, enemy to the *Moslems*, or receive him in his house publicly or privately; that they receive none of the enemies of the *Moslems*, as forsojourners into their Houses, Churches, or Religious Convents; nor understand furnish the Camp of their Enemies, with Arms, Horse, Men, or maintain any intercourse or correspondence with them, by contracts or writing; but betaking themselves to some certain place of abode, shall attend to the preservation of themselves, and to the defence of their Religion. To any *Moslem* and his Beasts, they shall give three days entertainment with variety of Meat, and moreover, shall endeavour to defend them from all misfortune and trouble, so that if any *Moslem* shall be delirious, or be compelled to conceal himself in any of their houses or habitations, they shall friendly hide him, and deliver him from the danger he is in, and not betray him to his Enemy: and in this manner the Christians performing Faith on their side, whosoever violates any of these conditions, and doth contrarily, shall be deprived of the benefits contained in the Covenant of God and his Messenger, nor shall he deserve to enjoy these privileges indulged to Bishops and Christian Monks, and to the Believers of the contents of the *Alchoran*. Wherefore I conjure my people by God and his Prophet to maintain these things faithfully, and fulfill them, in what part soever of the World they are. And the Messenger of God shall recompense them for the same; the perpetual observation of which he seriously recommends to them, until the day of Judgment, and Dissolution of the World. Of these conditions which *Mahomet* the Messenger of God hath agreed with the Christians, and hath enjoyed, the witnesses were,

"*Abu Bacer Asjadique, Omar ben-ale-brah.*
"*Ishman ben Asfan, Asiben abe-ale,*

"with a number of others: the Secretary was *Moslim ben abi Sofian*, a Soldier of the Messenger of God, the last day of the Moon of the fourth Month, the fourth year of *Hegira* in *Medina*. May God remunerate those who are witnesses to this writing. Praise be to God the Lord of all Creatures.

This Covenant or Articles with Christians (howsoever denied by the *Turks* to have been the act and agreement of *Mahomet*) is yet by very good Authorities taken for real, and to have been at that time confirmed when his Kingdom was weak, and in its infancy, and when he warred with the *Arabs*: and fearing likewise the enmity of the Christians (not to be assaulted by two Enemies at once) secured him self by this Religious League, made in the Monastery of *Fryars*, on Mount *Carnel*, from whence that strict Order have their denomination. But mark how well *Mahomet* in the sequel observed this Law: As soon as his Government increased, and that by Arms and bad Arts he had secured his Kingdom, he writes this Chapter of the Sword, called I perhaps because the first words are often en-

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graved on the *Turks* Cymeters made at *Damascus*, and other their Bucklers and other sort of Arms: And another Chapter in the *Alchoran*, called the Chapter of Battel (which is always read by the *Turks* before they go to fight) and therein his model words (If you adore not what I adore, let your Religion be to you, and mine to me) and other promises of toleration and indulgence to the Christian Religion, were changed to a harsher note, and his Edicts were then for blood and ruin, and enslavement of Christians: *When you meet with Infidels, slay them, cut off their heads, kill them, take them Prisoners, bind them, until either you think fit to give them liberty, or pay their ransom; and forbear not to persecute them, until they have laid down their arms and submitted.* And this is that sort of Toleration the *Turks* give to the Christian Religion; they know they cannot force Mens Wills, nor captivate their Consciences, as well as their Bodies; but what means may be used to render them contemptible, to make them poor, their lives uncomfortable, and the interest of their Religion weak and despicable, are practised with divers Arts and Tyranny, that their toleration of Christianity is rather to afflict and persecute it, than any grant of favour or dispensation.

The *Mohometan* Religion tolerates Christian Churches and Houses of Devotion, in places where they have been anciently founded, but admits not of holy Buildings on new foundations; they may repair the old Coverings and Roofs, but cannot lay a Stone in a new place Consecrated to Divine Service; nor if Fire, or any accident destroy the Superstructure, may a new strength be added to the foundation, wherewith to underprop for another Building; so that at last the Christian Churches in those Dominions must necessarily come to ruin, as many already have submitted to the common fate of time. And as it happened in the great and notable Fires of *Galata* first, and then of *Constantinople*, in the year 1660, that many of the Christian Churches and Chapels were brought to Ashes; and afterwards by the Piety and Zeal of Christians scarce re-edified, before by publick order they were thrown down again into their former heaps, being judged contrary to the *Turkish* Law, to permit Churches again to be restored, of which no more remained than the meer foundation.

CHAP. III.

The Arts wherewith the Turkish Religion is propagated.

THE *Turks* though they offer the specious outside of the foregoing toleration, yet by their Law are authorized to enforce Mens Consciences to the profession of their Faith; and that is done by various arts and niceties of Religion: For if a man turn *Turk*, his Children under the age of 14 years, though educated with other Principles, must be forced to the same persuasion. Men that speak against the *Mohometan* Law, that have rashly promised at a time of distraction or drunkenness to become *Turks*, or have had a carnal knowledge of a *Turkish* Woman, must either become Martyrs or Apostates; besides many other subtilties they have to entrap the Souls of Christians within the entanglements of their Law.

It is another Policy wherewith the *Mohometan* Sect hath been increased, that accounting it a Principle of Religion, not to deliver a City or Fortress by consent or voluntary surrender, where *Muqats* have been once built, and *Mohometanism* professed. And therefore the *Turk* no sooner enters a Town by Conquest, but immediately lays obligation for his Temples, thereby imposing an obligation of an oblation and constant resolution on the consciences of the defendants, which many times hath been found to have been more forcible and prevalent on the spirits of men, than all the terrors and miseries of Famine, Sword or other calamities.

It is well enough known upon what different Interests Christianity and *Mohometanism* were introduced into the World; the first had no other enforcements, than the persuasions and Sermons of a few poor Eldermen, verified with Miracles, Signs and Inspiration of the Holy Ghost; carrying before it the promises of another life, and considerations of a glorified spirituality in a state of separation; but the way to it was obstructed with the opposition of Emperors and Kings, with scorn and contempt, with persecution and death; and this was all the encouragement propoed to Mankind to embrace this Faith: but *Mohometanism* made its way with the Sword; what knots of Argument he could not untie, he cut, and made his spiritual power as large as his temporal; made his precepts easy and pleasant, and acceptable to the fancy and appetite, as well as to the capacity of the vulgar: representing Heaven to them, not in a spiritual manner, or with delights unexpressible, and ravishments known only in part to illuminated Souls; but with gross conceptions of the beauty of Women with great Eyes, of the duration of one such Carnal indulgence for the space of sixty years, and of the heathly satisfaction of a glutinous Palate; things absurd and ridiculous to wise and knowing Men; but yet capable to draw multitudes of its professors, and carnal defenders of its verity. And this Doctrine being irrational to the better sort of judgments, causes the Lawyers, who are men of the subtillest capacities amongst the *Turks*, to mislead much of the truth of the Doctrine of *Mohomet*; especially the assertions relating to the condition of the other life. For the representation of the delights of the next World, in a corporeal and sensual manner, being inconsistent with their reason, leads them to doubt the truth of that point; and wavering with one scruple, proceed to a mistrust of the whole System of the *Mohometan* Faith. One would think that in such men a way were prepared for the entertainment of a Religion, erected on more solid principles and foundations; and that the Jews might gain such Profelytes to their Law, from which a great part of the *Mohometan* Superstition was borrowed; or that the Christians might take advantage in so well disposed subjects, to produce something of the Mystery of Godliness. But the first are a people so obnoxious to scorn and contempt, esteemed by the *Turks* to be the Scum of the World, and the worst of men; that it is not probable their Doctrine can gain a reputation with those, to whom their very persons and blood are vile and detestable; nor is it likely the Christians will ever be received by them with greater Authority, and more favourable inclination, until they acquit themselves of the scandal of Idolatry, which the Images and Pictures in their Churches seem to accuse them of in the eyes and judgment

judgment of the *Turks*, who are not versed in the subtle distinctions of Schoolmen, in the limitations and restrictions of that Worship, and the exactions of their Doctrines, matters not only sufficient to puzzle and distract the gross heads of *Turks*, but to strain the wits of learned Christians to clear them from that imputation.

But to return to our purpose. The propagation of the *Mohometan* Faith having been promoted wholly by the Sword, that persuasion and principle of the defendants, which many times those who die in the Wars against the Christians, without the help of previous acts of performance of their Law, or other Works, are immediately transported to Paradise, must necessarily whet the Swords and raise the Spirit of the Soldiers; which is the reason that such Multitudes of them (as we see in History) run to violence, to their own Slaughter, esteeming their Lives and Bodies at no greater price than the value of Stones and Rubbish to fill Rivulets and Ditches, that they may but erect a Bridge or Passage for their fellows to assault their Enemy.

The success of the *Mohometan* Arms produced another argument for the confirmation of their Faith, and made it a Principle. That whatsoever professes, hath God for the Author; and by how much more successful have been their Wars, by so much the more hath God been an owner of their Cause and Religion. And the same argument (if I am not mistaken) in the times of the late Rebellion in *England*, was made use of by many, to entitle God to their Cause, and make him the Author of their thriving Sin, because their wickedness prospered, and could trample on all holy and humane Rights with impunity. And I have known that the *Romanists* have judged the Afflictions and almost Subversion of the Church of *England*, to be a token of God's desertion and disclaim of her Profession; forgetting the Persecutions and Martyrdoms of the Primitive Saints, and that the Church of God is built in Sorrow and established with patience and passive Graces: but these men rather than want an argument, their malice will use the weapons of Infidels to oppugn the truth. And on this ground, the *Turks* too horribly detest and abhor the *Jews*, calling them the forsaken of God, because they are Vagabonds over all the World, and have no Temporal Authority to protect them: And though according to the best enquiry I could make, that report is not true, That they permit not a Jew to become a *Turk*, but by turning a Christian first, as a newer step and previous disposition to the *Musselman's* Faith; yet it is certain they will not receive the Corps of a Renegade Jew into their Cemeteries or place of Burial: and the *Jews* on the other side disowning any share or part in him, his loathed Carcass is thrown into some Grave distant from other Sepulchres, as unworthy the Society of all Mankind.

CHAP. IV.

The Power and Office of the *Mufts*, and of their Government in Religious Matters.

THE *Mufts* is the principal head of the *Mohometan* Religion, or Oracle of all doubtful questions in the Law, and is a person of great esteem and reverence amongst the *Turks*; his E-

lection is solely in the Grand Signior, who chuses a man to that office always famous for his Learning in the Law, and eminent for his virtues and strictness of Life; his Authority is so great amongst them, that when he passes Judgment or Determination in any point, the Grand Signior himself will in no wise contradict or oppose it.

The Title which the Grand Signior gives unto the *Mufts*, when he writes to him, is,

To the *Ejlad*, who art the Wisest of the Wise, intrusted in all Knowledge, the most Excellent of Excellent, abstaining from things Unlawful, the Spring of Virtue, and True Science, Heir of the Prophetic and Apologetic Doctrines, Reflector of the Problems of Faith, Revivator of the Orthodox Articles, Key of the Treasures of Truth, the Light to Doubtful Allegories brought forth with the grace of the Supreme Affluor, and Legislator of Mankind. May the most High God perpetuate thy Virtues.

His power is not compulsory, but only reflecting and persuasive in matters both Civil and Criminal, and of State: his manner of resolving is by writings; the question being first stated in Paper briefly and succinctly, he underneath subscribes his sentence by Yes, or No, or in some other short Determination called a *Fetva*, with the addition of these words, *God knows better*, by which it appears that the Determinations of the *Mufts* are not esteemed infallible. This being brought to the *Cadde* or Judge, his Judgment is certainly regulated according therunto, and Law Suits of the greatest moment concluded in an hour, without Arrests of Judgment, Appeals, or other dilatory Arts of the Law.

In matters of State the *Sultan* demands his opinion, whether it be in Condemnation of any great man to Death, or in making War or Peace, or other important Affairs of the Empire; either to appear the more just and religious, or to incline the People more willingly to Obedience. And this practice is used in business of greatest moment; for a Visit is prohibited, or a *Pashan* for pretence of crime displaced, or any matter of great alteration or change designed, but the Grand Signior asks himself with the *Mufts*'s Sentence, for the nature of man reposes more security in innocence and actions of Justice, than in the absolute and uncontrollable power of the Sword. And the Grand Signior, though he himself is above the Law, and is the Oracle and Fountain of Justice, yet it is feldom that he proceeds so irregularly to condemn that Authority wherein their Religion hath placed an ultimate power of Decision in all their Controversies.

But sometimes perhaps Queries are sent from the Grand Signior to the *Mufts*, which he cannot resolve with satisfaction of his Conscience, and the ends of the *Sultan*; by which means affairs important to the well being of the State, meet delays and impediment: In this case the *Mufts* is fairly dismissed from his infallible office, and another Oracle introduced, who may resolve the difficult demands with a more favourable Sentence; if not, he is degraded like the former, and so the next, until one is found apt to Prophetic according to what may best agree with the interest of his Master. This Office was in past times esteemed more sacred by the *Ottoman* Princes than at present; for no War was undertaken, or great Enterprise set on

foot, but first like the Oracle or *Aurur*, his Determination with great Reverence was required as that without which no blessing or success could be expected; but in these days they are more remiss in this manner of Consultation; sometimes it is done for formality, but most commonly the Prime Vicer conceded of his own Judgment and Authority, assumes the Power to himself, and perhaps first does the thing, and afterwards demands the Approbation of it by the sense of the Law.

And herein the *Musfi* hath a spacious Field for his Interpretation; for it is agreed that their Law is temporary, and admits of Explications according to times and state of things: And though they Preach to the People the perfection of their *Alchoran*; yet the wiser men hold, that the *Musfi* hath an expiatory power of the Law to improve and better it, according to the state of things, times and conveniences of the Empire; for that their Law was never designed to be a clog or confinement to the propagation of Faith, but an advancement thereof, and therefore to be interpreted in the largest and farthest fetched sense, when the strict words will not reach the design intended.

So it was once propounded to the *Musfi*, what rule should be observed in the devotion of a *Turk*, carried Slave into the Northern parts of the World, where in Winter is but one hour of day, how he might possibly comply with his obligation of making prayers five times within the twenty four hours; viz. Morning, Noon, Afternoon, Sunset, and at an hour and half in the Night; when the whole day being but of one hour, admitted of none of these distinctions; for resolution of which, the *Musfi* answered, that God commanded not things difficult as it is in the *Alchoran*, and that matters ought to be ordered in conformity to time and place, and making short Prayers once before day, then twice in the hour of light, and twice after it is dark, the duty is complied with.

Another question of the same nature was proposed to the *Musfi*, concerning the *Kiblah* or holy place of *Mecba*, to which they are obliged to turn their faces in their Prayers; how at Sea where they had no mark, especially bad Geographers as commonly the *Turks* are, it is possible to comply with that necessary formality required in their devotion; the *Musfi* resolved this doubt almost like the former, prescribing a kind of circular motion in prayers, by which means they cannot miss of having at some time their faces towards the holy City, which in a case of so much difficulty is a sufficient compliance with the duty.

Many cases of this nature are propounded to the *Musfi*; and many particular rules of Conscience required, one of which is remarkable, that *Bu-bequius* relates, that occurred in his time during the Wars between the Emperor of Germany, and Sultan *Sulymán*: Whether a few Christians taken Captives by the Grand Signior, might be exchanged with many *Turks* in the hand of the Emperor. It seems the *Musfi* was greatly perplexed and puzzled in the resolution; for sometimes it seemed a disservice to the value of a *Turk* to be rated under the price of a Christian; on the other side, it appeared want of charity and care of the interest of the *Muslímans* to neglect real terms of advantage on such airy and subtle points of formality. In fine, he consulted his Books, and declared that he found two different Authors of great Authority of contra-

dictory opinions in this controversy; and therefore his Judgment was to incline to that which had most of favour and mercy in it. The *Musfi* whilst qualified with that title, is rarely put to death, but first degraded, and then becomes liable to the stroke of the Executioner; but in cases of notorious crimes or conviction of Treason, he is put in a Mortar for that intent remaining in the Prison called the *Seven Towers* at *Constantinople*, and therein beaten to death, and brayed to the confusion of all his bones and flesh.

The next Office to the *Musfi* is *Kadefschere* or Judge of the Militia, otherwise Judge Advocate, who hath yet power of determination in any other Law Suits whatsoever; for this privilege the Souldiery of this Country enjoys, to have power extensive over all other conditions of people, but to be only subject themselves to the Government of their own Officers; this Office a *Musfi* must necessarily pass through, and discharge with approbation before he ascends the top and height of his Prefecture.

The next inferior degree is a *Mollab*; and these are of two sorts, one of Twelve hundred *Alpers*, and the other of Five hundred *Alpers*, so called for distinction sake; the first sort are principal Judges in petty Provinces, containing under them the command of *Kadets* of poor and inconsiderable places; the others have their jurisdiction over the whole dominion of a *Belegbez*, and have the *Kadets* of several rich and renowned places under their Government: their office often to the *Musfi*'s Office, but proceed by several degrees and steps, and must first gradually command where the Imperial Seats have been, as first to be *Mollab* in *Prusa*, then in *Adrianople*, and lastly in *Constantinople*, at which time he is next to the Office of *Kadefschere*, and thence to that of the *Musfi*.

The *Sultan*, when he writes to any of his *Mollabs*, or *Kadets* of the first degree, he uses this following style,

To the most perfect judge of the Faithful, the best Profound of Believers in God, the Mine Virtue and True Knowledge, the Distributor of all just Sentence to all Humane Creatures, Heirs of the Prophecy, and Apostolic Deliveries, elected by the singular Grace of God for our Governour and Judge, of whose Vertues may yet ever flourish.

These and *Kadets*, which are the lower and ordinary sort of Judges, are as much to be reckoned in the number of religious men as the *Musfi* himself; for as I have said before, the Civil Law of the *Turks* is conceived by them to be derived from their Prophet, and the other Expolitions of their Law with as much engagement and obligation as these which immediately concern the Divine Worship; and therefore are to be treated and handled together.

The *Emums* or Parochial Priests, must be able to read in the *Alchoran*, and be counted men of good fame and moral lives amongst their Neighbours, before they can be promoted to this Function; and must be one of those who have learned at the appointed times of prayer to call the people together on the top of the Steeple, by repeating these words, *Allab ekber, Allab ekber, Eshmedu enla Ilah ilallah we Eshbedu enla ilah ilahmed evvelul: evab Elee ala Selah hein ala Felah Allab ekber, allab ekber, la Ilah ilallah*, that is, God is great, God is great, I profess that there

there is no Deity but God; and confesses that *Mahomet* is the Prophet of God; in this manner the people of a Parish recommending any to the Prime Vicer, declaring that the former *Emum* is dead, and the Office vacant, and that this person is qualified in all points to the Function or better and more knowing than the present Incumbent; he receives immediate induction and establishment in the place; but for better proof or trial of the truth of the testimony that accompanies him, he is enjoined to read in presence of the Vicer some part of the *Alchoran*, which being done, he is distinguished and approved, and takes the Vicer's *Tefschere* or Mandamus for the place.

This is all the Ceremony required in making an *Emum*; for there is no new Character or state of Priesthood (as they hold) conferred upon them, nor are they a different sort distinguished from the people by holy Orders or Rites; but merely by the present office they manage; when being displaced, they are again numbered with the Laity; their Habit is nothing different from others, but only that they wear a large Turbant like the Lawyers, with some little variety in folding it up, and put on a grave and serious Countenance. Their Office is to call the People to Prayers, and at due hours to be their Leader in the *Mosque*, and to read and repeat upon Fridays certain Sentences or Verses out of the *Alchoran*; as well of their adventure to Preach, unless he be well concealed or really well gifted, but leave that office to the *Schich*, or him that makes Preaching his Profession, who is one commonly that passes his time in the Convents, that we shall hereafter treat of.

The *Musfi* hath no jurisdiction over the *Emums*, as to the good order or government of the Parishes, nor is there any Superiority or Hierarchy as to rule amongst them; every one being Independent and without controul in his own Parish, excepting his Subjection in Civil and Criminal Causes to the chief Magistrates; and considering the manner of their Designation to the Religious Office, the little difference between the Clergy and the Laity, and the manner of their single Government in Parochial Congregations, may not unhappily seem to square with the Independency in England, from which Original pattern and example our Sectaries and Phanatic Reformers appear to have drawn their Copy.

The Church-men and Lawyers are greatly interested amongst them, as is apparent by the Title they use towards them in their Writings and Commands, directed to them in this manner; *Thou that are the glory of the Judges and Sages-men, the profound Mines of Eloquence and Excellence, may your Wisdom and Ability be augmented.*

CHAP. V.

Of the *Musfi*'s Revenue, and from whence it doth arise.

AFTER the *Musfi* is elected, there is no Ceremony us'd in his Investiture than this; he presents himself before the Grand Signior, who Cloaths him with a Vest of rich Sables of One thousand Dollars price, and one thousand more he presents him with in Gold made up in a Handkerchief, which he delivers with his own

Hand, putting it in the fold of his under Garment doubled over his breast, and bestows on him a Salary of Two thousand *Alpers* a day, which is about Five pound Sterling money; besides which he hath a certain Revenue, unless it be the power of Prefecture to some Prefectories or Benefices of certain Royal *Mosques*, which he sells and disposes of as is left to his advantage without the scruple of corruption or Simony.

By the sentences he gives which they call *Fesfs*, he receives not one *Alper* benefit; though every *Fesfa* costs eight *Alpers*, yet the Fee thereof goes to his Officers; that is, to his *Musfendegis*, or he who rates the question, is paid five *Alpers*; to his *Mumiez*, or he who Copies or Transcribes the question fair, two *Alpers*; to him that keeps the Seal, one *Alper*.

Other benefits the *Musfi* hath little, excepting only that at his first entrance to his office, he is saluted by all Ambassadors and Residents for foreign Princes; as also the Agents of several *Pashas* residing at the Port, none of which come empty-handed but offer their accustomed Presents, by which he collects at least Fifty thousand Dollars.

When any *Musfi* is deprived of his Office without any other motive than the pleasure of the Grand Signior, he is gratified with an *Arpachik*, which is the disposal of some judicial Prefecture in certain Provinces, and the superintendency of them, from which he gathers a competent Revenue for his maintenance.

And because he is a person whose advice and counsel is of great Authority with the Grand Signior and Vicer, and that his word and candid report of matters is considerable, and his favour in sentences very estimable; he is therefore courted by all the *Grandes* of the Empire, who know no other way of reconciling and purchasing the affections of a *Turk*, than by force of Presents, which have more of power in them, than all other obligations or merits in the World.

CHAP. VI.

Of the *Emirs*.

WE may here bring in the *Emirs*, otherwise called *Ewlad Resid*, into the number of the Religious men, because they are of the Race of *Mahomet*, who for distinction sake, wear about their heads Turbants of a deep Sea-green, which is the colours of their Prophet; out of reverence to his esteemed holy Blood, many privileges are indulged by the secular Authority, that they cannot be visited, affronted or struck by a *Turk*, upon forfeiture of his right Hand; but lest they should be licentious by his impunity, they have a chief Head or Superior amongst them, called *Nakib Eschref*, who hath his Sergeants or Officers under him, and is endowed with so absolute a power over them, that as he pleases he extends both to Life and Death; but he never will give the scandal to this holy Seed, to execute or punish them publicly. And though few of them can derive his Genealogy clearly from *Mahomet*; yet those who can, and only pretend to it, are often helped out in their Pedegree; as often as the *Nakib* desires to favour any Person, or can have any colour to acquire a new Subject.

homets precepts being not to abandon the City-house where the Infection rages, because God hath numbered their days, and predestinated their fate; and upon this belief, they as familiarly attend the Beds, and frequent the company of Penitential persons as we do those that are affected with the Gout, Stone, or Ague. And though they evidently see that Christians, who fly into better Airs, and from infected habitations, survive the fury of the years Pestilence, when whole Cities of them perish and are depopulated with the Disease, yet so far is this opinion rooted amongst them, that they scruple not to strip the contagious shirt from the dead body, and to put it on their own, nor can they remove their abode from the Chambers of the sick; it being the custom in the families of Great Men to lodge many servants on different Palaces in the same room, where the diseased and healthful lie promiscuously together, from whence it hath happened often, that three parts of a *Palatine* Family, which perhaps hath consisted of Two hundred men, most youthful and lusty, have perished in the heat of *July* and *August* Pestilence. And in the same manner many whole Families every Summer have perished, and not one survivor left to claim the inheritance of the house; for want of which the Grand Signior hath become the Proprietor.

Though the *Mahometan* Law obliges them not to abandon the City, nor their Houses, nor avoid the conversation of men infected with the Pestilence where their business or calling employs them; yet they are counselled not to frequent a contagious habitation, where they have no lawful affair to invite them. But yet I have observed in the time of an extraordinary Plague, that the *Turks* have not confided so much to the precept of their Prophet, as to have courage enough to withstand the dread and terror of that slaughter sickness hath made: but have under other excuses fled to retired and private Villages, especially the *Cadets* and men of the Law, who being commonly of more refined wits and judgments than the generality, both by reason and experience have found that a wholesome Air is a preference of life, and that they have lived to return again to their own house in health and strength, when perhaps their next Neighbours have through their brutish ignorance been laid in their Graves. And this is the opinion most general and current with the *Turks*, who are called *Yahars*: There is another sort amongst them called *Kaders*.

CHAP. IX.

The difference of Sects and disagreement in Religion amongst the Turks in general.

There is no consideration more abstruse and full of distraction, than the contemplation of the most strange variety of Religions in the World: how it is possible that from the rational Soul of man, which in all Mankind is of little difference in it self, and from that one principle, which is the adoration of a Deity, should proceed such diversities of Faiths, such Fictions and Ideas of God, that all Ages and Countries have abounded with superstitious of different natures: And it is strange to consider, that Nations

who have been admirably wise, judicious and profound in the Maxims of their Government, should yet in matters of Religion give themselves over to believe the Tales of an old Woman, a *Pythonesse*, or the dreams and imaginations of a melancholy *Hermite*. And it is as strange that men who embrace the same Principles in Religion, and have the same true and infallible Foundation, should yet raise such different and disproportionate Fabricks, that most should make their Superstructure of Straw and Stubble, and but few of a substantial and durable Building, without uniformity, harmony or agreement each to other. For resolution of which difficulties, nothing can be said more than that the God of this World hath blinded the hearts of them that believe not, lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ who is the Image of God, should shine into them.

The *Mahometan* Religion is also one of the prodigious products of Reason's Superstitions, which hath brought forth nothing good, nor rational in this production, more than the Confection of one God. And yet even herein also are diversities of Sects, Opinions and Orders, which are maintained in opposition each to other, with Emulation and Zeal by the Professors, with heats, disputes and separations, terming the contrary parties prophane and unchristian, the particulars of which Sects and diversity in their Tenets, I shall as far as I have seen or could learn, set down and describe, having with the more curiosity and diligence made the stricter Enquiry, because I have not read any Author which hath given a satisfactory account of such Sects as are sprung up amongst them in their latter and modern times.

It is a common opinion, that there are seventy two sects amongst the *Turks*, but it is probable there are many more, if the matter were exactly known and scanned. The *Turkish* Doctors fanstie that the seventy two Nations which they call (*Temish eke Melet*) into which the World was divided upon the Confusion of the Languages of *Babel*, was a Type and a Figure of the divisions which in later Ages should succeed in the three most general Religions of the World. In this manner they account seventy different Sects among the Jews, seventy one amongst the Christians, and to the *Mahometan* they assign one more, as being the last and ultimate Religion, in which, as all fulness of true Doctrine is completed, so the Mystery of iniquity, and the deviation of mans judgment, by many paths from the right rule, is here terminated and confined.

The *Turks* have amongst themselves as well as in other Religious, Sects and Heresies of dangerous consequence, which daily increasing together with them many of the Christian Doctrines (which shall in their due place be described) and in former times also a sort of Fanatick *Mahometans* which at first met only in Congregations under pretence of Sermons and Religion, appeared afterwards in Troops armed against the Government of the Empire.

So one *Scheich* *Bedredin* Chief Justice of *Musa*, Brother to *Mahomet* the Fifth King of the *Turks*; after the death of his Master, was banished to *Nise* in *Asia*, where consulting with his servant *Burgulaz* his *Misapha*, by what means they might raise Sedition and second War; they agreed, the readiest course was by broaching a new Sect and Religion, and by persuading the people to something contrary to the ancient *Mahometan* superstition. Whereupon *Burgulaz* making his villany under a grave and serious countenance,

tenance, took his journey into *Adynis*, otherwise *Caria*, where he vented Doctrines properly agreeing to the humours of the people, preaching to them Freedom and Liberty of Conscience, and the Mystery of Revelations, and you may believe he used all arts in his persuasions, with which Subjects used to be allured to a Rebellion against their Prince, so that in a short time he contracted a great number of Disciples beyond his expectation. *Bedredin* perceiving his Servant thrive so well with his Preaching, fled from his place of Exile at *Nise* into *Valachia*, where withdrawing himself into a Forest like a devout Religious man, gathered a number of Profligates composed of Thieves, Robbers and Out-lawed peoples: these he having instructed in the principles of his Religion, sent abroad like Apostles to preach and teach the people that *Bedredin* was appointed by God to be the King of Justice, and that his *Edulbachers* of the whole World, and that his Doctrine was already embraced in *Asia*: The people taken with these Novelties, repaid in great numbers to *Bedredin*, who conceiving himself strong enough to take the Field, issued from his desert with Colours displayed, and an Army well appointed; and fighting with his deluded multitude a bloody Battle against those Forces which *Mahomet* sent to suppress him under his Son *Amurat's*; the deluded Rebels were overthrown, *Bedredin* taken Prisoner, and his pretences of Sanctity and Revelation were not available to save him from the Gallows.

And thus we see that the name of God's cause, revelations, liberty, and the like, have been old and common pretences and delusions of the World, and not only Christians, but Infidels, and *Mahometans* have wrote the name of God on their Banners, and brought the pretence of Religion into the Field to justify their cause.

CHAP. X.

Of the two prevailing Sects, viz. Of *Mahomet* and *Hali*; that is, the *Turk* and the *Persian*; the Errors of the *Persian* recounted and confuted by the Multi of Constantinople.

THE two great Sects among the followers of *Mahomet*, which are most violent each against other, the mutual hatred of which diversity of Education and Interest of the Princes have augmented, are the *Turks* and *Persians*: The first hold *Mahomet* to have been the chief and ultimate Prophet; the latter prefer *Hali* before him; and though he was his Disciple and succeeded him; yet his inspirations they esteem greater and more frequent, and his interpretations of the Law most perfect and Divine.

The *Turks* also accuse the *Persian* of corrupting the *Alcoran*, that they have altered words, misplaced the Comma's and Stops, that many places admit of a doubtful and ambiguous sense; so that those *Alcorans* which were upon the Conquest of *Babylon* brought thence to *Constantinople*, are separated, and compiled in the great *Stragila*, in a place apart, and forbidden with a Curse on any that shall read them. The *Turks* call the *Persians*, *Forsaken of God*, *abominable* and *blasphemers of the Holy Prophet*, so that when *Solyman* the First made War in *Persia*, he

named his Cause, the Cause of God, and proclaimed the occasion and ground of his War to be the Vindication of the cause of the Prophet; and revenge of the blasphemies the *Persians* had vented against him; and so far is this hatred radiated, that the Youth of what Nation soever is capable of admittance into the Schools of the *Seraglis*, excepting only the *Persians*, who are looked upon by the *Turks* as a people so far Apostatized from the true Belief, and fallen into so desperate an Estate by a total corruption of the true Religion, that they judge them altogether beyond hopes or possibility of recovery, and therefore neither give them quarter in the Wars, account them worthy of life or slavery.

Nor are the *Persians* on the other side ended with better nature of good will to the *Turks*, entraining themselves in the farthest manner from their Customs and Doctrines, rejecting the three great Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law, viz. *Edulbachers*, *Osman* and *Omar*, as Apocryphal and of no Authority; and have a Custom at their Marriages to erect the Images of those three Doctors of *Valle* or *Sugar* at the entrance of the Bridal Chamber, on which the Guests first calling their looks, leave the impression of any secret Magic which may issue from their eyes, to the prejudice or misfortune of the Married Couple; for in the Eastern parts of the World they hold that there is a strange fascination innate to the eyes of some people, which looking attentively on any, as commonly they do on the Bridegroom and the Bride in their Marriages, produce macerations and imbecillity in the body; and have an especial quality contrary to procreation; and therefore when the Guests are entered, having the Malignity of their eyes Arrested on these Statues, they afterwards cut them down and dissolve them.

And that it may the more plainly appear what points of Religion are most controverted amongst them, and what Anathemas and Curses are by both sides vented each against the other, this following Sentence passed by the *Majlis* *Esd* *Esfendi*, upon *Schah Abbas* Tutor to the King of *Persia*, called *Sari Halsefi*, and all the *Persians*, will be a sufficient testimony and evidence of the enmity and hatred that is between these two Nations; an Extract of which is here drawn from the Book it self, licensed and approved at *Constantinople*.

If you had, says he, no other Heresy than the rejection of these elevated families of *Mahomet*, viz. *Omar*, *Osman* and *Edulbachers*, your crime would notwithstanding be so great as were not expiable by a thousand years of Prayer or Pilgrimage in the sight of God; but you would be condemned to the bottomless Abyss of Hell, and deprived for ever of Celestial bliss, and this sentence of mine is confirmed by the same opinion of the *Imams*, viz. *Imam Azem*, *Imam Schahi*, *Imam Malik* and *Imam Hanebali*, and therefore I friendly admonish you to correct this error in your selves, and likewise your Scholar King *Abbas*.

Nor are you contented to pass with this single error, whereby you have gained the name of *Kyzilbashi*, that is, *Persian* Heretics, but you are become as abominable as the *Darzi* (a people that lives about Mount *Libanus*) at bad effect and reputation, corrupted in all points of Doctrine and Manners; so that I cannot but pass this black sentence upon you, that it is lawful in a Godly Zeal to kill and destroy you for the service of God; your Tenets being refuted by

Giafer Efendi, who hath branded the *Perfian*, for *Pagan*, and in seventy several places of the *Alchoran*, and the very words of *Mahomet* demonstrated the clearness of their error.

If the Christian only for saying there is a Trinity in God is condemned for Life and Estate, why should the *Perfian* expect better quarters, who is fligmatised for Heretic in twenty places of the *Alchoran*? And one of your detestable opinions of the first rank is,

That you esteem your selves obliged to assemble at the *Mosch*, but not to Prayers: for what signifies your meeting, if not to Prayers? *Mahomet* himself says, That he who repairs to the Congregation without a design of Prayer, is a Hypocrite and a Dissembler, is accursed of God; nor shall be blessed in his House or Estate, the good Angels shall abandon him, the Devils shall guard him, nor shall he ever prosper in this attend him, nor shall he ever prosper in this World, or in the World to come.

To answer hereunto you say, that the ancient Order of Priests is extinct, that you have none whose pious lives enable to preach and instruct you, or to be your leader to holy prayer in the Publick Assembly. Do there want pious and holy persons of the Race of *Mahomet*? if there do not, why do you not imitate and follow them? but you are Enemies, and excuse your selves from the use of Priests or *Imams*, because their innocence cannot equal that of Infants. In this point (it is true) you have something of reason; for your *Imams* are not only Infidels in Doctrine, but defiled in their conversation; and your King is your High Priest, frequent Sins, and the Syes of deformed Lust, ravishing fair and chaste Wives from the embraces of their Husbands; and that publicly in the face of the World, maintaining and countenancing them. And where the example of a Prince makes such things lawful, his Subjects, whether Soldiers or Lawyers, will make no scruple to imitate his actions.

Chapter to called. The Wife of Mahomet to called.

You deny the Verse called the *covering in the Alchoran*, to be authentic; you reject the eighteen Verses, which are revealed to us for the sake of the holy *Asche*.

At the *Abd* or Washing, you hold it not lawful to wash the bare feet, but only lightly stroke them over.

Your Mustachoes or hair on the upper Lip you never cut, but the Beard on the Chin, which is the honest Ornament of a man's countenance, you cut and clip into what form you please.

That holy Colour of Green appropriated to the Banner of *Mahomet*, which ought only to adorn the nobler parts, you in a despiteful of the honour of the Prophet, with an irreverent negligence, place it on your Shoes and Breaches.

Wine, which is an abomination to the true observers of the Law, you drink freely of, without scruple of Conscience; as also in Meats you make no distinction between clean and unclean, but use all with a like indifference. In short, should I mention all those seventy points wherein you err, and are without all comparison corrupt and erroneous, I should swell my writing to a Volume, and not attain my end, which is brevity.

Another sinful custom you permit amongst you, which is, for many Men to be joined to one Woman; for to whom of them can be appropriated the Off-spring that is born? What book have you, or Law, or example of any Nation to produce in approbation of this vice

and unnatural custom? How vile must those Children be who are the issue of such Parents? that it is no wonder there be none found amongst you worthy the holy Character of a Priest or a Judge.

But you cannot be so irrational, as to deny that the Assembling in *Mosch* to prayer, is necessary to Divine Service: *Mahomet* himself prayed together with the people, and sometimes preferred *Ebbecher* to celebrate the Divine Service, following him as others of the people did.

Why do not you ask your Pilgrims who came from *Meca*, what mean these four Altars in the *Mosch*, which are the places of prayer designed to the four several Orthodox Sects? Why take you not example from these? But you are still perverse and obdurate, haters of God and his Prophet; What will you answer at the day of Judgment before *Mahomet* and his four Friends? who long since being dead, you revive their Ashes with ignominy, erecting their Statues at your Marriages in vulgar, and afterwards in contempt how them down to yield pastime and occasion of laughter to the Spouses and their Guests.

Was not the first converted to the Faith, *Ebbecher*?

Was not *Omar* the bravest Champion of the *Mahometan* Religion against the Christians?

Was not he who dispersed the chaff of *Osman* the Chapters of the *Alchoran*, and most Learned bearer of the *Zulficar*, or the Sword with two points, was it not *Hali*? And were not *Imam Hussein*, and *Imam Hussein*, Martyrs of the Faith in the Deserts of *Kerbela*?

Did not *Mahomet* say with his own mouth, O *Hali*, for thy sake there are two fates of people, O predelinated to Hell, one that loves thee, and one that loves thee not? Are not you then one that loves thee not? And are not you then that wear red Turbans much to be condemned, that wear red Turbans much to be condemned, being of civil life and conversation, and not well inclined to the house of the Prophet, nor the family of the faithful, as it is written in the Book called *Adick*? The Christians converse the hoofs of that Ass on which Christ rode, and set them in Cases of Gold and Silver, and esteem it an extreme honour to have their Faces, when the people are called to pray, from the face of the Prophet.

Was not the bravest and most Learned bearer of the *Zulficar*, or the Sword with two points, was it not *Hali*? And were not *Imam Hussein*, and *Imam Hussein*, Martyrs of the Faith in the Deserts of *Kerbela*?

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That is, when the people are called to pray, from the face of the Prophet.

that is of the Believers, to kill, destroy, and exterminate you; so that as he who slays a rebellious Christian, performs a meritorious action in the sight of God; much rather he who kills a *Perfian*, shall obtain a reward seventy-fold from the fountain of Justice. And I hope that the Majesty of God in the day of Judgment will condemn you to be the Asses of the Jews, to be rode and hacknied in Hell by that despised people; and that in short time you will be exterminated both by us, the *Tartars*, the *Indians* and *Arabians*, our Brothers and Associates in the same Faith.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Ancient Sects and Heresies among the Turks.

THESE are four Sects into which the *Mahometans* of the ancient Orthodox belief are divided; and those are these.

The first is called *Hamiz*, which is professed in *Turkey*, *Tartary*, *Eubee*, and on the other side of *John*, *Babors* and *Ocus*.

The second is *Shaffe*, whose Customs and Rules the *Arabians* follow.

The third is *Malech*, to which *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Alger*, and other parts of *Africa* devote themselves.

The fourth is *Hambelle*, of which are but few, and is known only in some parts of *Arabia*.

The first four are all accounted Orthodox, and are followers of certain Doctors (as we may say amongst Christians, Scholars of *Augustine*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Dominicus*, or the like) and have only differences as to ceremonies, postures in their prayers, washings, diversities in some points of their Civil Laws; and each maintains a charitable opinion of the other, as true Believers, and capable of entering into Paradise, if their life and conversation be regulated according to their Profession and Tenets.

All *Mahometans* according to the Countries wherein they live, come under the notion of one of these four preceding Professions; but yet are nominated with other names and differences of Sects, according as they follow the opinions which some superstitious and Schismatical Preachers amongst them have vented; and those commonly known and marked with the names of ancient Heresies by the respective Opinions, which may properly be called so, because they are conversant in their Doctrines concerning the Attributes and Unity of God, his Decrees and Judgments, his Promises and Threatnings, and concerning the prophecies and gifts of Faith, are especially these which stand in opposition each to other, viz.

<i>Moazzali</i>	<i>Sepbati</i>
<i>Kadari</i>	<i>Gishari</i>
<i>Morgi</i>	<i>Waidi</i>
<i>Shii</i>	<i>Chamrigi</i>

From each of these Sects, as from so many roots arise several Branches of different Doctrines, as according to the Tenets of the Turkish Doctors comprise the number of seventy two.

Moazzali signifies as much as Separatists; the reason of which denomination, was from *Albasan*

the Scholar of *Wafid Ebu Abu*, the Author and Master of this Sect, to who the question being propounded, whether those who had committed a gross sin, were to be adjudged condemned, and fallen from the Faith? the Scholar *Albasan* instead of expecting the resolution of his Master, withdrew himself, and began to interpret his sense thereof to his other Fellow-Disciples, from which withdrawing of himself they were afterwards denominated *Moazzali*, which is Separatists. But the name they give themselves is the Defenders of the Equity and Unity of God, in declaration of the manner of which they so differ among themselves, that they are divided into two and twenty Sects, which are maintained with that passion on all sides, that every party accuses his opposites of Infidelity. But the principle in which their wrangling Sophisters accord in common, is this, That God is eternal, and that Eternity is an Attribute most properly agreeable to his Essence; but yet they reject the attribute it self, saying, that God is eternal, wife, powerful, and the like, by his own entire and single essence; but yet they say he is not eternal by his eternity, nor wife by his wisdom, nor powerful by his power, for fear of admitting any multiplicity in the Deity, or incurring the like error as they say of the Christians, who divide and dishonour the Unity of God, by the conceptions they frame of the three persons in the Trinity. And if the Christians are to be blamed for introducing three Eternals, how much more are those who frame as many Eternals as there are Attributes to the Deity?

Another four derived from this Sect called *Hamiz*, hold that Christ suffered a true and natural body, and was the Eternal Incarnate, as the Christians profess; and in their Creed or Belief have inserted this Article, That Christ shall come to judge the World at the last day, and for proof hereof alledge an Authority out of the *Alchoran* in these words, *Thou Mahomet shalt see thy Lord return in the Clouds*: which though they fear expressly in plain terms to interpret of Christ, yet they confidently affirm it to be prophesied of the *Mosch*, and in discourse confess that that *Mosch* can be no other than Christ, who shall return with the same humane flesh again into the World, Reign Forty Years on Earth, confound Antichrist, and afterwards shall be the end of the World.

Another sort of the Professors of the Sect of *Moazzali*, are *Shi*, whose first Author was *Isa ibn Merdad*; these maintain that the *Alchoran* was created, contrary to the express word of *Mahomet*, who Authentically said, that the *Alchoran* was revealed by the Angel Gabriel, and that the *Alchoran* was delivered by *Mahomet*, was but a Copy transcribed out of that wrote by God and laid in the Library of Heaven, and that when their Prophet denies the Creation of the *Alchoran*, he hath no reference to the Original, but to his own hand-writing which he had Copied, and extracted from the first, and infallible exemplar.

These also further proceed to deny against the common Tenet of the *Mahometans*, the incomparable and Matchless Eloquence of the *Alchoran*; asserting that were it not prohibited, other *Arabians* might be found, who could far transcend every line of it in Wisdom and Rhetoric; which in my opinion is a strange kind of Impudence in the very face of their Prophet, who

seems to be too proud of the exact disposition, and full signification of every word, that he judges it not less charming for the sweet sound of its Eloquence, than it is convincing for the purity and truth of its Doctrine.

Sephari.

The great Antagonists to the *Mostazeli*, are the *Sephari*, who Affirm in God Eternal Attributes of Knowledge, Power, Life, &c. And some of them proceed so far, and grossly herein, that they frame conceptions of corporeal Organs of Sense, as of Hearing, Seeing and Speech, to be in God's affirming that those expressions of God's sitting in his Throne, Creation of the World by the work of his Hands, his Anger against Sin, Repentance for man's Conveyance, which we call *Alphonsiones*, are to be taken in the literal and plain sense, and have no need of farther fetched interpretations to clear the true notop of them: But yet herein their *Doctrines* seem not to agree, some defining a body to be the same as, *per se subsistens*, denying it to be an essential propriety of a body to be circumscribed and finite; others conclude that it is enough to say that God is great, without argument of his circumscription, or determination to any particular place, with many other strange conceits, whereby are made apparent the raving Fancies of Ignorant Men, without the Rules or Grounds of *Philosophy* or *Metaphysics*. But the soberest Sort amongst them, who would appear more moderate and wiser than the rest, forbid their Scholars to make Comparison of the Sects in God, with those of the Creature, who being more fully urged by their severe opponents the *Mostazeli*, they were forced to declare themselves more plainly, in this manner: That the God which they worshipped was a Figure, Visible, and an object of the Sight, consisting of parts Spiritual and Corporal, to which local Motion might be ascribable, but that his Flesh and Blood, his Eyes and Ears, his Tongue and Hands were not of any similitude with created substances, but were of another Crasis and Mixture which subjected them to no Dissemper or Corruption; in proof whereof, they alleged the words of *Mabomet*, *That God created Man after his own likeness*: And all others of those examples drawn from the Holy Scriptures with which the *Alchoran* is filled, and where in familiar expressions, the Divinity is pleased to condescend to the infirmity of humane Capacity.

Kadari.

The next Sect is that of the *Kadari*, who deny wholly the Divine Decree or Predetermination, affirming that every man is a free Agent, from whose will as from the first principle all good and bad actions flow and are derived; so that as with just reason God crowns man's good Works with the Rewards of Bliss and Felicity, so on the other justly punishes his evil Actions in this World and in the next to come; and this they style the Doctrine of Equity, and define it to be a measure of man's actions, according to which the prime Intellect hath drawn out by wisdoms proportions. This opinion is absolutely rejected as heterodox in the *Mahometan* Religion; and yet it is not fully determined how *Mabomet* moderated in the dispute between *Adam* and *Moset*, whom an *Arabian* Doctour comically introduced, pleading and justifying themselves before God. *Moset*, beginning first, reproached *Adam*, that he was one, immediately created by the proper hand of God, in whom the Divine Nature breathed the Breath of Life, whom Angels were made to adore, pla-

ced and seated in Paradise, and fortified with actual graces against the envious and crooked irregularities of inferior affections; from which happy state that he should fall and precipitate Mankind, together with himself, his crime was aggravated with all the degrees of his former perfection. *Adam* to excuse himself, replied in this manner. Thou *Moset* whom God hath called to a familiar parity, revealed his Will and Pleasure unto in those engraven Tables, where all Morality and Virtue is contained, relieve me this one Quere and difficult Problem. How many years before I was created, dost thou find that the Law was wrote? *Moset* answered, Forty. And did you find, reply'd *Adam*, that *Adam* rebelled against his Lord and sinned? to which *Moset* answering in the affirmative. Do you blame me then, said he, for executing that which God forty years before predestinated and designed me unto? and not only forty years, but many Myriads of Ages before either the Heavens or Earth were framed. *Mabomet* confounded, as the *Kadari* report with this Argument, left the question undetermined, though his followers, as Men are most prone to errour generally, entertain the contrary Tenet.

The great Enemies diametrically opposed to *Jahari*, these are the *Jahari* or *Giabari*, who maintain that a man hath no power over his Will or Actions, but is wholly moved by a Superior Agent, and that God hath a power over his Creatures, to design them to Happiness or to Misery, as seems best to his Divine pleasures; but in the explication of this opinion they proceed in the most rigorous manner, and say that man is wholly necessitated and compelled in all his actions; that neither his Will, nor Power, nor Election is in himself; and that God creates in him his actions, as he doth in Inanimate and Vegetable creatures the first principle of their Life and Effluence; and as the Tree may be said to produce Fruit, the Water to run, the Stone to move downwards, so are the Actions in Man, for which yet there is a reward and a punishment properly and necessarily allotted. This point is very subtly controverted by the *Arabian* Doctours, to which how the *Turks* are addicted, we shall farther discourse in the Chapter of Predetermination.

The Sect of *Morgi*, are the great Favourers *Morgi*, and Patrons of the *Mahometan* Religion, maintaining that a *Musliman* or Believer, though guilty of the grossest sins, is not punished for them in this World, nor receives his absolution or condemnation after death, until the day of Resurrection and Judgment; and farther, that as impiety with the true belief shall never be punished; so Piety and good Works proceeding from a false and erroneous Faith, is of no validity or power conducing to the fruition of the joys of Paradise. And to these may not improperly be compared some Sectaries in *England*, who have vented in their Pulpits that God sees no sin in his Children; and that the Infidelity of *Sarah*, being of the house of the faithful, is more acceptable to God, than the Atheism, *Evangel* and Repentance of an erroneous Believer, without the Pale and Covenant of Grace.

The opposite Sect to these are the *Waidi*, who *Waidi* esteem that a man fallen into any great or mortal sin, is put into the condition of a defecator of his Faith; and though he be a professor of the true Belief, shall yet without recovery for ever be punished in Hell; but yet that his torments shall be in a more remiss degree than that

of Infidels: But that opinion which in this point is esteemed Orthodox amongst the *Turks*, is this. That a sinner in a high nature going out of this World without repentance, is wholly to be committed to the pleasure of God, either to pardon him for his mercy, or for the intercession of the Prophet *Mabomet*, according to what he faith in the *Alchoran*, *My intercession shall be for those of my own People who have greatly sinned*; that being the first purified according to the measure of their iniquity, they may afterwards in compassion be received into Paradise; for it is impossible they should for ever remain in the eternal flames with the Infidels; because it is revealed to us, that whoever hath but the weight of an Atom remaining in his heart of Faith, shall in due time be released from fiery torments; for which cause some sects amongst the *Turks* use Prayers for the dead, and place their Cemeteries always by the side of Highways, the Passengers may be remembered of their own Mortality, and pray for the Souls of those departed; of which we shall have occasion to discourse hereafter. The fictions the *Mahometans* frame of Hell, are as ridiculous as those they fanic of Paradise: For they imagine when they shall be called by *Mabomet* from this Purgatory at the day of Judgment, the way to him is over Iron Bars red hot with Fire, over which they must pass with naked Feet; only the Paper which they in their life time have taken from the ground and conferred from being trampled on by the Feet of Men and Beasts, shall at that day be thrown on the Bars of this hot passage, that they may pass that fire Ordial with less torment; which is the reason the *Turks* fee no small piece of Paper on the ground, but they immediately stoop for it; and place it in some secret corner of a Wall, to redeem that (as they say) from the dishonour of mens feet, on which the name of God is or may be wrote, and with expectation to enjoy the benefit, if it never the soles of their feet shall touch the intense heat of this burning Iron. The same respect also they shew to Rose-leaves, in consideration (as they believe) that a Rose was produced from the sweat of *Mabomet*.

Chap.

The *Shii* are the Sect spoken of before, opposed by the Subjects of the whole *Ottoman* Empire, as the most heretical of any of the rest, in regard they prefer *Ali* before *Mabomet* in the Prophetic Office, and retreat the Prophetic gift to the natural line derived from *Ali*, and that none is worthy of the Title of a Prophet, who is guilty of sin though of the lower nature; some of which Professors called *Alinofairi*, affirm that God appeared in the form of *Ali*, and with his Tongue proclaimed the most hidden Mysteries of Religion; and some have proceeded yet farther, to attribute to their Prophets divine honours, asserting them to be elevated above the degree and state of the Creatures: their expectation of their Prophet *Ali* in the Clouds, and have placed that belief as an Article of their Faith, from whence may seem to be grounded that mistake amongst our vulgar, that the *Turks* believe *Mabomet* shall again return into the World.

Chawarigi.

To the foregoing are opposed the *Chawarigi*, who deny that there is or hath been any such Function as that of a Prophet, allowed by God in any particular person; nor any ever sent into the World endued with that power of Infallibility, to resolve doubts, and teach and impose a new Law on Mankind; but if at any time such an Office should be necessary, it must be

restrained to one Lineage: for the person being faithful and just, no matter whether he be a Servant or Free, a *Nababean* or a *Korajshite*.

These are ancient Sects amongst the professors of the *Mahometan* Religion, out of which arose so many others as by the confession of the *Turkish* Doctours complete the number of seventy three. But because the accurate search into so many is of little delight or profit to the Reader, I shall content my self with having given him a taste of these foregoing premises; and shall now give an account how built these modern times have been at *Constantinople* in hammering out strange forms and chimera's of Religion, the better to acquit *England* from the accusations of being the most Subject to religious innovation, the World attributing much thereof to the air and constitution of its Climate.

C H A P. XII.

Concerning the New and Modern Sects amongst the Turks.

ALL Ages and times have produced their Sects and Heresies in every Religion; and therefore we shall proceed in declaring some few there are of a sadder date than those in the foregoing Chapter, and so shall continue to defend to others which this present Age hath begot.

Zeidi maintains that God will send a Prophet of the Persians with a Law by which shall be annulled the Law of *Mabomet*.

A second to this is derived from the *Mostazeli*, that denies any man can be styled a Saint in this World, excepting the Prophets, who were without sin; and that the true Believers shall in the next World see God as clearly as we see the Moon at full; against the Doctrine of *Mabomet*, who says God is invisible either to us in this world, or the next.

There are also those called *Malameti*, who maintain God is perfectly to be known in this World; and that by the Doctrine of *Cagnosce scriptum*, the Creature proceeds to the perfect knowledge of his Creatour.

The Opponents to these are *Mazanabulhi*, who hold that they which know God only in this World by sense glimmerings and rays of his Glory and Effluence, is sufficient to lead them into Paradise, and rank them in the number of the faithful.

Another sort there are called *Jahaiab*, which denies God's Omnipotence, affirming that God governs the World by Chance and Accidents, not comprehending from Eternity or at the Creation of the World, a perfect certainty of the particular Affairs that were to be transacted in it, and that God improves in knowledge by time, as men do by constant practice and experience.

We shall not insist here to multiply many of these Sects, who have almost as many diversities amongst the *Turks*, as there are Schools and Masters; every *Hogia* that is but a Form above a meer Pedagogue, and reads a few Books of the *Arabian* Fables, esteems himself of mean account, or some singular opinion, which he instills into his Disciple, he distinguishes not his Gymnasium from the common and inferior Schools. But these

* One of vulgar or rude sort amongst the *Arabians*.
† One of a noble family amongst the *Arabians*.

That called *Zeidi* is one of the latest editions. Derived from the *Mostazeli*.

Mazanabulhi.

Jahaiab.

Kind of a *Shii*, Mr. Pococke de *Astorian* *Arabum*.

these men in framing their particular fancies, and venting their follies, have a special care that none of their principles oppose those five points of practice, and one of faith, mentioned in the first Chapter of this Book, which are the essential points that constitute a *Mahometan*; or derogate from the Authority of their Governments, or produce factions or disturbances in the State.

But these modern times have produced other Sects amongst the *Turks*, some of which seem in part dangerous, and apt to make a considerable rupture in their long continued union; when time changes, and revolutions of State shall animate more turbulent spirits, to gather Soldiers and Followers under their Doctrines and other specious pretences.

Kadere-
delli.

One of which is call *Kadereadeli*, a Sect sprung up in the time of *Sultan Morat*, whose chief Propagator was one *Burgali Effendi*, who invented many Ceremonies in praying for the Souls departed, at the burial of the dead. Those that are of this Sect call their *Imam* to cry loud in the ears of the inanimate body, to remember that God is one, and his Prophet one. Those who are principally devoted to this Sect, are the *Russians* and other sort of Renegade Christians, who amongst their confused, and almost forgotten notions of the Christian Religion, retain a certain Memory of the particulars of Purgatory, and Prayers for the Dead.

But the opinion esteemed Orthodox, and most generally allowed amongst the *Turks*, is, That no *Mahometan* goes eternally to Hell, but after a certain space of years is delivered thence, and passes into Paradise: After death they assign two sorts of punishments; the first is called *Acaba*, *Robert*, or the punishment of the Grave which being the bed of wicked men, binds with its Earth so fast as it crushes their bones, and thus the pores and crevices through which they should see into Heaven; but the bodies of good men enjoy the comfort of having a window from their dark inclosure, to behold the Vision of God's glory. The other is the pain of Hell, where the souls remain until their torments are accomplished, and Divine Justice satisfied.

Chapme-
fah.

There is an opinion of late years principally maintained among the Gallants of the *Seraglio*, and common in *Constantinople*, the professors of which are called *Chapme-fah*, or the good followers of the *Messiah*; these maintain that Christ is God and Redeemer of the World; the young Scholars in the Grand Signior's Court are generally devoted to this Tenet, especially those which are the most courteous, affable, and best disposed; that it is grown into a Proverb amongst them, when they would commend and praise gentleness and courtesy of each others nature, they do it with the expression of *Chapme-fah*, as if they would say, You are gentle, accomplished and excessive in your favours, as becomes one who professes the *Messiah*. Of this sort of people there are great numbers in *Constantinople*, some of which have so boldly asserted this Doctrine, that they have suffered Martyrdom under this denomination, which is still maintained, and secretly professed by such multitudes as wear white Turbants, that upon some notable opportunity were this Cause and Religion made the ground of some rich, and Toleration amongst its Disciples and Professors, it might take an unexpected footing, and prepare a ready way for the Plantation of the Gospel: but of this we shall speak more hereafter in its due place.

And because it is our intent here to declare the several Religions amongst the *Turks*, it will not be from our purpose to mention how far Atheism hath spread it self into the Countries; and as Logicians illucidate one contrary with another, and Painters set off the Whiteness of their Colours with a foil of Jet, or other Blackness; so the privation of all Religion is not unwisely placed in the same Chapter with the various and different professors of it.

These then give themselves the Title of *Masfirin*, *Masfirin*.

which signifies, The true secret is with us: which secret is no other than the absolute denial of a Deity, that nature or the intrinsic principle in every individual thing directs the orderly course which we see and admire; and that the Heavens, Sun, Moon and Stars have thence their original and motion, and that man himself rises and tides like the grass or flower: It is strange to consider, what quantities there are of men that maintain this principle in *Constantinople*, most of which are *Kadies* and learned men in the *Arabick* Legends, and others are Renegades from the Christian Faith, who conscious of the sin of their Apostasy, and therefore desirous that all things may conclude with this World, are the more apt to entertain those opinions which come nearest to their wishes. One of this Sect call *Mahomet Effendi*, a rich man, Educated in the knowledge of the Eastern Learning, I remember was in my time executed for impudently proclaiming his blasphemies against the being of a Deity; making it in his ordinary discourse, an argument against the being of a God, for that either there was none at all, or else not so wise as the Doctours preached he was, in suffering him to live who was the greatest enemy and foe of a Divine Essence that ever came into the World. And it is observable, that this man might, notwithstanding his accusation, have saved his life, would he but have confuted his error, and promised for the future an assent to the principles of a better: But that though there was in his blasphemies, saying, That though there were no reward, yet the love of truth obliged him to die a Martyr. I must confess until now, I never could believe that there was a formal Atheism in the World, concluding that the principle (of the being of a God) was demonstrable by the Light of Nature; but it is evident now how far some men have extinguished this light and lamp in their Souls.

This poisonous Doctrine is so infectious, that it is crept into the Chambers of the *Seraglio*, into the Apartments of the Ladies and Eunuchs and found entertainment with the *Pashas* and their whole Court; this sort of People are great favourers and lovers of their own Sect, courteous and hospitable to each other; and if any by chance receives a Guest within his Gates of their own judgment, besides his Diet and Fare with much freedom, he is accommodated with a handsome Bedfellow of which Sex he most delights: they are very frank and liberal, and excessive in their readiness to do each other service; It is said, that *Sultan Morat* was a great favourer of this opinion in his Court and Militia, desirous whilst to propagate that of *Kadereadeli* amongst the vulgar, that they being a fever, morose and covetous people, might grow rich, and spare for the benefit of his Exchequer; for the Sect of *Kadereadeli* before-mentioned, is of a melancholy and Stoical temper, admitting of no Music, cheerful or light discourses, but confine themselves to a set Gravity; in public

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as well as private they make a continual mention of God; by a never wearied repetition of these words *Ilabe ille Elab*; that is, I profess there is one God: There are some of these that will fit whole nights bending their bodies towards the Earth, reciting these words with a most doleful and lamentable Note: they are exact and most punctual in the observation of the rules of Religion, and generally add themselves to the study of their Civil Law, in which they use constant exercises in arguing, opposing and answering, whereby to leave no point undiscussed or not diffused. In short, they are highly Pharisaical in all their comportment, great admirers of themselves, and scorners of others that conform not to their Tenets, scarce affording them a salutation or common communication; they refuse to marry their Sons with those of a different Rite, but amongst themselves they observe a certain Policy; they admonish and correct the disorderly, and such who are not bettered by their persuasions, they reject and excommunicate from their Society. These are for the most part Tradesmen, whose sedentary life affords opportunity and nutriment to a melancholy and discontented fancy.

But those of this Sect who strangely mix Christianity and *Mahometanism* together, are many of the Soldiers that live on the confines of *Hungary* and *Bosnia*; reading the Gospel in the *Sclavonian* Tongue, with which they are supplied out of *Ragusa*; besides which, they are curious to learn the Myteries of the *Alcoran*, and the Law of the *Arabick* Tongue; and not to be accounted rude and illiterate, they affect the Courtly Persian. They drink Wine in the month of Fash called the *Ramazan*; but to take off the scandal they reluse Cinamon or other Spices in it, and then call it *Hardali*, and passes current for lawful Liquor. They have a Charity and Affection for Christians, and are ready to protect them from injuries and violences of the *Turks*: They believe yet that *Mahomet* was the Holy Ghost promised by Christ; and that the descending of the Holy Spirit on the day of *Pentecost*, was a Figure and Type of *Mahomet*, interpreting in all places the word *mpdaxw*, to signify their Prophet, in whose Ear the white Dove revealed the Infalible directions to happiness. The *Pashas* of *Bosnia* are of this Sect, but pay Taxes as Christians do; they abhor Images and the Sign of the Cross; they circumscribe, bringing the Authority of Christ's example for it, which also the *Cypriots*, a Sect of the *Greek* Church, imitated; but have now, as I am informed, lately disused that custom.

Another subtle point about the Divine Attributes hath begot a Sect amongst the *Janizaries*, called *Bekefachi*, from one *Bekefah*, which seems an improper subject to deep in the Metaphysical speculation to trouble such gross heads as theirs; they began (as it is said) in the time of *Soliman* the Magnificent, and are called by some *Zerats*; that is, those who have Copulation with their own Kindred, and by the vulgar *Mumfoundedaren*, or extinguishers of the Candle. This Sect observe the Law of *Mahomet* in Divine Worship, with a strictness and superstition above any of the Precians of that Religion: but hold it unlawful to adjoin any Attributes to God, by saying that God is great, or God is merciful, by reason that the nature of God being infinite and incomprehensible, cannot fall under the weak and imperfect conceptions of man's understanding,

which can imagine nothing applicable to his Nature. Of this Sect there was a famous Poet amongst the *Turks*, called *Nemsi*, that was dead alive, for saying, when the *Emam* called the People to prayers, at the ordinary hours from the Steeple with the usual word, *Allah Ekber*, God is one. That he lied, upon the supposition that no Epithete can be predicated of the Divine Essence. Amongst the *Janizaries* are at present many principal Commanders of this Sect; but formerly were more in the time of *Bekefah Aga*, *Kul Kabay*, *Mahomet Aga*, and others, who for their Rebellion in *Constantinople* (as we related before) were put to death under the Historical Pillar in the time of this present Emperors minority. These people against the idol of nature use Carnal Copulation promiscuously with their own Kindred, the Fathers mixing with their Sons and Daughters, without respect to proximity of blood or nearness in the degrees of relation, suffering themselves to be transported contrary to the abhorrence of Nature, by a weak and illogical comparison of the lawfulness and reason, that he who engrafted the Tree, and planted the Vine, should rather taste of the Fruit, than resign the benefit of his labours to the enjoyment of others; and in this Argument act against the inclination of innate modesty, according to that of *Seneca*,

*Fera quoque ipse Veneris evitant nefas,
Generisque leges infans servat pudor,*

These people are easily induced to give false witness or testimony in the favour of their Sect, without consideration of Equity or reasonableness of their cause: by which means invading the right of others, they became rich and powerful, until they were debased by the deprivation of *Bekefah* Authority, and Power of other potent favours of their Sect: and though afterwards upheld by *Sudgi Bekher*, a Standard-Bearer of the *Janizaries*, a rich and learned man, they received a second blow by his death, he executed by a *Vizier Kapriali Mahomet*, for his diversity in Religion and Wealth together; but further animosity against this Sect was kindled at that time, by reason of the multitude of those professors in *Constantinople*, and because reason of State law it at that time necessary to draw blood in many parts of the Empire for other causes than for errors in Religion.

The Sect called *Sabih*, though *Mahometans* in profession, seem yet to run contrary to the dream and general consent of all its professors, who give themselves commonly the Title of Enemies and Confounders of Idolatry, and yet these notwithstanding seem from the influence the Sun and Moon have on sublimary bodies, of all living sensitive Creatures to conclude a certain Divinity in those common Lights of the World. In *Constantinople* there are some few Astrologers and Physicians of this Sect, but in *Parthia* and *Media* they are numerous, the Men commonly worshipping the Sun, and the Women the Moon, and others the Artick Pole; they are not strict in a severity of life, or in the conformity to the prescriptions of their Law, but govern themselves with morality and prudence. They are not apt to believe the immortality of the Soul, nor the reward of Virtue, or punishment of Vice in the next World; nor prone to vindicate themselves from injuries reproachful language, or other evil actions of men, but regarding them as the natural effects of the Celestial influences, are no more provoked

by

by them than we are with a shower of Rain for wetting us, or the intense heat of the Sun in the Summer Solstice.

Munafih, is a Sect purely Pythagorical, which believes the Metempsychosis or Transmigration of Souls, of which there are some in *Constantinople*, one *Albertus Bobovius* a *Polonian* by Nation, but educated in the *Straggle*, and instructed in all the Learning of the *Turkish* Literature (from whom I freely confess to have received many of my observations) related to me a pleasant discourse that passed between him and a Dorgitt at *Constantinople* touching this subject. This Dorgitt being Learned, was the occasion that *Albertus* frequented his Shop the oftner; and once being after some familiar acquaintance at a Colation together, it chanced that a black Dog giving them interruption at their Banquet, that *Albertus* kicked him to drive him to a farther distance; at which the Dorgitt growing pale and disordered, *Albertus* guessed by his countenance that he was displeased at this unkindness towards the Dog; and therefore desired his pardon if thereby he had given him any subject of offence: the Dorgitt being thus pacified with the courteous of his Guest, advised him to ask pardon of God, for that it was no small crime and sin that he thereby committed. This happening at the same time that the Funerals of a *Mufti* called *Bokai Efendi*, were then solemnizing, afforded an occasion of discourse concerning the Soul of the *Mufti* and Dog together; the Dorgitt demanding the opinion of his Guest whether he conceived the Soul of that *Mufti* was predestinated to remain within the confines of the Grave, until the day of Resurrection? in the knowledge of which question *Albertus* seeming wholly ignorant, and desirous to understand the solution from him: the Dorgitt began freely to declare that the Souls of men do not enter into Bodies of beasts, which are in temperament most agreeable to the dispositions of those whom before they animated: as the Soul of the Glutton enters into the Swine, the Soul of the Lascivious into the Goat, of the Generous into the Horse, of the Vigilant into a Dog, and so the like; in proof of which he producing a Book treating of all the distinctions of Nature, and the proper assignments for their habitation after death: Adding moreover, that of his opinion it was pity there were so few in *Constantinople*, some there were, and those all of one Trade and Profession, but that at *Grand Cairo* were great numbers, strict adherers to this Doctrine: that for his part he prayed to God with the rest of his Brothers of the same Trade, that their Souls may hereafter be so honoured as to inform the body of the *Camel*, because they are Beasts that are laborious, abstemious, patient and meek, and bring their Dorgies from the remotest part of the East: and that he did not doubt but after the Circle of 3365 years, that his Soul had travelled for several Ages through the World, and wandered from the body of one *Camel* to animate another, it should with the vicissitude of time return again to a humane body, more purified and refined than in its first Principles. And this was the *Credo* of the Dorgitt, to which opinion it is said all *China* is greatly devoted.

Eshbraki, which signifies illuminated, is a Sect purely Platonical, contemplative of the Divine Idea, and the number in God; for though they hold the Unity, yet they deny not the Trinity, as a number proceeding from the Unity; which conception of theirs they usually illustrate by three

folds in a Handkerchief which may have the denomination of three; but being extended, is but one entire piece of Linen. These men are no great admirers of the composition of the *Alchoran*; what they meet therein agreeable to their principles, they embrace and produce as occasion serves in confirmation of their Doctrine; other rejects, and style abrogated: and because they apprehend that the true beatitude and bliss of Paradise consists in the contemplation of the Divine Majesty, they condemn all the fancies and gross conceptions of Heaven, which *Mahomet* hath framed to allure and draw the mind of rude and gross men. Of this Sect are all the *Scheghs* or able Preachers that belong to the *Royal Mosques* or Churches; who are men constant in their devotions, abstemious in their diet, of a cheerful countenance, and taking behaviour, great lovers of Harmony and Music, of an indifferent strain in Poetry, whereby they compose certain Songs in Metre, for entertainment of their Auditory. They are likewise generous and compassionate of humane frailty; and are not Covetous, Stoical, or Conceited of themselves, by which means their behaviour is rendered extremely taking through all *Constantinople*; they are greatly delighted with an ingenious Aspect in youth, and from thence gather matter of contemplation on the comeliness of the increased beauty: they are addicted to entertain a charitable affection for their neighbours, because (as they lay) he is a Creature of God, from whom our love is converted to the Creator. Their Disciples they procure, as much as possible, to be men of comely and pleasing countenances; and Majestic presence, whom they instruct in all the rules of Abstinence, gravity, and other virtues most appropriate to their Sect. And these of all sorts of *Turky* seem worthy of the best Character, whom I compassionate, for not being born within the Pale of a Christian Church, nor duly instructed in the Mystery of Christianity, to which they seem by their morality and virtues already to have prepared many previous dispositions.

A Sect much different to that immediately foregoing is the *Hairiti*, signifying amazed, and doubtfull in determination of any controversies, who can endure any thing rather than to controvert opinions, and dispute one question in chafe of truth: they will neither undertake to persuade or dissuade, but like the Academicks affirm that falsity may be by the wit and contrivance of man be dressed in a habit as not to be distinguished from truth it self; and on the contrary, truth may be so disguised with Sophistry and Delusions as to be rendered as deformed and ugly, as falsehood, and therefore they conclude all questions to be merely probable, and no ways admitting of certain demonstration: so that in points of dubious controversies their common sayings are, *Allah Bilur*, God knows, *bize keranuk*, it is unknown to us, and such like expressions favouring of negligence and a brutish want of curiosity to search into the Studies of Arts and Sciences. Of this Sect some notwithstanding are Preachers, and from that degree are promoted to the Office of *Mufti*, in which they behave themselves according to their affected carelessness, with a readiness and facility to subscribe all sentences to the satisfaction and in favour of the demandant; adding for the most part these words, *Weli Allah elim gibnah*, God knows that which is best. As to the manner of their life and practice, they are punctual observers of the Rites of the

the *Mahometan* Religion and Constitutions of their Civil Law, but much incline to yield to the course of their own nature, and the force of passion; they drink Wine not to appear Cynical or unbecomable, but more generally add it themselves to Eleutherias composed of *Opium*, which tends to augment their natural insatiation; and when they are overcome with the obscenity of this vapour, whatsoever you affirm, though never so contradictory, they readily assent to, not so much (as they confess) from a persuasion to one proposition more than another, but of a pleasing compliance to their companions, which humour the nature of their Sect allows of. And though they stile the *Eshbraki* Dogmatical and obdurate Opinators, yet by experience it is observed that the *Mufites* Educated in the *Eshbrakian* Schools have been much more fortunate than those of the *Hairitian* Sect; because the former having a certain Foundation of principles, have been cautious in signing *Fetvas*, or delivering their Sentence in the resolution of weighty Matters of State, chusing rather to renounce their Office, than their reason. But the others being negligent and incautious in their determinations, as if fortune did direct them more to the true part than solidity of judgment; have been always free and open in their Sentences; by which means events of State falling out unhappily, and the miscarriage attributed to the counsel of the *Mufiti*, they have been often subject to the punishment of banishment or death than their Opponents.

We shall not proceed to swell this Work with a longer Catalogue of these Sects, lest we should seem over-tedious to the Reader, and instead of pleasing his Palate, should over-charge his Stomach; otherwise we might proceed to recite: as many Sects as there are Towns or Schools in the Empire; in every one of which some practical Preacher or other have always started a new opinion, which can never want Disciples. And certainly the diversity of opinions in *Turky* is almost infinite, and more numerous than in *England*, or other parts of Christendom, though commonly not proceeding from the same malice, nor laid with the same design to the prejudice of the State: the reason of this variety amongst the *Turky* I attribute to the many Religions which voluntarily, and for interest, or by force have entered into the *Mahometan* superstition, many of which being *Grecians*, and instructed in the Arts and Sciences with which that Empire once flourished, which was the Mine and Treasury of Philosophy and Learning, did afterwards mix with their new Religions (not being wholly satisfied with the *Alemban*) certain Traditions and Opinions of the ancient Philosophers: And several other Nations, as *Russians*, *Moscovites*, *Cheremians*, and the like, retaining some few remains of their first Notions and Principles, make a further addition to this ill compounded medley, which also receiving some difference and variety as they increased and were propagated, have multiplied into a number both unprofitable and tedious to search farther into.

the former of which doubtless their Monasteries and Orders of Religious men were introduced; most of which incline to a pretended mortification and strictness of life; to Poverty, and Renunciation of the Worlds enjoyments, according to the devotion of Christians a thousand years past, whose pious and exemplary lives drew Infidels to extract a rough Copy of their elevated virtues.

I have been the more curious in making an exact enquiry into the Customs, Institutions, and Doctrines of the *Mahometan* Convents, because I find relations hereof sparingly scattered in other Books, and that obscurely without punctuality or certainty: But I shall promise my Reader to deliver nothing herein, but what I have good Authority for, and taken from the mouth of the most Learned of their *Scheghs* or Preachers, which are the Heads or Superiors of these Societies.

The Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law inform me, that their Religious Houses and Institutions, are as ancient as *Mahomet*, from whom general orders and institutions were derived from their economy, first to his Disciple *Halis*; but our *Turkish History* and other Records make no mention of these Monasteries, till within these Three hundred and fifty years, in the time of *Orchan* second King of the *Turky*, who is famed to have been the first Founder of Houses of these Orders.

Those of the *Mahometan* Faith, who first framed Rules and Institutions for their Religions, were two, viz. *Calvetiste* and *Nackbendie*, which after *Mahomet* are esteemed the two Fountains from whence other Orders are produced, which are these following: from *Chalvetiste* are derived.

Nimetalabi from *Nimetalabi*
Kadiri from *Kadiri*
Kalenderi from *Kalenderi*
Ebbem from *Ebbem*
Higrevi from *Higrevi*
Bektasji from *Bektasji*.

The first Founders and Masters of these Orders.

From *Nackbendie* proceed only two, viz. *Eshbrakie* from *Eshbrakie* and *Mevlevie* from *Mevlevie*.

The several Orders we shall distinctly touch upon, beginning with the *Mevlevie*, which though first down here last, yet because for some amongst the *Turky*, they are the first, we shall most largely and particularly treat of them.

The *Mevlevie*, otherwise and most commonly named *Dervish*, which word signifies Poor and Renouncers of the World, have their chief and superior Foundation in *Iscium*, which consists of at the least four hundred *Dervishes*, and governs all the other Convents of that Order within the *Turkish* Empire, by virtue of a Charter given them by *Ottoman* first of the *Mahometan* Kings, who out of devotion to their Religion once placed their Prior or Superior in his Royal Throne, because having been his Tutor, and he who girted on his Sword (which is the principal Ceremony of Coronation) he granted him and his Successors ample Authority and Rule over all others of the same Profession.

They pretend to great Patience, Humility, Modesty, Charity, and Silence, in presence of their Superior or others; their eyes are always fixed downwards, their heads hanging towards their breast, and their bodies bending forwards.

Their Shirts are of the coarsest Linen can be made, with a white Plaid or Mantle about their shoulders; but most wear a loose kind of Garment

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Dervishes.

It is commonly known and received, that the *Turkish* Religion is an absurd Composition of the Christian and Jewish Rites; in imitation of

ment made of Wool at *Iconium* or in *Anatolia*, of a dark colour; their Caps or what they wear on their heads is like the Crown of a Hat of the largest size, made of a coarse Felt of a whitish colour, their Legs are always bare, and their Beards open, which some of them burn or fear in token of greater devotion: they wear also a Leather girdle with some shining stone upon the Buckle before, either of Marble or Alabaster, Porphyry, Ivory, or something that makes a great heat or lustre; they always carry with them a string of Beads, which they call *Terbe*, and often run them over, than our Frysars do their Rosary; at every Bead repeating the name of God. When the Prior of this Order dies, they commonly let a Hearse for him in a Chapel, and upon it lay a long string of Beads as big as Walnuts. It is also common amongst *Turks* to carry Beads in their hands to play with; and they say that when they have no other employment, that kind of diversion drives away idle and evil thoughts.

Their
Falls.

Besides their Fall of *Kamazan*, they keep a weekly Fast on every *Thursday*, on which day, none unless for some indisposition of health, or other lawful cause, hath license to eat, until after Sun-setting.

Their
turning
round.

Every *Thursday* and *Friday* the Superiour of the Convent makes a Sermon or Exposition of some Verses in the *Alchoran*, or out of the Books wrote by the Founder, or some other prime Doctour of the *Mahometan* Laws after which is done, the *Derwishes* with marvelous modesty and reverence bowing to their Superiour, begin to turn round, some of them with that swift motion, that their faces can scarce be seen, a certain Pipe made of a Cane, founding all the time of this motion; and on a sudden, when the Musick ceases, they all stop with that exactness and firmness, shewing no symptoms of a disordered or swimming Brain; to which having accustomed themselves from their infancy or Youth, in some years that motion becomes as natural, with as little disturbance to their head or stomach, as to walk forward, or to use any other exercise which nature is delighted with. This custom (they say) they observe with great devotion in imitation of their first Founder *Mevlana*, who for fourteen days together, and without taking any nourishment, used this Virginitous motion by a miraculous assistance (his Friend *Hamas*, or Companion, all that time founding by him with his Flute or Pipe) until at last falling into an ecstacy, he received strange Revelations, and Divine commands for the institution of this his Order: The Pipe they play on, they esteem for an ancient sanctified sort of Musick, and to be that on which *Jacob* and the other holy Shepherds in the Old Testament praised God.

It hath a doleful melancholy sound; and their constant exercise and application thereunto makes it as Musical as can be imagined in such an Instrument: the best of those Canes are esteemed to come from *Iconium*, and are of twenty five Dollars price. But this sort of devotion with instrumental Musick, is by *Turks* themselves disputed against, denying that their Founder, who was so spiritual a man, did ever institute, or himself use Musick in his turning round, because the *Alchoran* expressly forbids all devotion and service of God with Musick, but only with the natural and living Voice; And that is the reason why in calling their people to prayers they use no Bells, but only the Voice of

a Man; and for this cause I remember, that in my time prohibitions have been made by publick Authority against this practice of the *Derwishes*. But they on the contrary, alleging *David's* example, and his Dancing before the Ark, as arguments for their Musick and Giration, have by the help of several persons in power, many of them being greatly affected with their devotion, maintained from time to time this custom and institution of the first Founder of this Order notwithstanding that one *Yanni Efendi*, a great *Seigh* or Preacher, esteemed as a knowing person by the Grand Signior, and all the Court, hath by his Authority endeavoured to Reform this Corruption as he calls it amongst them.

Their
Profession.

They profess Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, like Capuchin Frysars or other Orders of St. Francis; but if any have not the gift of Continnence, he may obtain license to leave his Convent and Marry; but of these, they observe that none ever thrived or lived happily with contentment, that renounced this Dedication to God's Service.

Their
employment.

The Novices serve in most servile Offices, and in time others supply their places; they lie as Companions two together in a Cell, some of which employ their time in Learning to Read and Write in *Turkish*, *Arabic*, and *Persian*, but most yield to the slothfull temperament to which they are naturally addicted; but because the nature of Man is restless, and must employ it self either in good or bad actions; most of these artifices exercise some kind of Legerdemain, or tricks to amuse the minds of the common people; and some really apply themselves to Sorceries and Conjurings by help of familiar Spirits. *Bushquini* tells strange stories of one with whom he was acquainted, and he would strike a stone of great weight and bigness against his bare Breast with that force and violence as were sufficient to knock down an Ox, or break the bones of the stoutest Giant; and that the same man he hath seen take an Iron Bar red hot from the Fire and hold it in his mouth, and though the spittle and moisture of his mouth hissed with the heat, yet he seemed to take it thence again without the least hurt or burning Imaginable.

This sort of people of all *Other Turks*, add to themselves to drink Wine, Strong Waters, and other intoxicating Liquors; and use *Opium* in that quantity, by degrees which they acquire theore unto that no Mountebank or *Misbrider* himself who was nourished by Poison, are capable to digest half that proportion that these men will do, the effect of which is at first, like men drunk or mad, to raise their spirits to a sort of distracted Mirth, and afterwards when the subtle vapours are consumed and spent, and a dull stuporasion overcomes them, they name it an ecstacy, which they account very holy and divine in imitation of their first Founder, who was often observed to put himself into this condition; and therefore what helps may be found to excite mirth or distraction, is lawfull and allowable in this Order.

There is a famous Monastery of these in *Egypt*, invoking for their Saint one *Kaderley*, which by the Stories they tell of him should be St. George, in conformity with whom all other *Derwishes* maintain a reverent esteem of this Saint, affirming that in his life time he was a valiant Horseman, killed Dragons and all sorts of venomous beasts; and now being departed this life, God for preservation of good men, hath given him power to deliver such as being in distress, invoke his assistance;

assistance; especially those who are at Sea; and at the point of shipwrack; and that he with an extraordinary swiftness of motion flies from one part of the World to another in the twinkling of an eye, and seasonably comes in to their succour. These by virtue of that blessing *Kaderley* confers upon them, pretend to charm Serpents and Adders, and handle them as familiarly as we do the most innocent, and domestick Creatures; which art, as I have heard from good Authority, is not peculiar in *Egypt* only to *Derwishes*, but to other men who are said to be naturally endowed with a virtue against the poisonous bites of Vipers and other venomous Beasts; who putting great numbers of them into a Bag together, do pull and fort them out with their hands, as one would do Worms or Mussels; and others with a word charm Serpents from moving as they crawl along the Banks of Nile, which Gifts these men pretend to inherit from their Parents, and others to possess in reward of their Virtue and Sanctity. This sort of *Egyptian Derwishes* have Sancted the Horse of St. George, and have leased him in Paradise with the other three beasts in high respect and esteem amongst the *Turks*, viz. the Ass on which Christ rode, the Camel of *Mahomet*, and the Dog of the seven Sleepers.

These *Derwishes* have Monasteries in the most famous places of the *Turkish* Empire, which serve the travelling Pilgrims of this Order for Inns and places of entertainment: for they above all other Religious *Turks*, journey and travel from one place to another, where the *Mahometan* Religion is professed, under pretence of preaching and propagating their Faith; and thus they travel upon Charity of their Monasteries and Alms of others, into *Persia*, *China*, and the Dominions of the *Mogul*, by which means they become the best spies and intelligencers of any that are found in the Eastern parts of the World.

I remember at *Adrianople* to have seen the ruine of one of these Monasteries situated on a pleasant Hill, and in good Air, that overles the whole City and Plains round about; which upon enquiry I understand was demolished by the famous Visier *Kupertis*, because it was discovered to be a Rendezvous of the lewd Women of the Town, and a Stew where the young Gallants debauched the Wives of the richest *Turks*, to whom their Husbands had given liberty in honour to the Sanctity of the place, to be often present at the devotion of the *Derwishes*; but their way of practice being too publick and scandalous, the Foundation of their House by the order of the Visier was razed to the ground.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Order of Religious Turks called Ebruharee.

THIS Order of *Ebruharee* was first instituted by their Founder and Institutor *Ebruhar*, from whom they have their denomination, who hereinafter followed the Precepts and Rules of his Master *Nakchibende*, from whom in like manner the Order of *Mevlevore* or *Derwishes* are derived: for the better understanding this sort of people, the Reader may take this following, as an authentic discourse relating to their Manners and Original, which I shall deliver *Verbatim* as given

me in writing by one esteemed Learned amongst the *Turks*, and was a *Hadgi* or Pilgrim, and said it his business to inform me of this Sect. *Multan Bajazet*, said he, in the year of *Mahomet* Nine hundred and eleven, created a *Majsh* and Convent in *Constantinople*, dedicated to this Holy Emir *Ebruhar* (that is the Race of *Mahomet*) upon whom rests the mercy of the Creator. This man both extrinsically as to appearance in the World, and intrinsically as to his devout Soul, was famous and renowned for the Miracles he worked on which *Fakih Sultan Selim* afterwards bestowed a Fountain of Water.

His.

This *Ebruhar* scholar of *Nakchibende*, taking into his company the disciples of *Abdullah* and *Ilahi* and *Vefs*, Preachers and Heads of other Convents, came out of *Asia* to propagate their Doctrine in *Europe*.

Their actions were governed with Meekness, Gravity and Silence, and laying aside all superfluous Worships, they exercise themselves in pious actions; their discourses amongst themselves were nothing in relation to the things of the world, but of Matters relating to a future life.

These poor Religious fast for the most part on *Mundays* and *Thursdays*; and both they and those devoted to their order abstain from all Meats that carry with them any fetulent or ungrateful smells, and in this manner these devout people exercised in abstinence and a moral life, and swallowed up or transported with the illumination of God, and devoted to their daily prayers, Commemoration of God's mercy, and other offices of devotion, acquire a holy disposition and preparation for Celestial glory.

As to the Holy Emir *Ebruhar*, whose Mystical life may God sanctify to us, he was nourished with Bread made of Barly, Oil of Olives, Honey and Grapes, and abstained from all things of a strong heat or savour; he eat but three times a year, giving himself continually to Fasting and Prayer; he was a man of great Sanctity, full of Divine Revelation, his attractive virtue was grateful to all, his Feet from divers Countries were many diseased persons brought, which afterwards returned found and healthful to their own homes; all which is the relation of his Doctour and great admirer of the *Mahometan* Religion.

In commendation of the Religious of this Order, are these Verses in the *Persian* Tongue,

Gber bakki iabi der geban buhendi
Nakchibendi Kiun Nakchibendi; that is,

If thou wouldst find in the World one accomplished as a true Heroe, make thy self a *Nakchibendi*, who is the true pattern of a *Servant* of God.

And notwithstanding this great pretended purity and sanctity of these men, they are yet by the generality esteemed *Heterick* in the *Mahometan* superstition, because they judge themselves not obliged to the Pilgrimage of *Mecca*, by reason of their pretended purity of Soul and Scrupulous Rapures, which elevate them above the World, and enable them in their very Cells to be present or have a clear Prospect into their Holy *Mecca*.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Nimetulahi.

ONE of those who are accounted in the number of *Chalvetti* is the *Nimetulahi*; they had their beginning in the *Higra* or year of *Mahomet* 777, and their denomination from one of that name, famous for his Doctrine and fecundity of life in the time of *Sultan Mahomet*, Son of *Bajazet*, called by the *Turks* *Ildeirin*, or the Son of Thunder. He was an excellent Physician, and renowned for his virtues amongst the vulgar; for better knowledge of his Life and Doctrine, the Reader may take notice what one of this Order related to me in admiration of his Master.

He was one, said he, who preached and published the Truth, mortified his Body, followed not the affections of the carnal Appetite, knew the intricate nature and quiddity of all Creatures, rendered continual Prayers and Devotions; and so long, resigned himself entirely to speculation, until he arrived to the ravishment of Ecstasies and Raptures, in which he oftentimes obtained the happiness to discourse with God.

He eat of all those things which God made lawful for humane nourishment, without observation of Fasts or Abstinences in Diet, but day and night continued his Prayers and Devotions; while he slept he extended not his feet like the Beasts of fenic, who eat Corn and Hay in the Stables; sometimes the fear of God made him tremble, and his countenance became melancholy and afflicted with the apprehension of his Majesty. And to this perfection none ever arrived, nor to that intimate knowledge of the Divine Secrets.

The Professors of this Order assemble every Monday night to praise the Unity of the Divine Nature, and Celebrate the name of God with Hymns and Songs.

Those that would initiate themselves into this Order, are obliged to make a Quarentine first, remain sequestered in a Chamber for the space of forty days, with twenty four drams of Meat a day, during which time they see the Face of God, the sublime Paradise, and praise the Creator and Framers of the Universe; at the expiration of their term, they are taken such by the rest of the Fraternity, who taking hands Dance in a *Mimic*, in which Vagary if any Vision appear to the Novices from God, they throw their Cloaths behind them, and fall flat with their Faces on the ground, like men astonished or struck with an Apoplexy, until such times as their Prior or chief of their Order coming and making Prayers for them, they return by degrees to their sense again, and taking them up with their eyes red and distorted, they remain a while like men drunk, blundered or stupid; but afterwards their scattered spirits being better collected, the Prior demands in Secret their Visions and Revelations, which they communicate to him, or some other serious and grave person well instructed in the Mytheries of their Profession.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Kadri.

THIS is another of those six Religions which are derived from *Chalvetti*, which had one *Abdul Kadri Ghilani* for its first Founder, a man greatly admired for wisdom and abstinence, whose Sepulchre is found without Babylon, to which place many of those who enter into the Regular Orders of those Convents make their Pilgrimages.

Those who enter into this Religion, must perform their Novitiate with degrees of abstinence and fasting; wherefore when first they take the profession upon them, there is bestowed upon them a small cudgel made of the Wood of a Willow, weighing when fresh and green four hundred Drams, which they are always to carry about them hung at their Girdle; by the weight of this they take their daily allowance of Bread, until such time as the wood becoming exceeding dry, is also much the lighter, and so according as the weight thereof lightens, their proportion of Bread diminishes.

Besides their prayers of five times a day, to which all *Mahometans* are bound, they are obliged to spend the whole or best part of the night with turning round at the found of a little Pipe, and to utter this word *Hai*, *Hai*, which signifies Alive, being one of the Attributes of God; and this they do in imitation of the Customs used by their Founder, who is said to have pronounced this word *Hai* so often, and with that vehemency, that the vein of his breast bursting, the blood gushed out upon the Wall and made the word *Hai*. Wherefore all his Disciples to follow the Example of their Master, taking hands together in a ring, repeat this word *Hai*, *Hai*, with so much violence, and so often, until they fall on the ground without breath or life; those who last out longest carry off the dead from the Chamber, and lay them to recover their Spirits after their strained Exercise: and this they do every Friday night. Every one of these are obliged once in the year to a retirement of forty days, in a little Cell free from all company or conversation, during which time they are wholly to give themselves to Meditations, and to their private Dreams, and account them to their Superiors, who Studies the interpretation of them, and from them Divines of future things.

They have many times licence from their Superior to be drunk or intoxicate themselves with *Aqua vite*, *Opium*, or any stupefying Drugs, to be better able to perform with more spirit and vehemency their mad Dance.

These fellows are of a refined Wit, notable Sophisters and Hypocrites; their secrets they reveal to none but those of their own Profession, by which means they are able to cheat those of other Religions.

They are not debarred from the liberty of Marriages, but if they do marry, they are excluded from the Covenant, and may wear any sort of Habit, yet for distinction sake they wear black Buttons; those that live in the Convent, carry a certain white Plaid of a coarse Cloth, their heads with hair unshaven, without Caps or other covering, and their Feet bare. These are called *Kadris*, and have a Convent at *Tophane* in *Constantinople*.

The

The Founder of this Order, called, as we have said before, *Abdul Kadri Ghilani*, was born in the *Higra* or year of *Mahomet* Five hundred and sixty one, and died in the year Six hundred and fifty seven; he was esteemed both a Lawyer and a Philosopher; his Master or Instructor was *Abdul Munim Gazzeli*, who composed two Books, one called *Mugrib*, or the Arabian Grammar, and another called *Andalus*. At that time that *Hellah* Son of *Genghis Han* came to Babylon, he caused him to kill one *Alkanti* then Vice-King of that City, for being of the *Persian* Sect, called by the *Turks*, *Kafisi* or Heretics, because they reject *Abraham*; *Omaz* and *Ofmaz*, as Apocryphal Writers; and attribute not to them that honour of Holy them, which is given by the *Turks*.

The Prior or chief of the Convent of this Order, teach their Disciples a certain Prayer, which they whisper in their Ears, that it may not be overheard or known by others; this they are obliged to repeat every moment with little intermission, unless at times set apart for the offices of nature; and boast that it hath so much of efficacy in it, that by virtue thereof, they obtain the enjoyment of Divine Visions and Revelations.

Their posture is like other Religious *Mahometans*, to sit with their heads hanging down, and their Noses in their Breasts, which they call *Marakabe*; the better to keep them from distraction, or wandering thoughts, during their contemplations of Heaven, and the vanity of satisfying the carnal desires.

Amongst the many Miracles that the followers of this Order recount of their Master, one is this, That coming once to Babylon to inhabit amongst the other superstitious persons and *Santons* of that City, they hearing of his approach went forth to meet him, one of them carrying in his hand a dish filled with water; from whence they would infer, that as that dish was full to the brim so as to be capable of containing no more, so their City was so replenished with Learned and Religious persons, that there was no place to receive him: Whereupon this subtle Sophister studying to confute this Hieroglyphick, whereby they would excuse the courtesy of due Hospitality, stretching his Arms first towards Heaven, and then bowed down gathering a Rose leaf which he laid on the water, which before had filled the dish; by which piece of ingenuity, he not only confuted the Parable of the Churillish *Babylonians*, but also so took with them, that they registered it as a Miracle of Wisdom, and bringing him into their City with triumph, made him the Superior of all their Orders.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Order of Kalenderi.

THIS Order may rather be termed the Sect of *Epicureans*, than men retired to mortify their appetites, and deny the world, as all others of the religious and regulated *Turks* pretend; but yet this sort of Fanatics pretend to Religion by a different way of Libertinism and looseness in their Conversation; which they set so publicly, that they are not ashamed to profess their infidelity and customs to be after this manner.

In the time of *Mahomet Mansur*, Son of *Melchizedek Oboma* the Son of *Silabidin*, being ready to resign up his last breath, bequeathed to his Son *Mahomet Melik Kiameli*, the Government of *Cairo*, and all the other parts of the Kingdom of *Egypt*, *Damascus* and *Jerusalem* to his Son *Isa Melik Muslin* and *Diarbekir*, to his third Son *Ejebmusa*; There lived a certain *Santon*, who always mentioned the name of God with the found of his Pipe; and with that Music recreated himself day and night, not after a cheerful and merry humour, but with sad and melancholy Tunes, accompanied his Pipe with Tears and Sighs. He was an excellent Musician, and a deep Philosopher, endowed with those supernatural virtues as enabled him to work Miracles clear and notorious to all the world; he was an *Hermite*, called in *Arabic* *Abdal*; went with his head bare, and his body full of wounds, without a Shirt or other Cloathing, besides a Skin of some wild Beast thrown about his Shoulders; at his Girdle he wore some fine polished Stone; on his Wrists, instead of Diamonds and Stones of value he wore counterfeit Jewels, which carried a luster and fair appearance with them; this man was called *Santon Kalenderi*, who was continually singing *Arabic* Sonnets, and according to them Musical Airs, making also harmonious compositions so artificially, that he seemed another *David*. But how strict and sober this *Santon* was, his Disciples or Proxies are of another temper, being wholly given up to pleasures and delights, they banish all kind of melancholy and sadness, and live free of cares, passions or torments of the mind, and have this saying amongst them, *This day is ours, to-morrow is his who shall live to enjoy it*; and therefore studiously attend to lose no moment or least part of their pleasure, but consume their time in eating and drinking; and to maintain this gluttony they will sell the Stones of their Girdles, their Earrings and Bracelets. When they come to the house of any rich man or person of Quality, they accommodate themselves to their humour, giving all the Family pleasant words and cheerful expressions to persuade them to a liberal and free entertainment. The Tavern by them is accounted holy as the *Mosch*, and believe they serve God as much with debauchery or liberal use of his creatures (as they call it) as others with severity and mortification. And the *Turks* say, That in the *Higra* 615, the Christians became Masters of *Jerusalem*, by reason that the Instructor of this Order of the *Kalenderi*, who had a chief hand in the Government of the City, was found drunk when it was assaulted.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Edhemi.

THE original Founder of this Order was one *Israhim Edhem*, concerning whom the Disciples themselves, or Followers, recount things very obscurely, and tell us Stories that his Father was a Slave and *Abdome* by Nation, and went one day under the Port *Horanum* to discourse with *Ismael King of Cairo*; that he was a man very cruel, factious, and full of sober in his carriage, always desiring to please God, continued in the *Mosch* reading the *Alcoran*, and

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and to prevent and abate somewhat of the Jealousies, Strifes and Embroilments in a Family, which must necessarily arise between so many Rivals in the affection of one Husband who is obliged by Law and Covenants to deal and behave with his benevolence and conjugal kindness in an exact proportion of equality. And lest this confinement to a certain number of Wives, should seem a restriction and impeachment of that liberty and free use of Women which they say God hath frankly bestowed on Man, every one may freely bestow himself on his Women Slaves, with as much variety as he is able to buy or maintain; and this kind of Concubinage is no ways envied or condemned by the Wives, so long as they can enjoy their due maintenance, and have some reasonable share in the Husband's Bed, which once a week is their due by the Law: for if any of them have been neglected the whole week before, the challenges Thursday night as her due, and hath remedy in that case against her Husband by the Law: and if he be so forgetful as not to give her for one week's default, the Law is yet so ingenious to contrive a supply of her wants: And whereas the Women are Educated with much retirement from the conversation of men, and consequently with greater inclinations towards them, and with no principles of virtue, or moral honesty or Religion, as to a future Estate relating to the rewards or punishments of their good or bad actions, they are accounted the most lascivious and immodest of all Women, and excel in the most refined and ingenious subtilties to flatter their pleasures: And as in Christendom the Husband bears the disgrace and scandal of his Wives incontinency, here the Horns are by the vulgar adjudged to the Father, Brother, and Wives Kindred; the Blood of the Family is tainted and dishonoured, and the Husband obtaining a Divorce, quits himself of his Wife and dishonour together.

No question but the first Institution of this easy Religion, next to the satisfaction of his own carnal and effeminate inclination, and this raising freedom amongst his Disciples; his main consideration was the increase of his people by Polygamy, knowing that the greatness of Empires and Princes consists more in the numbers and multitudes of their People, than the large extent of their Dominions. This freedom (if it may be called so) was granted at the beginning of the World for the propagation and increase of Mankind; and the Jews had that permission and indulgence to their loose and wandering affections; and we read that the Eastern parts of the World have abounded with Children of divers Mothers, and but one Father; and that ordinarily a Great Personage in Egypt hath been attended with an hundred lusty Sons in the Field, and daring in all attempts of War. But yet this course thrives not so well amongst the Turks as formerly; whether it be thought their accursed Vice of Sodomy, or that that God blesses not so much this State of life as when the paucity of Mankind induced a sort of a necessity and a plea for it.

But chiefly through the irreconcilable emulation, and rivalry which is amongst many Wives, whose Witchcrafts and Sorceries (which in this Country are very frequent) are prepared against the envied fruitfulness each of other, that either they make an Abortive Birth, or otherwise their Children pine, and macerate away with secret and hidden charms, by which means they are

now observed not to be so fruitful and numerous, as is the Marriage bed of a single Wife; nor is the family so well regulated, and orderly, as under the conduct and good House-wifery of one Woman, but contrarily filled with noise, brawls and diffentions, as pastures the Wisdom of the Husband to become an equal Umpire and Arbitrator of their differences; which consideration restrains many, though otherwise inclinable enough to gratiate their Appetites, from incurring themselves with so great an inconvenience; and I have known some, though childless, have adhered to a single Wife, and preferred Quiet and Repose, before the contentment of their Offspring.

The Children they have by their Slaves, are equally esteemed with those they have by their Wives; *Neque vero Turca minus honoris defertur matris ex concubini aut pellicibus quam ex uxore, neque illi minus in bona paternis juris habent*, Busbeq. Ep. 1.

But yet with this difference in esteem of the Law, that unless the Father manifests them by his Testament, and confers a livelihood upon them by Legacy, they remain to the Charity of their Elder Brother that is born from the Wife; and are his Slaves, and he their Lord and Master: and it is with them, as in the Civil Law, *Partus ventrem sequitur*. So that from the Loins of the same Father, may proceed Sons of a servile and ignominious condition.

There is also another sort of half Marriage amongst them, which is called *Kabin*, when a man takes a Wife for a Month, or for a certain limited time; and an agreement is made for the Price before the Cadee or Judge; and this Strangers oftentimes use, who have not the Gift of Continency, and are desirous to find a Wife in all places where they travel, and is the same which they term in Spain to be *Emanebado*, or *Casado de Media Casa*, only the act there is not made allowable by the Laws as in Turkey.

There is another sort of Marriages commonly used amongst the Turks (if we may give it that honourable Title) which is the conjunction of an Eunuch with a Woman; such as are wholly disarmed of all parts of virility, do notwithstanding take many Wives, and exercise Lufts of an unknown and prodigious nature.

There is also one point of restriction of matrimony in the Turkish Religion which is observable: that is a Mahometan may marry himself with what Woman he loves, though esteemed an Infidel, as a Christian, Jew, or any other different profession, so it be of those who are of a Learned Religion of which Books are wrote to defend and maintain it; but such Women as are of a Religion which hath nothing in it of Learning or of written Law, as the Sect of *Mazzees*, who adore the Fire, conferring it always burning in their Temples, and are to be found in the parts of Persia; and also the Gipsy Women are prohibited (of which great numbers are amongst the Turks) a Vagabond people without Religion, but what is fabulous and ridiculous; and having no Literature or knowledge amongst them, are reputed as abominable amongst the Turks.

And here the Turks upon occasional discourses of the severity and strictness of the Christian Discipline

Discipline in matters of Concupiscence, telling them that no Copulation is allowable but in the Marriage-Bed, and that refrained and confined to one Wife, without the additions of Slaves to satisfy with variety the corrupted fancy; that the very thoughts of Luft and Concupiscence pollute the purity of the Soul: And that whoever looks on a Woman to Luft after her, commits Adultery in his heart: They presently despise these our Precepts and our Laws, which Christians not only by their actions and corrupted lives condemn as invalid, but Authority itself not by a simple connivence only, but by indulgence and privileges, foment and encourages persons walking contrary to that which is confessed to be an indispensable Law. For proof whereof they mention the Stews of Italy, Whoredom made an allowable Trade and Profession in Venice, Naples, and the City of Rome, and the *Gautanas* in Spain, and framed into a Politick Body (as it is related and apprehended by the Turks) from whence Taxes and Impositions are raised: The Turks comprehend not the Politick grounds hereof, with which in Italy this Maxim is defended; nor is it fitting to produce the reasons, or argue it with them; since the benefit which accrues to the Roman Church, and the Profits that arise thence, being employed in maintenance of Gates and Forts against Infidels, is the best can be said to hallow this permission; but 'tis an improper argument with a Turk to excuse this Licence and Authority to sin upon considerations of being better able to War against the Professors of his Religion. And therefore the Turk will hardly be convinced but that this manner of Concubinage hath much more of Sanctity, Order and Policy in it, as being free from Dilection and Loyalty, the detestable Lufts of Stews, or impudency of *Corfessas*, made bold and hard-headed by concession of Authority.

*Puden hoc opprobria Nobis
Et dici possunt, &c.*

Amongst all the privileges that the Sultan enjoys above his Subjects, this one hath less than that, that he cannot marry; but yet he hath as many Women as serves his use, though never so libidinous, or are requisite for the Ornament and great Magnificence of his Court, according to the custom of the Eastern Princes, who placed a great part of their Pomp in the multitude of their Women. This dilute of Marriage in the Sultan, hath been a Maxim of state, and reckoned amongst the Turks, *inter Arcana Imperii*, from the time of *Bajazet* until this very Age: the reasons hereof are diversely related, *Bushquish* faith, That *Bajazet* after the great Victory obtained against him by *Tamerlane*, to his other great misfortunes and disgraces, had this one added, of having his Wife *Dehsham*, whom he dearly loved, to fill into the hands of the Conqueror, whose ignominious and undecent treatment before the eyes of her Husband, was a torture of more dishonour and sorrow, than all the rest of his afflictions: So that ever since that time, the Sultan to free themselves from being capable of that disgrace on occasion of like fortune, take no feminine companion of their Empire in whom they may be more concerned than as in Slaves, or the loss of Goods, Riches, or Estate. But in my opinion, this Policy is of a deeper reach and design, than the considerations of matters so merely possible; for

as I have heard, the only sign and ceremony of a Sultan making a Wife, is the endowing her with Riches agreeable to her condition and quality, not called *Kabin*, which is Dowry, but *Pahmaluck* or Money for her Shoes; which besides Presents, Jewels, and rich Garments for her self, and great attendance, her Revenue ought to be equal to that of a *Valde* or Mother of the Grand Signior, which is four or five hundred thousand Dollars yearly Rent, so that were this custom in use, and meeting with the disposition of some Princes that are Amorous and Prodigal, the chief Revenue of the Empire would be expended in the Chambers of Women, and diverted from the true Channels in which the Channel ought to run for nourishment of the Politick body of the Commonwealth. Besides, were it the custom for Sultans to take Wives, it would contradict that main principle of Policy amongst them, of avoiding Alliances and Relations of the Grand Signior abroad. And this was the principal reason of the murder of *Sultan Osman*, tenth Emperor of the Turks, contrived by the Rebellion and Toleration of the Souldiery: it being objected that he had married a *Sultana*, whereof he had contracted Alliances, contrary to the fundamental Constitutions of the Empire.

The eye and solemnity of Marriage, and the nature thereof amongst the Turks, is as before related: from which the Woman hath no ways to unloose her self, whilst the Husband maintains her with Bread, Butter, Rice, Wood and Flax to spin for her Clothing; the Law supposes her so industrious a Housewife as with her own labour to supply her self: there are some other points pleadable in Law for Divorce in behalf of the Woman, as impudency, or rigidity in the Husband, and the like, but the man hath divers means to acquit himself, and can do it by several allegations; and may upon as easy terms, and on as light grounds sue out his Divorce, as was permitted to the Jews in cases of dislike, or that the found no favour in his eyes.

There are amongst the Turks three degrees of Divorce, every one of which is made before the *Kadee* or Justice, and by him drawn out and registered. The first separates the Man and Wife only from the same House and Bed, the maintenance of a Wife being still continued; The second not only divides them in that manner, but the Husband is compelled to make good her *Kabin*, which is a Joynture or Dowry promised at her Marriage, so as to have no interest either in him or his Estate, and to remain in a free condition to marry another. The third sort of Divorce which is called (*Once Tule*) is made in a solemn and more serious manner, with more rigorous terms of separation, and in this case the Husband repenting of his Divorce, and desirous to re-take his Wife, cannot by the Law be admitted to her without first consenting and contenting himself to see another man enjoy her before his face; which condition the Law requires as a punishment of the Husbands lightness and inconstancy, and as an evidence to show that though the Turkish Law is very indulgent and open in the free choice and enjoyment of Women, yet that it punishes such as unduly frustrate the solemn points thereof, with remarkable notes of infamy and disgrace. Notwithstanding, some afterwards repenting of their Divorce, have been contented with the condition, and have chosen some handsome Youth to enter into the Bed of their Wife. It is a merry Story that

is told of one, who in this case being put to a great strait, resolv'd to call the first man he conveniently met, to this Office, that for as one unknown, his reputation might be the less concerned: the man he first lighted on, happened to be a *Kaidgee* or Boat-man, who it seems fo well fastidied and pleaded the Wife, that the afterwards renounced all interest in her Husband, and resolv'd to adhere to her new Lover, of whom she supposed she had sufficient proof and acquaintance with already to esteem a better Husband than her former. There are but few amongst the *Turks*, though some are found, who fo heartily repeat of their Divorce, and fo fond of their departed Wives, as to be contented to take them with the foregoing Condition: for it is reputed a kind of an Abomination; and when they would signify any matter far alienated or estranged, they call it (*Ouch Talac*) something fo divided and separated as to be a Sin and Prophanation fo much as to covet or desire it.

C H A P. XXII.

Of the other parts of the Turkish Religion.

Of Circumcision.

Circumcision is not reckoned amongst one of the five Points which constitute a true *Mahometan* believer, but 'tis only (as we have said before) propo'd as a trial and proof of man's obedience to the more necessary parts of the Law. This Rite of Circumcision is not received by them as an Article or Precept delivered expressly from the *Alchoran*, but by tradition and ancient practice and use amongst the *Arabians*, before the time of *Mahomet*, derived originally from *Ishmael* or *Ejau*, whose Progeny they are, and from thence give themselves the name of *Ishmaelites*. The *Arabian* Doctors affirm that *Mahomet* himself was born with his Navel cut, and naturally circumcised; perhaps to equal the same Story which the Jews report of *Moses*, and some others of the Patriarchs; and it seems in those Countries where Circumcision is in practice, that it is not unusual for Children to be fo born; who are therefore called Sons of the Moon, on whom the virtue of the Moon hath more an ordinary manner of influence. *Credebant quidam Arabes, quod ille qui sub luna natus nasceretur, contrahi perinde ac circumcissum praeputium.*

The *Turks* never circumcise their Children until the age of seven years and upwards; and then they do it by a Barber or Chirurgion, it not being esteemed a matter appropriated to the Office of the *Emam*, or Priests, for (as we have said before) they make no such distinction as Clergy and Laity; I mean as to any spiritual Character of Priesthood, for a man may cry upon the Scepter to day, and like their Pastour be the first to lead his Congregation to their Prayers, and expound the *Alchoran* in the Pulpit; and next day be expelled his Parish, and become free to any other secular Employment or Profession: They observe some Ceremonies amongst them on this occasion, often differing according to the Country and place; but commonly the child is set on Horseback in his best Cloaths attended with

his School-fellows and Companions, who with loud shouts repeat some words in the *Alchoran*; and being brought home, and the act of Circumcision performed, he is carefully attended for his Cure, and in the mean time there is a Feast or Banquet prepared for the Guests; those of riper years become *Mahometans* in some places are carried about the Town on Horseback, with a Dart in their left hand pointing to their heart, signifying that they will rather suffer themselves to be pass'd through with that Instrument, than renounce that Faith they then profess. And this Circumcision is an admission and introduction of them into the number of the Faithful, as it is amongst the Jews, and Baptism with the Christians.

Ceremonies at the Circumcision.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of the five necessary Points which are required to constitute a true Mahometan.

Of their Washings.

Though *Mahomet* faith in the *Alchoran* that his Religion is founded in Cleanness, and that it is half of his Law; yet much before *Mahomet*'s time Washings were observed according to the same prescriptions by the *Arabians*, who descending from *Ishmael*, maintained by tradition the practice of Washings; and he had no other there in this invention, than that it was enforced by his Authority on the Professors of his Sect. The *Turks* are certainly a very cleanly people in their exterior manner of living; as in their Washings relating to their holy exercises and duties, they are very precise and superstitious: some of them believing that the very water purifies them from the foulness of their sins, as well as from the uncleanness of their bodies: There being three sorts of Washings observed by them.

The first is called *Abdest*, which is a preparation for their Prayers, entering the *Mosch*, or reading the *Alchoran*; they first wash their hands and arms, then their neck, their forehead, the crown of their head, their ears, their teeth, the face, under the nose, and last of all their feet; but if the weather be cold, not convenient to uncover them, it is sufficient, if they shake some evence therof by any other outward signification.

The second is called *Gusul*, which is the cleansing of the Bath after copulation or nocturnal pollutions; until which time a man is called *Ginabat*, that is, his prayers are accounted abominable before God, and his Society to be avoided by Men.

The third is *Taharet*, which is a Washing after the case or evacuation of nature; to this homely office they design the three last fingers of the left hand; and upon this account they call Christians *Taharastis*, which is as much as one defiled and impure for want of this manner of cleansing. And washings is so usual and frequent amongst them both before and after Meat, as that it is called a common Proverb amongst them: *That God hath created Man, that man may have occasion often to wash his hands.*

Secondly,

Chap. XXIII. The necessary Points in the Mahometan Law.

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Secondly, Of their Prayers.

After their Washing follow their Prayers, which *Mahomet* to recommend to his Disciples the force and virtue of Prayer, calls it in his *Alchoran* the Pillar of Religion, and the Key of Paradise, and enjoined the performance five times in the space of twenty four hours, viz. between the day breaking and Sun-rising, called *Saba-massefe*. Secondly, at Noon, called *Ulemassefe*.

Thirdly, the middle hour, between the Noon and the setting of the Sun, called *Kinamassefe*. Fourthly, at Sun-setting, called *Aghnamassefe*. Fifthly, at an hour and half in the night, called *Tachnamassefe*; this action they perform with very much reverence and devotion, and hold that they ought to be so intent and fixed in their thoughts on this religious act towards God, that no business of the World, though the execution of the *Sultan*'s Decree should. In the same moment be commanded, or fire should burst forth in the very Chamber where they remain, or an armed Enemy within their Gates or Camp, they ought not yet to be diverted, or break abruptly off their Prayers, to extinguish or oppose themselves against their inevitable Destruction; nay, if they do but Cough, or Spit, or Sneeze, or rub any part of their Face, or Hands, where a Fly bites, during their Prayers, they must begin them again, for they are void, and esteemed to be of no effect. It is said in my opinion that Infidels should be possessed with this awe and sense of the Divine Majesty in the time of their Audience with him; and yet that Friars and others of the *Roman* Church obliged to their Office, as the *Turks* to his *Namas*, should perform it so perfunctorily, as to mix the discourse of business with the Repetition of their Breviary, and joya with their Responses Answers and Redoubles of questions are made them; and so fatistic themselves in the *Oyas* or prayers, as if it were more important to comply with his command who imposed the Office than with his who primarily enjoyed the sacrifice of prayer.

The form of their Prayers is not extracted out of the *Alchoran*, only the Collections of Sentences, as in the Name of God, God is Great and Merciful, and the like, are deduced from thence (as Christians do from the fountain of the Holy Scriptures) the rest is compiled by the four Doctors we have before mentioned, viz. *Ehbabekher*, *Omse*, *Osman* and *Ali*; whose names are wrote in golden Characters on the Walls of most *Moschs*: Herein they observe many postures and gestures of their Body; as placing their hands one on the other before them, bending the body, kneeling, touching the Ground with their forehead, moving the head to each side, and the like; in which it is difficult to make distinction of those merely invented and ordained by *Mahomet*, from those which were primarily in use amongst the ancient *Arabians*: But that the orderly Ceremonies in their Prayers may be better described, it will be to our purpose to hear what *Busbequius* relates of the whole *Turkish* Army, whom he had seen drawn up orderly in the Field at their Devotion. I saw (said he) in that Plain, a great multitude of Heads fixed up in Turbans, who with profound silence attended to the words of a Priest their Conductor; all of them being drawn up in Ranks and file, and co-strict in the imposition of this Faith, that it is no less than Death for a *Turk* to be accused of the breach thereof. In this Month to drink Wine

of lights colours, and their Turbans comparable to the whiteness of the Snow, and the variety of the different colours of their Garments, fed the eyes with a strange pleasure; in this manner fo immovable they stood, as if they had grown in the place where their feet were fixed, no coughing, hemming, nor voice was heard, nor fo much as any motion was perceived of their heads; every one as the name of *Mahomet* pronounced by the Priest, bowed his head to his knees; and as the name of God reverently proffered himself, and kissed the Earth; and thus the *Turks* with devout celerity and profound attention perform their whole Duties; supposing that Prayer becomes fruitful, which is interrupted by scratching the Head, rubbing the Hands, or any other gesture not essential to their Prayers. But of all Nations and Religions that I have known, they are the most hypocritical; they are those who love to pray in the Market-place, and in the Corners of the Streets, to have praise of Men; for it is observable with the *Turks*, that where they find the most Spectators, especially of Christians, to chuse that place how inconvenient soever, to spread forth their Handkerchief, and then begin their Prayers. The substance of their Prayers consists for the most part in praises of the Divine Power and Attributes; mixing therewith Petitions for the safety of his Prince and his Dominions, and for Diffusion and Wars amongst Christians, which part they conceive God hath greatly gratified them in, and rejoicing upon the rumours of Wars and disturbances in Christendom, as an effect of the Divine facility and condescension to their Prayers: They know well by experience, what *Tacitus* reports of the *Roman* Policy; That, *Omne Lib. 12. scelus externum cum letitia habendum, femina Hispaniae incendere, et ut Romanis detestaretur Armenia* to be a prize held up, and the Stage also, on which the Tragedy of the ruin of the Eastern Nations were to be acted, *Eandem Armeniam specie largitionis barbarorum animi praeferunt*, fo the *Turks* forbore for several years the total conquest of the Provinces of *Transilvania*, *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, reserving them for the *Cadmean* Fields, wherein the *Hungarians*, *Germans*, *Polonians*, and the People of those Countries themselves might destroy one the other, and make his entrance to the possession of them the more facile, and less bloody.

Thirdly, Of their Ramadan.

The third necessary point of their Religion, is the observation of the Month of *Ramazan*, or a Fast in that whole Month, in which time they can neither eat, drink, or take any thing in their Mouths, whilst the Sun is above the *Horizon*; afterwards, upon shutting in of the Evening, the *Emams* light the Lamps, which in that Month are exposed upon the Scepter of every *Mosch*, they have liberty to eat; most part of the night they spend in Feasting, reserving commonly their greatest Delicacies and best provisions for the consolation of that Fast; their business and employments they attend most to in the night, passing the day as over-tedious in sleeping, so that their Fast is nothing but a changing the day into night. This Month they call sacred and holy, and the time when the Gates of Paradise are opened, and of Hell are shut; and fo strict is the imposition of this Fast, that it is no less than Death for a *Turk* to be accused of the breach thereof. In this Month to drink Wine

is esteemed an inexpressible crime; and such who give themselves that liberty at other times, do yet, not to give scandal, abstain from it fourteen days before the beginning of this Month: and Women, and other of the more superstitious, begin fifteen days their Fast before it. But such as are sick, or have any infirmity, or are travellers in their journey, have a permission to eat; but with that condition, as to remain obliged at other times of their health and convenience to make good those days of the *Ramazan*, of which they remain indebted to the performance of their Law.

Mr. Paus, in his *Historia*, says that the *Arabians* used to fast.

The Institutions of this Month of *Ramazan*, proceeded from *Mahomet* himself, in the second year of his Prophetick Office, which he did not assume until he fully had completed forty years, having been in imitation of the Jews Fast of *Ajburas*, *Leviti*, 16. ver. 29. in memory of the overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his Host in the Red-Sea, enjoined to the *Arabians* the same time of Abstinence: but afterwards apprehending it dishonourable to be beholding to the Jews for the invention of a Fast, instituted the *Ramazan*, the time of which is governed by the course of the Moon, and falls out commonly ten days sooner than in the preceding year, so that this Fast with time comes to run through all the Months, and is more exact to the *Turky* when it happens in the short days of the Winter, rather than in the Summer, when the days are long and hot, which become tedious to the ordinary sort of people, who for necessity are forced to labour, and yet for the quenching thirst dare not refresh their mouths with a drop of water.

Fourthly, Of their Zaeat.

Which is another necessary point to the constitution of a *Mahometan*, which is the following: Alms according to certain rules prescribed by four principal Doctours of their Law: the word *Zaeat* signifies as much as Encrease, because the Alms procure the blessing of God, and multiply the store of the Merciful. According to this command every man is obliged to give one in a hundred of all their Estate to the relief of the poor; and though this Precept is enjoined as an ingredient to constitute a true *Mahometan*, yet covetousness and Policy so much prevail with the *Turks*, that the Rich are both unwilling to part with so much of their Estate, and fearful to evidence their Wealth by a true calculate according to the *Zaeat*; so that the Poor are the best observers of this injunction, the Rich concealing it superstitious, and never intended by God to make the performance of Religion a snare to their Estates.

Fifthly, Of their Pilgrimage to Mecha.

Which is enjoined to every one who hath Riches and Freedom from great Offices and Charges of Government, to perform it: being a Type or signification of their passage out of this world into the next. The number of those who yearly undertake this Pilgrimage is uncertain, though most commonly are registered from divers parts where the *Mahometan* Religion is professed, above Fifty Thousand Souls: their Pilgrims depart about the latter end of May from *Constantinople*, and meet with those from *Anatolia*, *Caramania*, and others of that quarter of the World at *Damascus*: those from *Perfia* assemble at *Babylon*: those

of the parts of *Egypt* at *Grand Cairo*, and all unite upon a Mount not far distant from *Mecha*, where they observe divers Ceremonies, as making *Corban* or Sacrifice, which they do by killing Sheep, and sending part thereof as Presents to their Friends, and distribution thereof amongst the Poor. They also here strip themselves of their Garments, and being covered only with a Blanket, go in procession through the Mountains, in signification that they must now leave all their sins and affections of the World behind them. Here also they leave their Christian Slaves, that so they may not prophane the Holy City with the Uncircumcised.

The chief Commander over the Pilgrims (for amongst so considerable a number of people, there must be rule and Government) is appointed by the Grand Signior, and is called *Sw-Emini*, by whom he sends *500 Zeebints*, an *Alcoran* Embroidered with Gold, carried on a Camel, and as much black Cloth as serves for Hangings for the *Mosjehs* at *Mecha*; and this is yearly presented from the *Sultan* to that place: when the new Hanging is set up, that of the former year is pulled down, and is by the Pilgrims torn in pieces: some getting more and some less, carry any rag of it home, as a Relique and token of their Pilgrimage, which serves them in place of the *Casbe*, to which they turn their faces at the time of Prayers. The Camel which carried the *Alcoran*, at its return home is decked with flowers and other ornaments, and having performed this holy Journey, is ever after exempted from all labour and service.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Bairam and Ceremonies used at that time by the chief Officers to the Grand Signior.

THE Bairam is the Feast of the *Turks*, of which there are two in the year: one immediately following the Fast of *Ramazan*, as our *Easter* doth the *Lent*, which is called the great Bairam; the other is the little Bairam, which happens about seventy days after the former: at which time the people for three days cease from their labours: present one the other, rejoice and take greater liberty than at other times; which no question but was invented by *Mahomet*, for relaxation of the bodies and minds of his Followers, as well as in imitation of the Christian Feasts.

The Bairam is then conceived to begin at the first appearance of the new Moon after the *Ramazan*; which is sometime deferred, if the Moon is by the weather prove cloudy, that the Moon is not visible; if longer the Sky be obscured, according to the course of nature, it is presumed that the Moon is begun, and so their Feast begins also: which is published at *Constantinople* by the discharge of the great Guns at the point of the *Seraglio* upon the Sea-shore, at which time the Lights or Lamps on the Steeples of the *Mosjehs* are extinguished or omitted to be lighted, and Drums and Trumpets are sounded in all public places of the City, and Courts of great Persons: so that every one betakes himself to Mirth or Pastime as his own inclination or convenience leads him.

But

But that which will be most curious to the observation of the judicious Reader, is the relation of the Ceremonies used in the *Seraglio* at this Feast by the several Officers of State to the Grand Signior, and to one another; which are so formal, precise, and constant to the least motion of every Member of the Body, as will clear the *Turk* from that opinion which passes of them in the World, of being rude, uncivil, and void of all Ceremony or Courtship in their comportment and behaviour; which according to the best information I could procure, is for the most part in this manner:

The Antipoint leading to the Lodgings of the *Kapa Agasi* (or chief Eunuch who commands the Pages) being adorned with rich Carpets, Cushions, and other Furniture after their fashion, on the Vigil or Eve before the Bairam, all the Prime Officers of State belonging to the Empire then at *Constantinople*, assemble themselves at the Grand Signior's *Seraglio* three or four hours before day, where as soon as day breaks, the Grand Signior sits mounted on Horseback, passes through the midst of them, and goes to the *Mosjeh* of *Santa Sophia*, where having said his morning Prayer, he returns again to the *Seraglio*.

Being returned, he enters the *Hafode* or Royal Chamber, and setting himself in his Seat of State, having the chief Eunuch of the Pages on his left hand, the Sons of the *Tartar Han* (which remain for Hostages in the *Turkish Court*) upon signs made to them, are the first who present themselves before him to wish him a happy Festival; whom (as I have heard reported) he walks three Paces to meet, and they prostrating themselves, say, *Eiamissherif*, which is, *May these days be happy* and arising kiss his hand, and so retire. The next who makes his address, is the Prime Visier, who standing on the right hand of the Grand Signior in the front of all the *Begs*, *Adjans*, and other great Officers, complements the Grand Signior upon one knee, and nearer approaching, kisses his hand, and then arising takes the titation of the *Kapa Agasi*, or Eunuch of the Pages. The next who follows in this Ceremony is the *Musli*, who on the left hand fronts the Officers and principal Heads of the Law, as the *Kadefschene*s or Lords chief Justices of *Anatolia* and *Greece*, the *Nakib Enderly*, principal Head or Primate of the *Kendak* of *Mahomet*, the *Mollah*, Preachers called *Seighs*, and others. Then the *Musli* bowing his head to the ground, holding his hands on his Girdle, kisses him on the left shoulder, and the Grand Signior steps one pace forward to meet him, and so retires to his place; then all the others in their several Orders take their turns to pass this Ceremony, who are treated according to what the Prime Visier informs the Grand Signior: for some kiss his Hand, others the hem of his Veil, some his Sleeve, others his Breast, thereafter as their Quality and Authority is, which is so full of variety and formal niceties, that there is a Book wrote expressly treating of all the particularities of this Ceremony. The last of all who is called to perform his Complement, is the *Janizan Agasi*, or the General of the *Janizaries*.

This part being thus far passed, the Grand Signior enters into a more retired chamber of the *Seraglio*, where the *divs Agales*, or the four principal Pages are the first of the Court to do their obeysance as before: then follow the Eunuchs and other Pages; In the mean time a Dinner is provided in the Chamber of the *Divan*, where

the Officers of State having complied with their obligation, take a plentiful repast at the Grand Signior's charges; after which the Grand Signior makes a present to each of the sixteen principal Officers of Sable Vests, with which the Ceremony concludes.

Then is may have for the Coaches of the *Sultana's* who having been cloyistered in the old *Seraglio* the whole year before, are glad at the Feast of Bairam to have occasion to make their Visits to the Grand Signior in the first place, as being of his Kindred and Relations, and then to the Queen or Queen-Mother, and to the other *Sultana's* and Ladies, with whom they use variety of Ceremony according to their Condition and Quality; and there have liberty to remain for the space of three days in Enquainting, and other diversifications of Mufick and Discourse.

It may well be observed from the premises, how generally the World is mistaken in the opinion is conceived of the Courtship used amongst the *Turks*, commonly reputed by Travellers to be rude, coming much short of that quaintness, bowings, cringes, and reverent postures used in *Christendom*. It is true the *Turk* deportment even in the most vile and mechanic vulgar, though never so mean, is carried with a strange kind of barbarity and rudeness towards the rest of Christians in those parts; which proceeds rather from a sort of pride and detestation taught them by their Religion, than from any want of being instructed in their duty of due reverence to their Superiors; for in their carriage one towards the other, they observe the rules and niceties of Complement with as much variety and exactness, as is exercised in *Rome*, or the most civilized Courts of *Christendom*; and amongst the chief Ministers there is much preciseness and caution used not to exceed the limits of that Ceremony which inferiours owe the Superiours, lest they should disparage their own quality, or give occasion to the World to believe their disorderly submission to be a part of adulation. And therefore it is worthy the study of Christian Ministers employed in Embassies in the *Ottoman Court*, to be well informed in the rules and manner of their carriage in the presence of the chief Ministers of State; for uncovering the head, as in *Christendom*, is amongst them esteemed ridiculous and affrontive, and the manner of little bowings and often inclinations of the body, taken as acknowledgments of the great distance there is between the Masters they represent; and therefore a little Ceremony at the entrance, and the like at departure, with a steady and constant behaviour at the time of the Treaty or Discourse, is the best rule for a Christian Minister; which is interpreted amongst *Turks* as the effect of gravity and estimation of themselves; it being certain, that the contrary hath caused many Christian Ministers to fall lower in the reputation of the *Turks*, than they had deserved for their wisdom and dexterity in the management of the more substantial points of Affairs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Prohibition of Swines Flesh and Wine.

THE five foregoing Principles already treated of are (as we have said before) the essential points required towards the constitution of a true *Mahometan*; other matters are proofs and trials of their obedience; amongst which none is more enjoyed than the prohibition of Swines flesh and Wine: which are called *Haram* things abominable and forbidden. The first is really abhorred by them, and as displeasing as the flesh of a Man to civilized People, or a Dogs right to such as have been used to Delicacies and wholesome Viands. But Wine of late years, though forbidden by the Law, hath gained a better reputation: and though accursed by them, is yet accounted of so strong a temptation, that the sin is the more excusable; and though the *Alchoran* positively inhibits the use thereof, and the Expositors of the Law have so far removed it from all possibility of becoming lawful, that they have determined that if Wine be split on the ground, and in that place Grass grows, and with that pasture a Sheep or an Ox is nourished, thofe Carrel become *Haram*, and are as abominable as the flesh of Swine.

But notwithstanding the severe Prohibitions hereof by their Religion, Wine is so commonly used, that it is publicly drank without cautions or fear of giving scandal; the great Men, because in Office, are more careful how the World discovers what delight they take in that liquor, lest the miscarriages of their Office should be attributed to the excess of Wine; or their knowledge of the use of that which deprives them of their reason, render them incapable of their Trust and Dignity. For the *Turky* account it impossible to drink Wine with moderation, and are ignorant of the benefit of it for concoction of crude humours and indigestions of the stomach; and wonder to see it by *English*, *French*, or *Italian* tempered with Water; for unless they may drink it with full Bowls, and have sufficient thereof, to give them their *Kauf*, (as they call it) that is to transport them into a dissolute mirth, or the ridiculous actions of drunkenness, or to a surfeit or a vomit, they esteem it not worth the drinking, and a provocation to the appetite and palate to remain with a desire of demanding more.

But such as would appear Religious amongst them, and are superstitious, morose, and hater of Christians, abstain wholly from Wine, and are of a Stoical pride, melancholy temper, and censorious of the whole World. These men who drink only Water and Coffee, enter into Discourses of State matters, censure the Actions, and pass Characters on the Grandees and great Officers; *Assumpta Stoicorum arrogantia, Sclag, quæ turbidos, & negotiorum appetenter faciat, Tac. lib. 14.* And this was the reason why the great *Vizier Kuperli*, put down the Coffee-houses in *Constantinople*, and yet privileged the Travellers, because the first were melancholy places where Seditions were vented, where reflexions were made on all occurrences of State, and discontents published and aggravated; but Wine raised the spirits of men to a gay humour, and would never operate those effects to endanger

his condition as the Councils which were continued in the Assemblies of those who addicted themselves to a more melancholy Liquor.

The drinking Wine in young Men is esteemed amongst the extravagancies of Youth, but in old men is crime a more undecent, and scandalous in a higher degree. But why *Mahomet* should so severely forbid the use of Wine to his Disciples, is recounted in a Fable on this occasion; That their Prophet being once invited by a Friend to an entertainment at his house, changed in his way thither to be detained, a while at a Nuptial Feast, where the Guests raised with the cheerful spirits of the Wine, were mercy, embracing, and in a kind temper each towards other; which pleasing humour *Mahomet* attributing to the effect of the Wine, blessed it as a sacred thing, and so departed. But it happened that in the evening returning again, and expecting to see the love and carefree he had before blessed, to be augmented, he found the house to the contrary, full of Brawls and noise, fightings, and all confusion; which he also having understood to be another effect of the Wine, changed his former Blessing into a Curse, and for ever after made it *Haram*, or an abomination to his Disciples.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of their Morality, Good Works, and some certain of their Laws worthy of observation.

THOUGH according to the preceding Discourse, the Character that may thence result from the nature and temperance of the *Turks*, doth not promise any long Treatise concerning their deep Morality, Virtues, and elevated Graces: yet in the minds of all Mankind, though never so barbarous, God having wrought the Law of Nature, and made that impression of doing right to our Neighbour, which tends towards conservation of the World; we may well expect to find the same Principles in the *Turks*; especially their Victories and Spoils abroad, having procured them conversation with other Nations, and their Wars and Treaties with Christians, having refined their minds in a good part of that rude temper they brought with them out of *Syria*, it will not be strange for us to find amongst them, men whom Education hath made civil, polished in all points of virtuous deportment, and made Heroes of their Age; though I must confess I cannot applaud the generality of this people with so high encomiums, as I have read in the Books of some ingenious Travellers, and do believe without partiality that they come short of the good nature and virtues are to be found in most parts of *Christendom*. Howsoever, wherein they conceive a great part of charity is placed, and meritorious Works, it will not be unworthy nor unpleasant to consider.

And in the first place, they esteem it a good work to build Houses, though from thence they obtain a Rent, because it is a habitation for those who have no Lands or Estates, to have them of their own. But especially such as are Princes and great Men, who build *Chans* or Inns, which are receptacles for Travellers at night,

are ranked in the first Order of sacred Benefactors, and are blessed and prayed for by the weary Guests, who have found repose and refreshment through their Munificence; and in their Buildings the *Turks* are extraordinary Magnificent in most parts of the Empire, having united to many of them a stately *Mosch*, Baths, and Shops for Artisans and Tradesmen to supply all the necessities of the Travellers; and some of them are so endowed, that every night the Guests are entertained at free cost with a convenient Supper, be their number more or less according as the *Chan* is capable to receive. The form of these Buildings is for the most part according to the model of the highest and sturdiest of our Halls, covered with Lead, though not altogether so high Roofed; yet some I have observed for their breadth and length very Magnificent; yet by reason they have been somewhat lower, have only in that come short of the pride of the sturdiest Fabricks: though in few of them are Apartments for different Companies, yet every one is sufficiently retired, having at a convenient distance different Chimneys for all parties of Guests to dress their Meat, and in the Winter for their Fire; the greatest inconvenience to Men of watchful spirits, and used to quiet retirements, is the want of sleep, which until I have been over-tired with labour, and accustomed thereto by divers days Journeys, hath been always a stranger to my eyes, by reason of the molestation of various Companies, some of which are always awake, some mending their Carts, others dressing Meat, others upon their departure, that in those publick places never want noise to disturb those who sleep but of one ear: These stately *Chans* or Inns, which with the *Moschs* are the only durable and magnificent Buildings of the Empire, are the Edifices of certain great Men, who fearing to be deprived of their Riches by a hasty death, should they endeavour to continue them to their Family, chuse to perpetuate their Names, and secure their conditions by these publick Works.

Those who would appear of a compassionate and tender nature, hold it a pious work to buy a Bird from a Cage to give him his liberty; and hold it a meritorious action to buy Bread and feed the Dogs, of which there are a great number of diseased Curs in all Streets appropriate to no Master, but are many and foul, and no small causes of breeding the Plague, so frequent in all the Cities of the *Turky*. And this care of Dogs is accounted so charitable, that there are certain Laws made for the protection and maintenance of them: and it is a lighter offence to deny Bread to a poor Christian who is famished in his Chains, than to the Dogs of their Street, which are fit for nothing but to breed Infection; and some bind themselves by a Vow to give such a quantity of bread a day to the Dogs of such a Street, others bequeath it by Testament; for they maintain their quarters from other wandering Curs, and join together in a strange manner to preserve certain limits free from others that are not whelped and bred amongst them.

The Camel is another sort of Beast to which the *Turks* bear not only a love, but a religious reverence, accounting it a greater sin to overburthen and tie them with too much labour, than the Horse, because it is the Beast most common to the holy parts of *Arabia*, and carries the *Alchoran* in Pilgrimage; that I have observed those who have the government of the *Camels*, when they have given water to them in a Basin, to take off the foam or froth that comes from the Mouth of the Beast, and with that, as if it were fine rare Balm, with a singular devotion to anoint their Beards, and threaten with a Religious sigh, groan out, On Father Pilgrim! which is as much as, Oh Father Pilgrim! O Father Pilgrim! And thus having run through the most observable points of the *Turkish Religion*, it will be now time to take a view of their Host and Militia, being that by which their Empire is more supported, than either by their Policy in Civil Government, or Profession in Religion.

THE

T H E
THIRD BOOK,
 Wherein is Treated of
The Turkish Militia.

C H A P. I.

*Of the present state of the Military Discipline in general
 amongst the Turks.*

W HOOVER is acquainted with the state of the *Turkish* Empire, and hath duly considered the premises of this foregoing Treatise, will easily judge that the main Sinews of the *Ottoman* Kingdom consist in the force of the *Spahies*, *Janissaries*, and the other Auxiliaries; and that this Government being wholly founded upon Martial Discipline, and the Law of Arms, is most obliged to the Constitutions, and supported on the Props related in this following Discourse: for this People having neither entered into the Possession of this Empire, as into an uninhabited and desert Land, as Colonies of other Nations have done into Countries new found or discovered; nor got admittance precariously from the *Grecian* Princes for the benefit of their Neighbourhood and Commerce; but have opened their way to Possession and Government by mere force and power of the Sword; whereby their Constitutions, Laws, Customs and Manners of living are wholly agreeable to the warlike Discipline of a Camp, and to the quickness and ready execution of Martial Law. And if it be true in Morality, as it is in Nature, that things are conformed by the same cause by which they are produced; it will necessarily follow, that this *Ottoman* Empire, which was begot by Arms, and had Mars its only Father, will never be nourished by softness, and the arts and blandishments of Peace.

But he that takes a view of the *Ottoman* Armies, as described in various Histories, renowned for their Chivalry and Discipline in the times of *Sultan Selim*, or *Solyman* the Magnificent, and designs thence to extract a draught, or Copy for his present speculation, will find himself much at a loss in framing true conjectures of the puissance of the *Turks*, or the Rules of their Government, by comparison of former times with this present age. For that ancient sublimity and comely Majesty in the Empire is much abated; the Forces by Land decayed, and the Maritime power

by ill success and unskillfull and slothfull Seamen, reduced to an inconsiderable condition; the Countries are dispeopled, and the Royal Revenue abated; nothing remains of those plentiful stores and provisions of War, nor that Regiment and Discipline continued in peace, none of that ancient observation of their Laws and Religion, nor that love and respect to the Militia, which is now become degenerate, soft, and effeminate; nor is the *Ottoman* Court so prone to remunerate the services, and exalt the interest of the Cavalry, or maintain the reputation of the *Janissaries*. In brief, there are no Reliques of ancient Justice, or Generosity of discreet Government, or Obedience to It, of Courtly or Concord, of Valour or Counsel, nor yet of Confidence, Friendship, or generous Fidelity.

But though this Empire hath many of these dittempers, and begins to grow factious, and yet slothfull, and desirous to avoid the occasions of War, as all Governments have been which in their youth and first beginnings were eager, active, and provoked through Poverty, in their ripener years grown Rich, and Luxurious with Plenty, have declined afterwards as from the Meridian of their Greatness and Power; yet the *Turks* maintain still the extent of their Dominions, and if they have lost ground in one place, like the Sea, they have recovered it in another; if in *Asia* the *Persians* have taken from them *Rivan*, *Schirvan*, *Tibris*, *Lyriz* and *Gbenge*, it is but a recovery of their own Dominions; if they are dispossessed in *Ethiopia* of *Eden*, and other parts of *Arabia Felix*, they have recompensed themselves in *Europe*, by their footing in *Candia*; and in *Hungary*, by the late Conquest of *Newbrusht* and *Novigrade*; and in *Transylvania*, by the additions of *Janova* and *Waradin*.

But this Empire, as vast and large as it is, is yet dispeopled, the Villages abandoned, and whole provinces as pleasant and fruitful as *Tempe* or *Thessaly*, uncultivate and turned into a Desert.

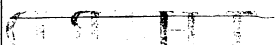
or Villagers: all which desolation and ruin proceeds from the Tyranny and Rapine of the *Beglerbegs* and *Pashas*; who either in their Journeys to the possession of their Government, or return from thence, expose the poor Inhabitants to violence and injury in their Attendants, as if they had entered the Confiner of an Enemy, or the Dominions of a Conquered People.

In like manner the Inconsequence of the Horse and Foot is unsupportable, for in their marches from one Country to another. Parties of 20 or 30 are permitted to make excursions into divers parts of the former Dominions, where they not only live upon free quarter, but exact Money and Cloaths from the poor Villages, taking their Children to sell for Slaves, especially the *Bulgarians*, and *Serbs*, and the people of *Bosnia* and *Albania*, which being ignorant of the Turkish Tongue, are sold for *Kissians*, *Hungarians* or *Moscovites*, to that rather than be exposed to much misery and licence of the Soldiers, the poor people choose to abandon their dwellings, and wander into other Cities, or seek for refuge in the Mountains, or Woods of the Country. In fine, though generally the Military Offices are in the same form, and the Soldiers disposed according to the ancient Rule and Canon, yet licentiousness and negligence have so prevailed in the Officers, as to introduce that corruption which renders them wholly altered and estranged from their first Discipline: For the Commanders upon every light occasion are contented to make *Oratricks* or *Stripendiaries*, such as enjoy the pay and privileges of a Soldier, and yet are excused from the Wars; which they easily purchase with a small Sum of Money, for a scratch, or a flesh-wound gained in the Wars; wholly against the Original Institution, which designed that benefit only for maintained and disabled Soldiers; so that now there is to be great a number of Soldiers lusty and healthful, under the title of Dead men's pay, as disfigure the Grand Signior's Treasury, and weakens his Forces.

The *Janizaries* also marrying freely, and yet dispensed with as to the absence from their Duty and Chambers, apply themselves to Trades and other Studies besides the War, by which means having Children and Dependents, they are forced by other Arts than their few Alpers of daily pay, to seek the provision and maintenance of a Family; and their minds growing estranged from the War, are solicitous with the care and anxiety for a Wife and Children; and in my time, have so absorbed the thoughts of the War both in *Candy* and in *Hungary*, that many have offered great Presents to be excused; and so general hath been the dislike of all kind of Martial action for the reasons before mentioned, that at first the very rumours and discourse of War, and afterwards the reality thereof, caused so general a discontent, as had, if not prudently prevented and timely suppressed, burst into a Murine of the Militia; whose meer enquiry but into the reasons and grounds of the War, is little different from a Sedition.

Another Corruption hath the Covetousness of the Officers produced for small Profits and Donatives, in owning many under the title and name of *Spahes* and *Janizaries*, which have no name or place in the Rolls, or Registers of the Soldier; by which means many Offenders, and outlawed persons are defended by the Military Privileges; and the ancient honour due to Arms is prostituted for the maintenance and protection of the rascalities and fumes of the World.

And this shall serve to have spoken in general of the present state of the Turkish Soldier; we shall now proceed to the particularities of the force and numbers of the Turkish Militia, and from whence and how they are raised.



CHAP. II.

Of the Turkish Militia.

IN the twelfth Chapter of the first Book we made an estimate of the Revenue and the Riches of all the *Beglerbegs* and *Pashas* of the Empire, be which might be collected the number of Soldiers which these great men are able out of their own Families to furnish unto the Wars; it will be now time to make a just computation in its due place, of the Forces in particular, the numbers, the Countries from whence they are raised, the several Military Orders, and is indeed so incredibly great and numerous, that with good reason they have formed it into a Proverb, *That no Grasp grows where the Turkish Horse hath once set his foot*. This speculation is absolutely necessary to a true Description of the Regiment of a Country; for the Martial Constitutions are the best part of the Political Science, and Civil Laws have no vigour unless they receive their Authority by the enforcement of the Sword: This consideration is also necessary to the Art of a Statesman, that he ill studies the Geography of his Enemies Provinces, who knows not the utmost strength it contains by Land and Sea, and is ill prepared to gain a perfect knowledge of the prudent Art where with a Nation or People is conferred in Peace, who is ignorant of their Force, and Constitutions appropriated to the time of War. Wherefore we shall discourse as succinctly of this Subject as the matter will permit, and with the same certainty that one of the principal Master-Masters of the Turkish Rolls, long practised and accurate in his Office, hath deciphered, from whose Report it self I profess to derive my Authority in this following Relation.

The whole Turkish Militia then is of two sorts; one that receives maintenance from certain Lands or Farms bestowed on them by the Grand Signior; others that receive their constant pay in ready money. The great nerve or sinew of the Turkish Empire is that of the * first rank, which are of two sorts, viz. *Zaims*, which are Turkish like Barons in some Countries; and *Timariots*, which may be compared to the *Decurions* amongst the Romans. Those of the second sort, paid out of the Grand Signior's Treasury, are *Spahes*, *Janizaries*, *Armourers*, *Gunners*, and Soldiers * *Levans*, who have no pay for life, or are * *Topis*, enrolled amongst the Military Orders; but may make an agreement for five or six thousand Alpers for their Voyage, which being ended, they are discharged.

Of the Zaims and Timariots.

The nature of these two, and their Institution is the same; the only difference is in their Commissions or Patents, or rather we may call them the Conveyances or Evidences for their Lands, which they have from the Grand Signior: For

the Rent of a *Zaim* is from a * of Alpers to 99999, and no further; for adding one Alper more, it becomes the Estate of a *Sangiacbek*, called a *Pashaw*, which is from 100000 Alpers to 199999; for adding one Alper more, it becomes the Revenue of a *Beglerbeg*.

The *Timariots* are of two sorts: one called *Trakzerli*, who have their Estates in the best Land from the Grand Signior's Court, whose Rent is from 5 or 6000 Alpers, to 199999; for these with the addition of one Alper they enter the number of *Zaims*: The other sort is called *Trakzerli*, who hath his Patent or Writing from the *Beglerbeg* of the Country, whose Rent is from 3000 to 6000 Alpers.

The *Zaims* in all Expeditions of War are obliged to serve with their Tents, which are to be furnished with Kitchens, Stables and other necessary Apartments agreeable to their State and Quality; and for every 5000 Alpers of Rent received from the Grand Signior, they are to bring one Horse-man into the Field, which is called *Gebeli*; as for example, one of thirty thousand Alpers is to come attended with six, one of ninety thousand with 18 Horsemen, and so proportionally: every *Zaim* is entitled *Kulichege*, or Sword-man; so that when the Turkey calculate the strength or number of a *Beglerbeg* is able to bring into the Field for the service of his Prince, they make a computation upon so many *Zaims* and *Timariots* themselves, which they call so many Swords, not numbering the people with which they come accompanied.

The *Timariots* are obliged to serve with lesser Baskets, and to be provided with three or four tents: Office is, besides fighting, as also of the *Zaims* and *Pashas*, to carry Earth and Stones for making Batteries and Trenches, whilst the *Timariots* are in skirmish with the Enemy. And every three thousand Alpers Rent the *Timariots* are fitted at a Man and Horse, as the *Zaim* is for every five thousand; and both one and the other of these Souldiers little differ from those in England which hold their Lands in *Capite*, or the ancient Tenure of Knights Service.

Both *Zaims* and *Timariots* are disposed into Regiments under command of Colonels, called *Alai Begler*, who march with Colours and Standards; * Kettle-Drum: these Colonels are again under the command of the *Pashas*, or *Sangiacbegs*, and he under the *Beglerbeg*; which Forces being united into one body, repair to the Rendezvous appointed by the * General, who is either the Grand Signior in Person, or the *Vilier Aum*, or some other eminent person qualified with the Title of Visier.

These two Orders of Souldiery are not only appropriated to Land service, but some also are destined to the Sea, who are called *Deria Kelmende*, and are under the command of the Captain *Pashaw* or Admiral; but the *Zaims* are most commonly dispensed with as to the Sea-service in their own persons, upon the payment of so much Money as they are esteemed at in the Signior's Book, out of which *Levans* are raised, and enrolled in the Registers of the *Arifinal*; but the *Timariots* can never be excused from their personal duty and service with their attendance of Souldiery, according to the value of their Lands.

Neither the one nor the other of these can be dispensed with from their service at Land; no excuse in time of the Grand Signior's Wars is lawful or pleasurable; if sick, they are carried in

horse-Litters or Beds; if Infants in Hampers or Baskets, and in their Cradles accustomed to the hardship, hazard, and Discipline of War. And thus much shall suffice in brief to have spoken in explanation of the Nature of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which come under the general denomination of *Spahes*, and compose the best part of the Turkish Armies; we shall now proceed to declare, as far as can probably be computed, the number of these Hosts, which fill up the vast Host that hath overpassed to large a proportion of the World.

CHAP. III.

A Computation of the numbers of the Forces arising from the Zaims and Timariots.

IT were a work of too great labour confiding the little satisfaction and delight it would afford the Reader, to proceed accurately in describing the just numbers of those which follow these *Zaims* and *Timariots*; it will be sufficient to denote, that the smallest number of a *Zaim* is four Men, and is the greatest of a *Timariot*, whose lowest condition is obliged to maintain a single Man, and the highest of a *Zaim* to serve with Nineteen; so that whosoever will survey this Turkish Host, must make his Calculate a little more or less by conjecture and judgement.

And this difficulty is the more augmented, when I consider the fraud is used by the Accountants, Registers, and Master-Masters of the Grand Signior's Enrollments, who are as well acquainted with the arts and artifices of making false Mutters as they are in the most ingenious places of *Christendoms*; and perhaps Policy may afford a convenience to this Fraud, for the sake of a superlative face of their Armies which they love to express by this usual flourish, *Alker reml deria misal*, As innumerable as the Sands of the Sea-shore: but in effect the noise is greater than the reality, and he that will turn up their number, may find Arithmetick to make the Account, which by the vast extent of Tents, confusion of Baggage, train of Servants, and Attendants of the Camp, appears infinite in the popular estimation. Besides the Turkish Army admits of great increase and decrease by the many interlopers, as we call them, which the *Zaims* for their own honour introduce to fill up their numbers on a day of Muster, or Appearances; so that one would admit to see, in so short a time so apparent a decay in the Turkish Camp: which abuse, the great and famous *Vilier Mahomet Kimpalli* with cruelty and extraordinary severity endeavoured to remedy upon his expedition for recovery of *Tenedos* and *Lemnos*; and conquest of *Tamora* in *Asiaticum*; but it is impossible for one man to know, see, and remedy all disorders, and is amongst the Turkey called *dain* into a secret fraud, as difficult to be totally remedied as it is to be thoroughly discovered.

But that which makes the principal difference and various change herein, is the death of *Zaims* and *Timariots*; some of which holding an Estate only for life, and others dying without Heirs of their Bodies, their Lands revert to the Crown: Which Estates being improved by the industry is lawful or pleasurable; if sick, they are carried in

Note. in the Records, and afterwards falling into the hands of the Prince, are bestowed again on others according to their true estimate, which is oftentimes double of the former. By which means, the number of the Grand Signior's Souldiery is increased; and it is a point very observable, that as other Princes loose by the fall, and death of their Subjects, the Grand Signior is the only gainer; for of the most that are slain in the day of Battel, the Estates accrue to him, in disposal again of which he observes this Rule, to gratifie many with that which was before the proportion of a single person.

But to come now to the express and distinct account of the *Ziamets* and *Timarions* in every part and Government of the Empire, this Computation is extracted out of the Imperial Rolls, and Registers of the Grand Signior.

In the Government of *Anatolia* are reckoned as follows: in the

22	<i>Zaimi</i> is the	<i>Bangkaya</i>	<i>Zaimers</i>	<i>Timarists</i>	
23	per the, and	<i>Kitahiba</i>	39	548	So that, comparing at
24	<i>Zaimi</i> the	<i>Suran</i>	41	674	the lowest rate, 4 Gede
25	and the	<i>Alhah</i>	42	674	of the same <i>Zaim</i> with
26	maine-	<i>Kallamni</i>	42	570	them and their follow-
27	of	<i>Hendehngihir</i>	42	1005	ers, must make 1180
28	<i>Zaim</i>	<i>Metade</i>	42	570	of the number of
29		<i>Of Angara</i>	10	215	<i>Timarists</i> at the same
30		<i>Karabihir</i>	10	215	off rate makes 1488
31		<i>Tiki</i>	17	247	
32		<i>Riangi</i>	17	381	In all 1606
33		<i>Jurnal</i>	17	381	For maintenance of
34		<i>Suran Ughi</i>	17	390	which Army the Army
35		<i>Karbi</i>	17	242	in the <i>Orman</i> <i>Stamen</i>
36		<i>Tesja hifir</i>	17	12	are <i>Alpers</i> 375100
37					
38	80 <i>Alpers</i>				
39	make				
40	Dollar or				
41	a Piece of				
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There was farther in past times allotted to the attendance of this Army about 6900 men for bringing provisions, and for the service of the Artillery; and was allowed an allowance for 1280 Suters, Victuals of the Camp, and for 128 Trumpeters and Drummers, which were Gyffets; but this was when *Anasloki* was a Frontier Country to the Chirifians, and was therefore better fortified and accommodated; but since it is become one of the innermost parts of the Empire, that Rent is converted into the possession of *Zaims* and *Timarists*, so that there is a farther addition of 330 *Ziamets* and 1136 *Timariots*.

In the Government of *Caramania* are reckoned,

<i>Sangiacrs 7. Ziamets Timariots</i>			
<i>Iconium</i>	18	512	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the
<i>Nigde</i>	11	355	<i>Zaimr</i> at the lowest rate
<i>Kajfari</i>	12	144	are 2922
<i>Jenfischeher</i>	13	244	of <i>Timariots</i> at the
<i>Akyscheher</i>	6	122	fame account 4900
<i>Kyfscheher</i>	4	430	
<i>Akgerai</i>	9	358	Web makes in all 4822
			The Rent according to
Which make	73	2165	the <i>Ottoman</i> Statute, is,
			<i>Aipers</i> 1050175

In the Government of *Diarbekir* are reckoned 12 *Sangiacks*, besides those of *Kiurdistan* and *Gurdia*, which are computed to make 1800 Men; but I find only 9 denoted for the *Ziamets* and *Timariots*, viz. 12

Sangicks Ziamets Timariots			
Amed	9	167	The Gebelues of the
Charpuz	70	163	Zaims at the lowest rate
Exani	10	122	will make 424
Sipurek	0	1	Timariots Gebelues at
Nerbin	1	5	the same rate will make
Chafenghif	5	30	1080
Tebemfcherek	2	7	
Kuleb	3	24	1504
Sangiar	6	21	The Rent is not de-
			scribed for this Country
Which make	106	540	in the Ottoman Statutes,

In the Govern. of the *Beglerbeg* of *Damascus*, called in the Turkish *Scham*, are 7 *Sangiacks*.

<i>Sangiacos Ziamets Timariots</i>			
<i>Damoufoz</i>	87	337	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the
<i>Jerusalem</i>	9	161	<i>Zaims</i> at the former rates
<i>Agium</i>	4	61	512
<i>Isabura</i>	9	39	The <i>Gebelues</i> of Ti-
<i>Sifad</i>	5	123	<i>marlots</i>
<i>Gags</i>	7	108	1746
<i>Nabolor</i>	7	44	In all
Which make	128	873	2158

In the Government of the *Beqerybeg* of Limos.

<i>Sangiacky Ziamets Timariots</i>		
<i>Liwas</i>	48	928
<i>Amajia</i>	19	249
<i>Teburum</i>	16	319
<i>Buzadick</i>	15	731
<i>Demariki</i>	1	310
<i>Gianik</i>	7	348
<i>Arbbig</i>	2	153
<hr/>		
Which make 808 2020		

The Gebelues of the	
Zaima at the former rate	
	432
The Timariots	6058
	<hr/>
In all	64900
The Rent for maintenance hereof	13087327

In the Govern. of the *Beglerbeg* of *Erzurum* are.

<i>Sangiacke Ziamets Timariots</i>		
<i>Ergum</i>	56	2214
<i>Karabazir- Schari</i>	32	904
<i>Kieft</i>	8	229
<i>Pajin</i>	9	654
<i>Hanes Esber</i>	3	435
<i>Tortum</i>	10	491
<i>Mamervum</i>	4	96
<i>Melackerd</i>	0	272
<i>Tekman</i>	1	253
	122	5548

<i>The Gebelues</i> of the	
<i>Zaims</i> at the former rate	488
<i>The Timariots</i>	1026
In all	11548

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Wan* are.

Sangiachs Ziamets Timariots			
Wan	48	147	
Adilgawar	29	101	The Gebelies of the
Ergifb	0	14	Zaims at the former
Senurighiul	32	203	rate make 7400
Tebobaniul	2	36	The Timariots 1652
Ghibojiche	30	160	
Dereghber	27	79	In all 2392
Ghiorluk	7	61	
Fantiozi	4	25	
	185	826	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Maraſch* are:

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>	
<i>Marafch</i>	10	118	The <i>Gebelues</i> of
<i>Malatia</i>	8	276	the <i>Ziams</i> at the for-
<i>Afab</i>	9	118	mer rate make 108
			The <i>Timariots</i> 1027
	27	512	
			1135

The Rent for maintenance,
 Afprs 9420317

In the Government of *Cyprus* are.

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>	
<i>Itchili</i>	16	60	} The <i>Gebelues</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the for- mer rate make 1600 The <i>Timariots</i> 2134
<i>Alaine</i>	0	115	
<i>Cyprus</i>	9	308	
<i>Sehin</i>	2	156	
<i>Tarfus</i>	13	428	
	<hr/> 40	<hr/> 1067	<hr/> 2294

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of Tripoli in Syria are:

<i>Sangiacke</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>	
<i>Tripoli</i>	12	87	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the
<i>Hams</i>	15	169	<i>Zains</i> at the former
<i>Gebile</i>	9	91	rate make 250
<i>Selemie</i>	4	56	The <i>Timariots</i> 1140
<i>Hamaz</i>	23	171	
	<hr/> 63	<hr/> 570	<hr/> 1390

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of Rika
are

<i>Sangiac's Ziamets Timariots.</i>			
<i>Rika</i>	30	143	} <i>The Gebelues of the Zaims at the former rate make</i>
<i>Serag</i>	9	291	
<i>Biregek</i>	15	109	
<i>Ane</i>	9	123	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	60	666	<hr/>
			1572

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Trabesond* are no *Sangiacks* as is declared in the first Book; yet within the Jurisdiction of the City its self are 56 *Ziamets*, and 398 *Timariots*; so as the computation of that place is of 920 Men.

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Aleppo*
are-

Sangiac's Ziamets Timariots			
Aleppo	73	295	The Gebelues of the Zains at the former rate make Of the Timariots 2088
Adana	11	191	
Kelis	17	295	
Azir	2	91	
Falis	7	86	
Mearre	7	86	
	117	1044	2256

In the Government of the Beglerbeg of Tebilden
are.

Sangiaks Ziamets Timariots			
Olui	3	123	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the former rate make of Timariots
Erdebamburek	9	86	
Hagreek	2	23	
Horus	13	39	
Arduug	4	149	
Punjab	11	18	
Penbek	8	54	
Tarebir	3	4	
Luri	9	10	
Ushucha			

In the Government of the Captain *Pashaw*, or Lord-Admiral, are,

Santiago Ziamets Timariots			
Negroponts	12	188	The Gebelues of the
Mytilene	4	83	Zaimi at the former pro-
Kogia ile	25	187	portion make
Sifla	32	235	Of Timariots
Kariliili	11	119	
Galipoli	14	32	
Rhodes	5	71	
Betgai	5	146	For maintenance of
Mezofira	16	91	which the Rent fit down
			in the Ottoman States
	124	1152	is Aspers
			10800000

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rumeli*,
otherwise *Romania*, are,

Sangiacks Ziamest Timariots			
Sophia	337	1788	The Zaims with their
Kioftendill	48	1017	Gebelues at the former
Morea	100	242	proportion make 4300
Alexandria	19	205	The Timariots 16388
of Epyrus			This is the lowest rate

<i>Agagayans</i>	60	344	
<i>Awana</i>	60	342	
<i>Awana</i>	68	489	But the ordinary com-
<i>Jonis</i>	62	345	putation of the <i>Zaimis</i>
<i>Ithafin</i>	18	345	and <i>Timarists</i> in this
<i>Tchirmen</i>	20	120	place with their <i>Grbe-</i>
<i>Scholenca</i>	36	126	<i>lues</i> , is of about 32000
<i>Wize</i>	28	79	fighting men, of these
<i>Dolunia</i>	20	165	about 15 to which is ad-
<i>Ukijuk</i>	20	344	ded the <i>Souldiers of the</i>
<i>Kerkija</i>	1	344	<i>Baglerbeg, Sangieobeg,</i>
<i>Dukajin</i>	10	53	and other Officers, com-
<i>Wudin</i>	17	225	monly amount to
<i>Alagabier</i>	27	509	2500. The Militia main-
<i>Serzerin</i>	17	225	tained with the Land of
<i>Walcarin</i>	10	317	the Country may be
			computed at 32700, or
			22000 men.

1075 8194 33000 in.

Besides this Militia in Romania, there is another fort called *Jureghion* or *Tyber*, who have their Estates in Fee from Father to Son, of which there are accounted about 1294 Families: There is also another fort in the Province of *Dobridge*, called *Ogiasky* of which there are about 4000 Houses: Of the same kind in the Province of *Kinche* are 200 Houses: In *Tschermen* 351 of *Cingani*, which are the same as amongst us the Race of the *Gypsies*, in *Wize* 1701: So that the whole sum of *Ogiasky* may arrive to the number of 4721, or at the most to 5000. These are obliged every year to draw out of every thirty, five persons, called *Echkingi* or Volunteers, who are to join themselves with the *Tartars* for making Excursions into *Russia*, *Poland*, or other Kingdoms: The other twenty five remaining are called *Jamak* and are not obliged personally to serve when the Grand Signior's Wais call them to employment; but then for every 5000 *Alpers* Rent they possess of the Grand Signior's Lands they are leaved at one man, who are assigned to serve out of this number: It was that year to have accompanied the *Tartars* in their Robberies. The Principal Office of these is to attend the Artillery, Baggage and Provisions, to mend the Ways and Bridges for passage of the Army. To the like service are obliged certain Families of *Bulgarians*, for carriage of Hay, and cutting Grass, according to the season of the Year.

The number of the *Zaims* and *Timariots* in the Governments of the *Beglerbegs* of *Buda*, *Temfwar* and *Bisna*, I find not particularly described in *Ottoman* Books; but however according to the best information, that Militia on the Confines of the Empire called *Serbeds*, amount to the number of about 70000 fighting men paid out of the Rents of the *Sanguiers* of that Country. But though the Militia of *Buda* be not set down in the Registers of more ancient date at *Constantinople*, because it is as it were a principality independent both for its Extensiveness, Revenue, and large extent of Dominions: yet in that City it felt its strict order observed, and the Rolls of their force most exactly known and computed; to which the *Turky* have a strict eye it being a frontier Garison of much importance and the Key of *Hungary*; the Militia of which, as I learned from Officers of Note, during my residence in that place, was according to this precise Account, Of

<i>Janizaries</i>	12000
<i>Spahes</i>	1500
<i>Zaims and Timariots</i>	2200
<i>Wazirs</i> , which are the meanest sort of	500
Slaves	1800
Belonging to the Castle of <i>Buda</i>	1200
<i>Tybergi</i> , or <i>Armourers</i>	1900
The Guard of the Gate called <i>Cuchie</i>	300
<i>Topcees</i> , or <i>Guns</i>	300
<i>Martollos</i> , a sort of Foot Soldiers	280
Soldiers belonging to the Powder-house	280
The Souldiery who are Servants to the	3000
<i>Janas</i>	

In all 221801: to which adding the Militia of *Bisna*, and other parts of *Sclavonia*, and all along the Frontier Countries, which extend for above 800 English miles, the number may amount to no less than 70000 fighting Men. But we here discourse only of the number of

the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which whole sum amounts to, of *Zaims* 10948, and of *Timariots* 72436, which makes in all 83380; but this is calculated at the lowest rate, they may very well be reckoned to be one third more, besides other Militia of *Cairo*, or other Orders of Souldiery to be treated of in the following Chapters.

These *Janas* or Divisions were first made by *Solyman* the Magnificent, as the best Rule and Method for an orderly disposition of his Militia; but as with time in the most exact compendiums of Discipline, corruptions through covetousness and ambition of Officers are introduced, to all the just disposal of these Rents according to the ancient Institutions: For the *Beglerbegs*, *Pashas*, *Treasurers*, and other Officers, instead of bestowing this maintenance to the Souldiers, according to their merits of Valour or long Service, reserve it to prefer and gratify their Servants and Pages, obliging them in recompence thereof under various Services: Some that live at *Constantinople*, or near the Sea, to detract the Charges of all Boats and Vessels which carry their Household Provisions; others that live in the Inland Countries agreeing with the Treasurer of the Souldiery, without regard to the true Heirs, or any other consideration, let to hire these Rents to them who prefer most to that in time of Harvest the *Pashas* send abroad his Officers to gather his Profits from the poor *Timariots*, with that oppression and violence as causes disturbances, differences and Law-Suits amongst them, which being to be decided by Judges partly interested in the quarrel, the Sentence is certainly determined on their side who have most Power and most Money.

The foregoing account of *Zaims* and *Timariots* is the most reasonable one can be given: And because we have reckoned them at the lowest rate, making some allowance to the 83380, this Militia may amount to an hundred thousand Men, which, as I have heard, is the utmost number of this sort of Souldiery.

CHAP. IV.

Of certain Customs and Laws observed amongst the *Zaimets* and *Timariots*.

Amongst these Force of *Zaimets* and *Timariots*, we in time of War and Action mixed certain Volunteers or Adventurers call'd by the *Turky* *Gianulls*, who maintain themselves upon their own expence in hopes by some signal Actions of Valour to obtain the succession into a *Zaim* or *Timariot* Lands, as places are made are often very hardy and ready to attempt the most desperate Exploits, moved by a desire of the Reward, and by the Persuasion, that at worst dying in a War against Christians, they become Martyrs for the *Mahometan* Faith. It is reported, that in one day, upon the affairs given to *Sinifian*, or the new Fort of Count *Scrim*, one *Timariot* Farm was belov'd eight times: one being slain it was conferred on another, and so on a third, and so the rest; all which had the misfortune to fall, until it rested on the eighth, the others dying with the Title only of *Timariots*.

The

The *Zaim* or *Timariot* being aged, or impotent, have in their life-time power to confer the Right of their Estates to their Sons, or other Relations.

It is not lawful for a *Pendant* or *Clown* to mount his Horse, or girt his Sword like a *Spahie*, until first he hath had part of his Education in the Service or Family of some *Pashaw*, or person of Quality; unless it be on the Confines of the Empire, where having given evident testimonies of his Courage, he may then become Comptroller for the vacant Farms of a *Zaim* or *Timariot*.

It is the Custom of *Romania*, that a *Zaim* or *Timariot* dying in the Wars, his *Zaim* Rents are divided into as many *Timariots* Farms as he hath Sons; but if a *Timariot* hath no more than 3000 *Alpers* Rent, it devolves entirely to his eldest Son; but if it be more, it is proportionably divided amongst the rest of his Children.

But if they die of a natural death at their own homes, the Lands fall to the disposal of the *Beglerbeg* of the Country, either to confer them on the Heirs of the deceased, on any of his Servants, or sell them at the best advantage.

But in *Anatolia* there are many *Zaims* and *Timariots* whose Estates are Hereditary to them and their Heirs; and are not obliged to serve in Person in the War, but only to fend their *Gibelines*, or number of Servants according to the value of their Estates; of which duty if they fail in the time of War, their Rent is confiscated to the Exchequer; and this Estate descends to the next of Kin, whether derived from the Male or Female Line.

CHAP. V.

The State of the Militia in Grand Cairo, and Egypt.

THE guard and protection of the Kingdom of Egypt is committed to the charge of twelve *Begs*, some of which are of the ancient Race of the *Mamlukes*, confirm'd by *Sultan Selin* upon the taking of *Cairo*; these have the command of the whole Militia in their hands, whereby they are grown proud, powerful, and ready upon every discontent to rise in Rebellion; every one of these maintains 500 fighting men, well appointed for War and exercised in Arms, which serve but as their Guard, and for Servants of their Country: with which they go attended in Journeys, in their Huntings, and publick Appearances; under the command of their twelve Captains are 20000 Horse, paid at the charge of the Country, whose Office is by turns to convey yearly the *Pilgrims* to *Meca*, and the annual Tribute of 60000 *Zechins* to the *Ottoman* Court, whether it be judged requisite to fend it either by Land or Sea: these are the standing Militia of the Country, out of which, unless upon the foregoing occasions, they are not obliged to other service; their principal duty being to prevent the invasion of the *African* Montaners, who often make incursion from the barren Rocks, into the fat and fruitful Soils of Egypt. Besides this Militia are computed 80000 *Timariots*, out of which they yearly transport about 2500 or 3000 men to the Wars of *Candy*, but to more remote Countries, or the late Wars of *Hungary*,

I did not hear that this Souldiery hath usually been called.

These twelve *Begs* of Egypt are noble by blood, enjoying an hereditary Estate descending from Father to Son, which riches joined with the command of a powerful Army, hath rendered them so formidable and insolent, that oftentimes they take upon them an authority to imprison and depose the *Pashaw* from his Office, and spoil him of all the Riches he hath collected in his three years Government; by which means are always great jealousies, and animosities between the *Pashaw* and these *Begs*; Differences and Rebellions to that high degree, that many times it hath been little different from an absolute Revolution. *Ibrahim Pashaw* was in the year 1664, imprisoned by them, and obtained his liberty for 500 *Paisas* of Money; after whose departure the Brother of the said *Ibrahim* upon some citizen pretences on the *Pashaw's* score, falling into their hands, was imprisoned also, but shortly after obtained his release by the Grand Signior's Master of Horse, who was sent expressly to compell the disorders of Egypt, which were proceeded to that degree, as without some satisfactory atonement could not be treated otherwise than a total defection; and therefore this resigned up one called *Sulphur Betto* to justice, who being brought to *Adrianople*, was immediately in presence of the Grand Signior put to death. But the *Turk* hath always on occasion of these disturbances and insurrections, diffembled and connived at the disorders, perceiving the disempowerment of that Kingdom to be such, as with much difficulty be redressed, fearing that were forcible remedies applied, they would cause so violent a commotion of humours, as would absolutely rent it from the body of the Empire.

* About 100000 Dollars at Cairo.

* Called *Entra* here.

* In the month of Feb. 1664.

The Auxiliary Forces to the forementioned Militia of the *Turky*,

Are the *Tartars*, *Valachians*, *Moldavians* and *Transylvanians*, under the command of their respective Princes. Who are obliged to serve in person whenever called by the *Sultan's* command. The *Tartars*, I mean of *Crim*, are to furnish one hundred thousand men; the *Tartar* *ban*, or Prince, in Person to lead them, when the Grand Signior himself appears in the Field; but if the Army is commanded by the Viceroy, then the Son of the *Tartar* *ban* is to serve, or having no issue, the Army to the number of Forty or fifty thousand fighting men, is to be conducted under the chief Minister. But the Princes of *Valachia*, *Moldavia* and *Transylvania* are never excused from personal attendance in the Camp, each of which respectively are to be attended with Six or seven thousand Men apiece. And though the Prince of *Transylvania* called *Apas*, was in the last War against the Emperor not called out of the Confines of his own Country; it was with design that he should keep that station free from the interruption of the Enemy, not that he was disobligeed from his personal attendance on the Viceroy's Camp.

CHAP. VI.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Spahes.

Hereto we have treated of the Turkish Horse that are maintained by Farms and Rents of Lands: now it will be necessary to discourse of those that receive their constant pay from the Grand Signior's Treasury; and these are called *Spahes*, who may not improperly be termed the Gentry of the Ottoman Empire, because they are commonly better educated, courteous, and refined than the other sort of *Turks*, and are in number 12000. Of these there are two Orders, one called *Silachari*, who carry yellow Colours; and the other *Sevaginli*, who carry blue. The *Spahes*, and have their Colours red: these Servants have now obtained the precedence above their Masters; for though the *Silachari* are very ancient, and deduce their institution from *All* their first Founder, who was one of the four Companions of *Mahomet*; yet *Sultan Mahomet* the Third, who was a *Sevaginli*, being the *Silachari* routed and put to flight, with violent passion and earnestness endeavoured to stop their course; and perceiving the Servants of these *Spahes* to remain still in body, incited them to revenge the shameful cowardice of their Masters, who immediately encouraged with the words of the *Sevaginli*, who at that time gave to hold an oath on the Enemy, and with that success as wholly recovered the glory of the day: in remembrance of which service and notable exploit, the *Sultan* as dispenser of all Honours and Orders, gave ever after the pre-eminence to their Servants before their Masters; since which time this new institution of *Spahes* hath always been continued.

These Light horse-men are armed with their Scimitar and Lance, called by them *Misrak*, and some carry in their hands a *Geri*, which is a Weapon about two foot long, headed with Iron, which I conceive to be the same with the *Pila* amongst the *Romans*, which by long exercise and custom they throw with a strange dexterity and violence, and sometimes darting it before them in the full career of their Horse, without any stop recover it again from the ground: they also wear a straight Sword named *Chaddare*, with a broad Blade fixed to the side of their Saddle, which, or the Scimitar, they make use of when they arrive to hand-blows with the Enemy; many of them are armed with Bows and Arrows, and with Pistols and Carbines; but esteem not much of Fire-Arms, having an opinion, that in the Field they make more noise than execution; some of them wear Jacks of Male and Head-pieces painted with the colour of their Squadron; in fight they begin their onset with *Allah, Allah*, and make three attempts to break within the Ranks of the Enemy, in which if they fail, they then make their retreat.

The *Asian Spahes* are better mounted than commonly those of *Europe*, though these being Borders on the Confines of the Christians, having learned much of Discipline by constant skirmishes and combats, are trained in the Art of War, and become the more vallant and experienced Soldiers.

But the *Asiatick Spahes* were formerly the more rich, many particular Men of them bringing into the Field thirty or forty men apiece,

besides their Led-Horses, Tents, and other accommodations proportionable to their Rank; but these Cavaliers seemed too great and proud to the *Vilier Kaprili*, for the condition of common Troopers, and infected with the Epidemical Spirit of Faction and Mutiny, which rag'd at that time amongst all the Grandees of the Empire; which caused him to strike off their heads with as little remorse as one would do the tops of Poppies, until he had absolutely made a destruction of them. Those now which remain are poor and inconsiderable, and are ordered to compose ten or twelve in a company, for maintenance of a poor Tent, and two or three Horses and a Mule for Baggage and Provisions; these are more tame, and subject to the Cudgel, and can take a beating patiently on the soles of the feet, which is their punishment, as the *Janissaries* is to receive the blows on the Buttocks (that so this chastisement may neither incommode the feat of the Horsemen, nor the marches of the foot) but if the crime be great and capital, they are sent for by *Chiausis*, or Pursuivants to appear before the *Vilier*, by whom being condemned and strangled near the Walls of the Grand Signior's Seraglio, their bodies are strung upon poles, about two or three hours in the night, thrown into the Sea, without other solemnity than the firing of one of those great Guns next the Sea, which are planted under the Walls of the Seraglio, which serve for so many warning pieces for others Example.

Their pay is divided in general it is from their Pay. It is divided into three parts: the first part is given to one hundred *Alpers* a day; those who proceed from the Seraglio of *Pera*, *Ibrahim*, *Pahaw* and *Adrianople*, which are so many Nurseries and Schools as well of the principles of War, as Literature; or have been Cooks Mates (for the Cook of these Societies is principal Officer of respect) or *Balgahers*, that is, Hatcher-men, who cut Wood for the Grand Signior's Seraglio, and are licensed to live abroad with the title of *Spahes*, have the lowest pay of twelve *Alpers* a day; but those who are extracted from the left, or greater Chamber of the Grand Signior's own Seraglio, called *Sevaginli*, have 10 *Alpers* a day; and if they are favoured with the title of an Officer, they receive two or three *Alpers* augmentation. But such as are elected to the War out of more eminent Chambers, as the Landery, the Turbant Office, the Dispensatory, the * Treasury, the † Falconers Lodge and others (which we have mentioned in the description of the Seraglio) have at first thirty *Alpers* daily pay; an increase of which they obtained sometimes by the *Viliers*, or Regiments favour unto two *Alpers* *Turaks*; more; sometimes by services in the War, by receiving two *Alpers* augmentation for the head of every Enemy he brings in; two *Alpers* more for * Intelligence of the death of any *Spahes*, out of the pay of the deceased; as also, at the Incommodation or Infatigable of every Grand Signior, five *Alpers* increase is given as a donative general to the whole Army of *Spahes*; and thus many of them by art, industry, and good success, augmenting until they arrive to an hundred *Alpers*, and here is their *non plus ultra*, they can rise no higher. They are paid quarterly from three months to three months; which they are permitted to receive for nine months, but if they receive less, they only demand the nine, the other quarter or more is confiscated to the publick Exchequer: Their place of payment is now in the Hall of the *Vilier*, which formerly was in the Houses of the Pay-Masters, and Treasurer, but changed by the

* *Kibler*
Odufi.
† *Hecza*
Odufi.

† Called
Turaks.

* Called in
Turkish
Kellim
Udufi.

* This is
done, that
the Grand
Signior
may not
be cheated
by having
the Pay
continued to
those who
are dead.

How they
pay their
honor.

Vilier Kaprili, on occasion of the disorders and abuses of the Office, which caused the Disorders and Disturbances amongst the Soldiery. For the rich *Spahes* living far distant, to excuse themselves from a long journey to the City, agreed with the Pay-Masters that they for some certain part of their Income, should without further trouble to themselves, take up their Dues, and make it over quarterly to their Counters of Mode; and these men thus taffing the benefit of this trade, agreed with others for some little gain to dispatch them before the rest; by which means and the payment only on Wednesdays and Saturdays, those *Spahes* that came from remote parts, making for long attendance, had with their exchequers in *Constantinople* spent as much as the principal farms they expected; of which growing sensible, at first they began to murmur, then to threaten the Pay-Masters, and at last proceeded to open Mutiny, by forcing the doors, breaking the windows of the Officers, with many other infolencies and disorders, until *Kapriuli*, to remedy these abuses, ordered the money to be given out in his presence, and the Payment to be continued every day until the Pay was ended.

The Sons of *Spahes*, presenting themselves before the *Vilier*, may claim the privilege of being enrolled in the Grand Signior's Books; but their Pay, which is the lowest rate twelve *Alpers* a day, is to issue forth from the Seraglio in proportion, but then they are in the road of preferment, and are capable by their services and merits to make additions upon foundation of their own industry. Besides the foregoing ways by which the *Spahes* gain their increase of pay, I am given to understand that formerly they had another method, called *Colomnie*, or false Conduct Money, which was one per cent. of all Monies so those whom the Collectors of the Grand Signior's Revenue summoned to convey the Treasure for more security to the Capital City, besides the maintenance of themselves and their Horses in the Journey; but this as too chargeable a deduction from the Imperial Revenue, was with time taken off, to the great discontent of the *Spahes* in general.

The Grand Signior going in Person to the Wars, according to the ancient custom of other *Sultans*, bestows a largess on the *Spahes*, of Five thousand *Alpers* a Man, which they call *Sadek*, *Akchish*, or donative for buying Bows and Arrows; as also to the *Janissaries*, as we shall hereafter mention.

This Army of *Spahes* is in the War a mere confused multitude without any Government, or distribution into Troops or Regiments, but march in heaps, fight without order, little account kept of their pretence for similes Camp; only at the end of the month of * *November* who have ever appears not, unless favoured by the Officers, hath his name rased from the Grand Signior's Register.

Their duty in the War is to stand Centinel with a *Janissary* at the end of every Cord at the Grand Signior's Pavilions, as also at the *Vilier*, armed with his Cimrier, Bows, Arrows, and Lance, mounted on Horse-back; as the *Janissary* on foot with a Sword and Musket; and also the charge of the Treasure for payment of the Militia, is committed in the Field to their custody.

This Order of Soldiers was in ancient times in great esteem and honour in all parts of the Empire, by reason of their accomplishments in Learning, refined Education in the Imperial

Court, their nearness to Preferments, and acquaintance and Intercourse with the Grandees of the Empire: The place of the *Silachari* in their marches to the War, was to flank the Grand Signior on the left hand, and the *Spahi Oglani* on the right, and were always the ultimate reserve of the Battle, as the Life-guard to the *Sultan*: But like men not knowing how to comport themselves in prosperity, grew so ambitious and ambitious to have a hand in the Government, became Confederates with the *Janissaries* in conspiracy against the Life of their true Sovereign *Sultan Osman*; to which Treason adding other Infolencies, they justly were deprived of the favour of *Sultan Morat*, and *Sultan Ibrahim*, the treacherous also of their late Sedition rendering itself still impressed in the memory of this present Emperor *Sultan Mahomet*, when they conspired against his own and his Mothers Life, is the cause they have gone still declining from the degree of their pristine honour and esteem, for the Prince he is the Fountain of Honour, to his countenance and favour the spirit and life which gives a lustre and sparkling to those Titles and Riches he hath conferred: other Seditions hastened the ruin of their reputation, and in the year 1657, when the *Vilier Mahomet Kaprili*, on occasion of his Expedition against *Jenna*, summoned the *Spahes* to the Rendezvous in *Hungary*, who instead of yielding obedience to the command of their General, elected a new Captain, a *Spahes* of their own rank, called *Hafiz Aga*, preferred to be *Pashaw* of *Aleppo*; whose name at that time, I remember, upon the hopes of the distinction he might create after the *Turks*, was greatly feared and celebrated over all *Christians*. These Commotions in *Aga* headed by the chief Enemy to the *Vilier*, called *Kapriuli* to leave many of his designs against *Transylvania* unexecuted, and to clap up a Peace on reasonable and moderate terms of honour, that he might hinder the progress of a dangerous evil which now threatened and approached the Capital City; for by this time *Hafiz Pashaw* being arrived near the Walls of *Scutari*, began to treat by way of Petition to the Grand Signior, and represent that out of his zeal to the good of his Majesty and his Empire, he had undertaken a long march to inform him of the corruption of his Ministers, and the miscarriages of Government; his tender years yet retaining ripeness in judgment to penetrate these evils, which with time his understanding would discover to be too inveterate and incurable. All the oppressions and aggravances of the Soldiery he seemed to object to the cruelty and oppression of *Kapriuli*, and in appearance, had nothing but thoughts of the honour and dignity of the Grand Signior's person; and doubted this man was unfit to manage such a design; for he entertained scruples of Conscience, and a remorse and tenderness in spilling *Mahometan* Blood, considerations which are incompatible with the condition of a Rebel; for who hath the impety to draw his Sword against his Prince, must stop at no bars either of Divine or humane right to maintain it. This gave advantage to *Kapriuli* to effect his design upon his Enemy; for in the interim of this Treaty, *Mortaza Pashaw* of *Babylon*, was commanded to possess the City of *Aleppo*, and *Hafiz*, after many fair messages and promises from the Grand Signior, and the *Vilier*, was persuaded to return again to *Aleppo*, to capitulate with *Mortaza* concerning those points and aggravances he sought to have redressed; it being

being alledged to him, that *Mortaza* had received inducements to treat, and a Plenipotentiary power to grant and firm as far as should be reasonable and honourable for the Grand Signior to condescend. *Hajjan* with this calm answer returned toward *Altopa*; near which place he credulously committed himself into the hands of *Mortaza*, who no sooner had him within his Tents, but he concluded all controversies and captivities by the decision of his head from his body: The whole Army of *Spahiers* immediately, with the fall of their General, was scattered, and divided themselves; but about three hundred of them being apprehended by *Mortaza*, were sent to *Constantinople*, where, in the presence of the Grand Signior, within the Walls of the *Seraglio* at *Scutari* they were all executed; since which their pride hath ever been declining, and their name become so odious amongst the people, that upon the very nominating a *Spabee*, the vulgar were ready to run upon them with stones, or other Weapons that came next to hand; so that now the *Spahies* are much eclipsed in their ancient fame and honour.

There are besides these two foregoing sorts of *Spahies*, other four, the first called *Sag Ulfigi*, that is appointed to march on the right hand of the *Spahagians*, and carry white and red Colours. The second is *Sol Ulfigi*, whose place is on the left hand of the *Spahagians*; which carry white and yellow Colours. The third *Sagureba*, that is Soldiers of Fortune that are to march on the right hand of the *Sag Ulfigi*, and carry green Colours. The fourth is *Sol Gureba*, whose place is to march on the left hand of the *Ulfigi*, and carry white Banners; but these four sorts of *Spahies* are relieved and detached according to necessity and occasions of War, and are obliged to all services and duties; their pay is from 22 *Alpers* to 20 a day, and are capable according to their merits, of being promoted to one of the superiour Orders. There is also another sort of more elevated *Spahies* called *Mutafaraca*, who issue out from the *Seraglio* with more favour than the ordinary sort of *Spahies*, and are four or five hundred in number, their pay is forty *Alpers* a day, and have always the obligation or duty on them to serve and attend the Grand Signior when he goes in progress for pleasure from one Village to another.

And thus much shall serve to have declared in brief concerning the institution and discipline of the *Spahies*, also of the Militia of the *Turkish* Horse; we shall now proceed to declare something of their Infantry.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Janizaries.

THE next main piece of the Ottoman Power is the Order of *Janizaries*, which is as much as to say, the new Militia, and their Antiquity may be deduced from Ottoman the first King of the *Turks*; but because they received honours and privileges from *Amurath* their third King, our *Turkish* History accounts that to be the time of the first Original: It is certain that in his time they were modeled, and certain Laws prescribed both for their education and maintenance; when by the counsel of *Conrad*, otherwise called *Kara Roshen*, *Amurath's* Prime Vicer, it was ordained that the augmentation of this Militia, every fifth Captive

taken from the Christians, above the age of fifteen years, should be the duty of the *Sultan*, who at first were to be distributed amongst the *Turkish* Husbandmen in *Asia*, to learn and be instructed in the *Turkish* Language and Religion.

Their number at first was not accounted above six or seven thousand, now with time they are increased to the number of twenty thousand effective men; but were there a like taken of all those who assume this title of *Janizary*, and enjoy their Privileges, though not their Pay, there would be found above 100000; six or seven go under the name of one *Janizary*, for gaining by this means a privilege of being free from all duties and Taxes, they bestow a certain sum of Money or annual Presents on the Officers, in consideration of which they are owned and countenanced as *Janizaries*. Their Habit is as the Picture represents, wearing always the Beard on the Chin and under Lip thaven, which some say they learned from the *Italians*; but certain it is, that this custom is more ancient, than since the time of their Neighbourhood unto *Italy*; this manner of their shaving being generally used as a token of their subjection, and so all the Pages and Officers in the *Seraglio* of great Men, Orders of Gardeners, *Bahages* or Hatchmen, and others, are distinguished by this mark to be in service, and obliged to the attendance of a Master; but when they are either licensed from War, or promoted to Office, or fixed to their own disposal, they immediately suffer their Beards to grow as a sign of their liberty and gravity.

In former times this Militia consisted only of The *Turk* Sons of Christians, educated in the *Mahometan* Rites; but of late that Politick custom hath been diffused, the reason of which some attribute to the abundance of people the *Turks* have of their own to supply all their occasions; but I am induced rather to another opinion, having not observed the multitude which Histories and Travellers tell us, that the *Turks* swarm with; and rather assign the neglect of this practice so prejudicial to Christian Interest in their parts, to the corruption of the Officers, and carelessness in their Discipline.

And though this election of *Janizaries*, out of The *Nob* the eldest and lustiest Sons of Christians that inhabit *Europe* (for *Asia* was exempted) is now diffused; yet such as enter into this Order, whoever they are (unless the necessity of the present state of the War be over urgent) are obliged to perform their Novitiate like *Yonnes Ramek*, before they can be enrolled in the Register of *Janizaries*, and are called *Agimoglan*. The chief Officers of these are called *Stambol Aggi*, in whole care and charge it is to enure these men to all labours, pains, and fortifications, as to cut wood, carry burdens, endure heats, colds, and other sufferings, which may render them obedient, temperate, vigilant, and patient of all the inconveniences and miseries of War.

The quarters many of these have in the Garden-Lodges of the Grand Signior's *Seraglio's* Quarters; there are many where they about *Constantinople* to manure and dig the ground, learn the Art of Plantations, and Husbandry, and practice, as occasion requires, meaner Offices of labour and servitude: others of them are placed in the three *Seraglio's* (we have beforementioned in the Chapter of *Spahies*) viz. of *Pera*, *Brachim*, *Yefian*, and *Adrianople* where their principal art is the Mystery of Plantation and delicious disposal of Gardens into the variety of Knots, Walks, Groves, and Fountains; and though these

Their number.

Their Habit.

Chap. III. Of the Turkish Militia, and Discipline in War.

there are many of this Profession who have no other thoughts to employ their minds, few of them are acquainted with any part of polite Husbandry, or know more than the season to plant their Artichokes or Colicowarts; as to the rules and symmetry of setting Trees, ordering the Labyrinths of Knots, making pleasing Walks, Fountains, and Groves: it is strange a people that delight so much in Flowers, in Fields, and Arbours, and have themselves or Ancestors ruined many of the delightful Paradises of Christians, should be so wholly ignorant and dull in the contrivance of what they love, as not to be able to borrow one example or model, which amongst all the Grand Signior's Gardens in *Constantinople* may deserve a better name than of a Wilderness.

Others of these *Agimoglan*s are made *Bahages* or Hatchmen to cut the wood for the *Seraglio's* officers; others are made Cooks and Officers in the Kitchen, such, I mean, as can already speak the *Turkish* Language, for those that are ignorant in that speech, or in the *Mahometan* Religion, are disposed into remote parts of *Anatolia*, where the *Janizaries* have Possessions and Authority; as to *Cistalia*, where the * Lieutenant General of the *Janizaries* hath a Revenue; to *Karacorum* and *Angora*, where the *Stambol Aggi* hath principal powers; to *Mensche*, *Sultan Ughi* and *Karafi*, where the *Tarnagibatch* and *Jahabatchi*, who are chief Officers of the *Janizaries*, have Rents and Profits belonging to their Offices, and here they are employed in ploughing and sowing the Ground, or other laborious exercises, until such time as supplies for the War give them occasion to draw out these men from their several stations; and then being called to the Chambers of *Janizaries*, they orderly march one after the other according to their seniority, one holding the end of his fellows Garment, appear before the Muster-master, who having enrolled their names in the Grand Signior's Register, they run as fast as they can by their *Odabatchi* or Master of their Chamber, who gives every one as he passes a blow under the Ear, to signify their subjection to him; and this is the Ceremony observed in creating *Janizaries*.

The manner in making *Janizaries*.

Their Pay. At their first Enrolment some have but one *Alper* a day, others four or five, until seven and a half; and so with time and favour of their Officers, increase to twelve *Alpers* a day, which is the highest pay of any *Janizary*, and can have no other advance, unless good Fortune promote them to the degree of a *Khalid Begh*, which is as much as Lieutenant-General of the *Janizaries*, or any other eminent Office.

Their Diet and Clothing. Besides this Pay, they have their daily Provision and Diet from the bounty of the Grand Signior, and their Table ordered at constant hours, where they sit their Rice, fifty drams of Flesh, and one hundred of Bread their ordinary Commons, and eat in their respective Refectories like Monks in Convents, or Scholars in their Colleges: they receive also one Soldier's Coat yearly, of Cloth made at *Salonica* of a coarse thread, but warm and convenient, which in every Month of *Ramazan* is distributed to each Chamber; so that their Belles are full, and Bodies are warm, and in all points are better provided than the tattered Infantry which are to be seen in most parts of *Cherishend*. And thus this people being pampered without cares of seeking their Bread, grow often querulous and apt to take the first Sedition with every spark of discontent in their Officers; the beginnings of

which they commonly make known at their Assemblies of the publick *Diven*, which four or five hundred of them are obliged four times a week, that is Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, to accompany the *Janizary Aga*, or their General; at that place they have their Commons from the Grand Signior's Kitchen: which when they have any subject of discontent they evidence by slighting, kicking down their Plates of Rice, and shewing better stomachs to be revenged, than to their Entertainment; which Mutinies the Grand Signior and principal Ministers having found oftentimes fatal, endeavour by fair promises and satisfactory compliance with their desires to pacify in their first motion.

The General of this Militia is called *Janizary Hatada Aggi*, and is always elected from the Royal Chamber of the *Seraglio*; because it being an Office of great charge, it is thought necessary to be intrusted to one whose Education and Preference hath made a Creature of the Court; which Policy hath been the suppression of divers Mutinies amongst the *Janizaries*, the discovery of their Combination, and an engagement to a stronger dependency on the favour of the *Seraglio*.

When this General either dies by a natural death, or the Sword of the Grand Signior's Justice or Authority, his Kiche, like that of other *Effenders*, is not confiscated to the *Sultan's* Exchequer; but the Inheritance accrues to the publick Treasury of the *Janizaries*; which how dangerous it is to a State to have a Militia endowed with Revenues appropriated to their Officers (as already we have declared they possess in some parts of *Anatolia*) and a Bank of Wealth united to the maintenance of a licentious Sword, the *Sultan's* Officers have by bad effects rather felt, than able by virtue of their absolute Power to remedy.

The second chief Officer is the *Kirbaiz Begh*, Officers. Lieutenant-General.

The third is *Seghban hafshi*, the Overseer of the Carriage of the Soldiers baggage.

The fourth is the *Turnagi Bahar*, or Guardian of the Grand Signior's Cranes.

The fifth is the *Samsogji Bahar*, chief Master of the Grand Signior's Matlives.

The sixth is the *Zagorgi Bahar*, Master of the Spauls.

The seventh is the *Solack Bahar*, Captain of the Archers, or of such of the *Janizaries* who go armed with Bow and Arrows.

The eighth is *Sabghji* and *Affarabghji*, who are chief of the Sergeants and Bailiffs, and attend always at the Grand Signior's Stropp when at any time on solemn occasions he shews himself to the people.

The ninth is the *Pekibghji*, or Commander of that sort of Pages which are called *Pekir*, who wear Caps of beaten Gold, of which there are 50 in number, who march at Solemnities together with the *Solacks* near the person of the Grand Signior.

The tenth is *Mesurge*, or the head Bailly of the *Janizaries*.

Their eight last arise from the order of the *Janizaries*, and have their several Commands in the Army, though the Grand Signior, to augment their Power and Honour the more, bestows on them Titles and Wealth in other Offices.

The *Janizaries* Chambers of which there are no others but in *Constantinople* are in number 162, of which 80 are of ancient Foundation, and are called *Eski Odalar*; and 82 called *Jeni Odalar* or of the new Chambers; over most of which is a *Tchorbagi* or

or Captain. In these Chambers those that are not married enjoy their Lodgings and Habitation; and twice a day find their Repast, as we have before-mentioned. And thus indeed of Monasteries of Fryars, the *Tari* maintains Convents and Societies of Soldiers, who are trained up with all modesty and severity of Discipline.

Officers of the Chambers.

The principal Officers of these Chambers are, First, the *Osabahee*, or Master of the Chamber, who in the Wars serve as Lieutenants of the Company.

Second is *Wefikhar*, or Expenditure for maintenance of the Chamber.

The third is *Bashkaker*, or Ensign-bearer.

Fourth is *Aflege*, or the Cook of the Chamber.

Fifth is *Karakullukge*, or the under-Cook.

Sixth is the *Saka*, or the Water-carrier. The Cook is not only an Officer to dress the Diet and Provision of the *Janizaries*, but is also a Monitor or Observer of their good behaviour; so that when any one of them commits a Crime, the Cook is the Officer that executes the punishment. The under Cook serves also for an Apparitor, and is he who summons the married *Janizaries* at their several Dwellings in *Constantinople*, when their Officers command their attendance.

Janizaries married.

The greatest part of the *Janizaries* consists of Batchellors or single Men; for though Marriage cannot be denied to any of them, yet it is that which determines their Preference, and renders their Seniority capable of claiming a right to Office, or Military Advancement; for being incumbered with Wife, and other Dependencies they are judged in a condition not capable to attend the Discipline of the War, or service of the Grand Signior; and therefore as to other duty in the times of Peace, besides their appearance every Friday in their Chambers, and presence of their Officers, they wholly are dispensed with.

In the Wars this Militia is considered as the most valiant and best Disciplined Soldierly of the *Turkish* Camp, and therefore are kept as a Reserve, or march in the main Body of the Army. In times of Peace their Quarters are many times changed, to keep them in employment, from one Castle or Garrison to another, as to *Buda*, *Kanisfa*, *Temeswar*, to *Rhodes*, *Canea*, and other parts: some of them are appointed to keep Courts of Guard at all Gates and Avenues of *Constantinople*, to prevent the Insolencies and Injuries their Companions are apt to offer to Christians, Jews, and others in the Streets, who at some times, being heated with Wine, have in open Market forced Women whilst their Comrades have with their Daggers drawn flood over them to defend them from the people; to prevent which disorders, the *Janizaries* are accustomed to ride the Streets attended with about 40 *Mumukjes*, or Bullies of the *Janizaries*, where meeting any guilty of such like Crimes, or other Enormities, he seizes them and carries them to his Court, where after examination of their fault, he orders them to be beaten, or if their Crime be great, to be strangled, or fowed in a Sack and thrown into the Sea; but always their punishment is inflicted privately, perhaps because they are jealous of a Mutiny.

Serders.

In every Province the *Janizaries* have their *Serders*, who are Colonel or chief of all the *Janizaries* within that Jurisdiction, who greatly abuse their Office by taking into their protection any that present or pay them for this Privilege;

by which means they have grown so powerful and rich, that some time past the Command of the whole *Ottoman* Empire hath resorted in the hands of this Militia.

Their Arms are Muskets and Swords, they fight coolly in the Field, and with no more order than the *Spahes*; only sometimes they draw themselves up into *Camps*, observed amongst the *Romans*.

And thus much shall serve to have spoken of the Institution and Discipline of the *Janizaries*: We shall now proceed to declare how this Militia is decayed, and upon what grounds it is not maintained in its ancient honour and flourishing Estate.

C H A P. VIII.

Whether the maintenance of an Army of *Janizaries* according to the Original Institution, be now agreeable to the Rules of Policy amongst the Turks.

THIS Problem I find first moved by *Buseph*, once the *German* Emperor's ambassador to *Constantinople*, who pretends to speak the Grand Signior's sense in this particular, on occasions of difference which the insolent rudeness of the *Janizaries* had caused between themselves and his Family: For *Kusun Pashaw* then Prime Vicer, admonished him friendly to condescend to any terms of composition, for that Law could not avail where Soldiers ruled; and the powerful *Soliman* himself, who then reigned, trembled at nothing more than the apprehension of some secret Vice of perfidiousness, which might lie concealed within the retirement of the *Janizaries*.

But as there is no question, but a standing Army of veterane and well Disciplined Soldiers must be always usefull and advantageous to the Interest of a Prince; so, on the contrary, negligence in the Officers, and remissions of Government, produces that licentiousness and wretchedness in the Soldierly, as betrays them to all the disorders which are dangerous, and of evil consequence to the welfare of a State.

And so it hath fared with the *Ottoman* Empire, which rising only by the power of Arms, and established on the blood of many valiant and daring Captains, gave Privileges, Honours and Riches to the Militia, and at all times encouraged their prowess and forwardness by Rewards, and Connivance at their Crimes; by which Indulgence and impunity, these men principally in rules of Virtue, and unequally bearing prosperity, and the favour of the Prince, have for a long time been gathering a stock of ill humours ready to receive any contagion of seditious design, and to maintain it with an impudence contrary to the *Janizaries* for some ages, which may equal the levity of the *Romans* in the rules of their Empire; until they shamefully set their Empire to sale, and forgot both their old obedience to the Senate, and reverence to their new Emperors.

The death and ruine of many Grandees, and of the *Sultan* himself by such like Seditious, hath at length by dear experience taught the principal Ministers how unsafe, it is to permit an Army lodged in the bowels of the Capital City, of a disposition favourable to its first, en-

vicious,

vicious, and impatient of any other, jealous, and always at enmity with the Court, rich and powerful, with Possessions and Rents appertaining to its Commanders in *Anatolia*, and a Treasury of unknown sums, which have descended to the common Bank by the decease of their Generals or *Janizaries* Ag's; and therefore have by degrees, and as prudently as might be, begun to diminish the strength of this Militia by the destruction of the veterane Soldiers, and ruine of their reputation by various arts, in the elimation of the world.

The particular means whereby the *Janizaries* have been studiously destroyed, are by many ways evident; for first they are exposed upon every obscure Service, and drawn forth to encounter every Assault of the Empire; as the Wars of *Candy* have exhausted the flower of this Militia, the Battels at Sea buried vast numbers, who were formerly reserved for times of eminent exploits and glory.

Secondly, Which destruction of the veterane Soldiers hath created other mischiefs to this Order, in point of Discipline, as prejudicial to the former; for as the *Ajensmans* were obliged to perform six or seven years Novitiate, now by reason of the constant necessities to supply the Wars, they overskip the orderly formalities of the first Institution, and create them *Janizaries* after a year; or half a years service. And others I have known educated in Mechanick professions, and from framing Timber and carrying Burthens in the Arsenal, have at once for the sake of *Candy* been craved *Janizaries*, who neither know how to manage a Musket, nor are otherwise Disciplined to any exercise of Arms.

Thirdly, That *Europe* may not be disappointed by the triennial seizure of Christian Children for the Grand Signior's service, which in *Turkey* is called *Devshirme*, the politick Custom and principal conservation of the Discipline of *Janizaries* is, as we have said before, wholly forgotten, and instead thereof election is made of Vagabonds, that proffer themselves out of *Asia*, or other parts, who having passed five or six months like Novices, are afterwards made *Janizaries*; and being ignorant in the use of Arms, and unaccustomed to labours and sufferings, run from their Colours, and renounce their Order, which has been in times past one of the most honourable in the whole Empire.

Fourthly, The old veterane Officers, which had by degrees as they proceeded to honour methodically from inferior Soldiers, have either by their own seditious spirits, or jealousies of the Prince, been dispeised from this World, and in their places the Sons of *Constantinopolitan Janizaries* succeeded, who have been bred up with softness and effeminacy; and their *Tebaghets* or Captains have not obtained their Commands by time by valour, but Buy their Places with Money and Presents to their Prime Officers.

Fifthly, And to forward the decay of this Militia, and to take off their warlike and haughty Courage, the confinement to their Chambers is not severe, but liberty given upon colour of Poverty, and impossibility of livelihood on their mean Pay, to attend other Trades and Services, whereby the exercise of Arms and thoughts of the War is converted to Mechanick Arts, and an intention to ways of maintenance of themselves and Families.

Sixthly, Hope of reward and fear of punish-

ment, which are the incitements to worthy actions and restrictions from the vilest crimes, are rarely held up to the *Janizaries* in these times for their encouragement or terror; for without Money to the superiour Officers none of them obtains Prefecture; nor can any wear out with age and wounds procure distinction from the War with the enjoyment of the usual stipend, who are called by the Turks *Otturats*, and by the Latins *Exauclorati*; and on the contrary the Children of Officers born in *Constantinople* are often made *Otturats* in their Cradles, and lusty Youths are with favour and Money exempted in the flower of age from the labours of War, and yet enjoy the benefits due to a toilsome Militia.

And yet, as if all the connivance at these various disorders and subversion of the good institutions of the Soldierly were not sufficient to impoverish their spirits, to mould them into a more effeminate temper, and cause them to lose their interest and reputation: it is the common opinion that the Vicer *Kapriuli* laid the designs for the late War with *Germany* before his death, and enjoined it to his Son to prosecute, with an intention, amongst other expectations of benefit to the Empire, to complete the final destruction of the ancient *Spahes* and *Janizaries*, so as to be able to lay a foundation of a new Discipline, which may more easily for the future restrain the *Turkish* Militia within the compass of better modesty and obedience: which design hath taken so severe effect in the War of *Hungary*, in the year 1664, that the bloodiest part of slaughter in the Battels fell on the *Janizaries* and *Spahes*, and by how much more any were more bold and forward in their attempts, by so much more fatal and hasty was their ruine; so that it is reported, that the valiantest Soldiers of the Confines, the veterane and best disciplined of the *Spahes* and *Janizaries*, and the best number of their skillfull Commanders and expert Captains perished promiscuously together, to the great damage and weakening to the *Ottoman* Power; so that now it is not probable that a new Militia succeeding, capable of receiving other Customs and Laws, and neither remembering nor concerned in former Mutinies, will adventure to follow the seditious practices of their Predecessors; for men are commonly modest at their first entrance into any condition; and unless debauched by corruption and Government, are easily contained within the bounds of reasonable moderation. And yet notwithstanding that the pride of the *Turkish* Religion is reduced to low abatement of their power, and to a condition easily for the future with good management to be ruled; yet this present *Sultan Mahomet* still retaining the memory and impression of the amazement he suffered in his infancy on occasion of a dangerous combination and conspiracy of the *Janizaries*, will never confide himself to their guard, nor be reconciled to *Constantinople*, in consideration of the many Chambers it contains of that loathed Militia, which have been so many Nurseries and Seminaries of Treasons plotted against himself, and his other Progenitors.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Chiauefs.

THESE having both offensive and defensive Arms affixed them, may be reckoned in the number of the Militia, though their Office being chiefly in relation to Civil Processes and Laws, they may deserve rather the name of Pursuivants or Serjants. They are in number about 5 or 600, their pay is from 12 to 40 Aspers a day; and chief Officers are called *Chiaus Befches*, to whose custody Prisoners of Quality are committed; their place of Attendance is the Palace of the Prime Vicer, to be ready on all occasions to carry Letters and Commands to any part of the Empire; such Christian Renegades as become *Turks*, they most commonly for their encouragement and subdity upon the *Mahometan* Superstition, admit into this Rank; because having commonly an endowment of other Languages besides the *Turkish*, are most serviceable on messages into foreign Countries; and sometimes are sent with the Title of Ambassadors, as one was once into *England, France, and Holland*. Their Arms are a Scimitar, a Bow, and Arrows, and a Truncheon with a knob at the end, called in *Turkish* *Topuz*; those of these Officers that are Servants to the Vicer or *Beglerbegi* carry this Truncheon covered with Silver, called in *Turkish* *Tebughian*; but the *Chiaus* of simple *Pashas* only of Wood: their Havert they make upon the Ambassadors, Law Suits and Differences between one party and another, being Apparitors or Serjants to call the guilty party to justice; or if the business comes to composition, they commonly are in the midst to persuade both sides to reason, in which action they want not their Fees or acknowledgment of labour from both Parties.

CHAP. X.

Of the other parts of the Turkish Militia, the Topchis.

THESE are Gunners, called so from the word *Top*, which in *Turkish* signifies a Cannon; and are in number about 1200 distributed in 52 Chambers; their Quarters are at *Tophana*, on the place of Guns in the Suburbs of *Constantinople*; few of these are expert in their art, and are ill practised in the Proportions and Mathematical part of the Gunners Mystery; for were they as skillful as many Ingenieurs in the World, they might doublets with that vast Train of Artillery they either march with in their Camp, or found in their Trenches, give much more annoyance to the Christian Forces: And therefore knowing their own Imperfections in this exercise, when Christian Gunners are taken in the War, they enter them with better usage than other Captives, quartering them in the Chambers appropriated to that Profession, allotting them with others a pay

from 8 to 12 Aspers a day; but because this is too inconsiderable a maintenance to all men who are otherwise principled, most of them as occasion offers, desert the service of the *Turk*, and fly to their own Country.

Their Officers are,
1. The *Topchibefchi*, or General of the Ordinance.
2. The *Dukigibefchi*, or the Chief of them that found the great Guns.
3. The *Odabefchi*, the Chief of all the Chambers of the Gunners in the Suburbs of *Constantinople*.

4. Is the *Kiaib* of their Muster-Master, who is always a *Sypher*.

Their Guns are the biggest, and as well cast and moulded as any in the World; for the last Expedition in *Hungary* there were 40 Pieces of new Cannon cast and transported by way of the Black Sea, and thence by the *Danube* unto *Belgrade* and *Buda*. Their Gunpowder is made but in small quantities about *Constantinople*, but comes from divers places of *Europe*; but that from *Damascus* is most esteemed. The biggest size of their Bullets are from 36 to 40 Inches Diameter, but these are most commonly of Stone, which they make use of in the Castles or Block-houses situate on the Sea, as at the Castles upon the *Heliopont*, called anciently *Sofus* and *Abidos*, and at the Forts at entrance of the Black Sea. Once an *English* Man, Gunner of a Ship which lay at *Constantinople*, had the curiosity and confidence to measure the dimensions of these Bullets; but being apprehended in the very act, was imprisoned for a Spy; but by the intercession of our Ambassador at the Resident, with much labour and some expence was at length released.

Of the Gebegues.

These are Armourers; so called from the word *Gebeg*, which signifies in *Turkish* as much as Arms of Back and Breast; they are in number 630 distributed into 60 Chambers, and have their Quarters near the Church of *Santa Sophia* in *Constantinople*; their Office is to coarsethe Arms of ancient times from rust, by cleaning and oiling them, so as to remain as Trophies for ever of the *Turkish* Conquests: Their pay is from 8 to 12 Aspers a day; their Officers are first the *Gebegibefchi*, who is their Commander in chief. 2. The *Odabefchi*, who are so many Masters of the Chambers. On all expeditions these Armourers are necessary Officers; military and oftentimes in days of Battle distribute forth the antique Arms, of which they have a care, into the hands of the *Janizaries*; but of these men that are indifferently rich, and have favour and friends, enjoy their pay with ease at their own homes; and like other * *Agas* are capable of being made *Osmans*, or retaining their Pension with a dispensation from the War.

Of the Deles.

Deles signifies as much as a mad fellow, or a Meddler; these are the Prime Vicer's Lifeguard, and are in number from 100 to 400; more or less, according as the Vicer is more or less rich and splendid in his Retinue; their Pay is from 12 to 15 Aspers a day; they are by Nation of *Bosnia*, or *Albania*; their Habit is

very

very ridiculous according to this Picture; they are men chosen for their great stature and stomachs; they speak big, talk of nothing but killing and adventurous exploits, but in reality their heart and courage is not esteemed proportionable to their bulk and bodies: in the City they march before the Vicer on foot, and make way for him to the *Divan*; o' journeys they are too heavy and lazy not to be well mounted; they have a Captain over them called the *Delibefchi*, their Arms are a Lance after the *Hungarian* fashion, a Sword, and Pole-Axe, and some of them carry a Pike at their Girdle. This sort of people being naturally more faithful than the *Turks*, and more inclinable to the Vicer *Kupriuli*, for being of the same Country, he maintained 2000 of them for his Guard: which was for great a curb to the *Janizaries* and the other Militia, that they were never able to execute any Conspiracy against him. The same course his Son the present Vicer follows, and is doubtless next the Grand Signior's favour, his principal security.

Of the Seghans and Sarigias.

It is not to be omitted that the *Beglerbegi* and *Pashas* maintain always a Militia called *Seghans*, to whose custody the charge of the Baggage belonging to the Horse is committed; and a select number called *Sarigias*, to whose care the Baggage of the Infantry is entrusted: these serve on foot with Muskets like *Janizaries*, and the others on Horse-back like *Dragoons* in *Christendom*; their Pay besides their Meat is 3 or 4 Dollars a Month. The *Beglerbegi* have oftentimes on occasion of their Rebellions enrolled many of this sort of Militia to encounter the *Janizaries*; and the which was practised in these late times by *Ibrahim Pasha*, *Isfahan Pasha*, and *Murad Pasha*, who having lifted great numbers to fight under this denomination, the Vicer *Kupriuli* for terror and more ease destruction of this people, proclaimed through all *Asia*, that strict inquiry should be made after the *Seghans* and *Sarigias*, and that it might be lawful for any one to kill and destroy them without mercy; by which means many were butchered in several places, and 30000 of them revolted to the *Sof of Persia*.

The Muhlagi and Besli.

Are the Servants of *Beglerbegi* and *Pashas*; the first make profession of a principal art in Housemanship, and exercise themselves in throwing the *Gild*, which is a Dart much used amongst the *Turks*, in the true management of which there is a great dexterity; and because there are considerable rewards bestowed on those who are expert herein, the *Turks* practise it on Horseback as their only exercise and study: very much delight herein the Grand Signiors have always taken, and to be Spectators of the Combats between the servants of several *Pashas* born in different Countries and Nations, who from a Principle of honour to their Nation, and hopes of Preferment, contend with that heat and malice one against another, as surpasses the cruelty of the ancient Gladiators; and not only limbs or eyes are lost in the

skirmish, but oftentimes sacrifice their blood and life for the palliase of their Prince. Such as are observed to be bold, active and dextrous at this Game, are preferred to the degree and benefit of a *Zaim* or *Timarist*. The *Besliers* are Footmen, who for their great abilities in walking and running, attain oftentimes to be made *Janizaries*.

And thus we have now, with as much brevity as may be, run through the several Degrees, Numbers, Institutions, Laws, and Discipline of the *Turkish* Militia by Land: whose further progress into *Christendom*, and damage to the Christian Cause, may the Almighty Providence so disappoint, that his Church corrected and grown more pious by this chastisement, may at length be relieved from the Rod and Yoke of this great Oppressor.

CHAP. XI.

Certain Observations on the Turkish Camp; and the Success of the last Battle against the Christians.

IN the year of our Lord 1665, the Earl of *Winchelsea*, our Lord Ambassador for certain Affairs of His Majesty and the Company of Merchants, having commanded me to meet the great Vicer in his return from the Wars in *Hungary*, through ill, or rather uncertain information of the Vicer's motion, I was forced to proceed as far as *Belgrade* in *Serbia*, on the Confines of *Hungary*, 23 days Journey from *Constantinople*, where finding a good part of the *Turkish* Army encamped near that City, for better convenience and expedition of my business, I entered within the Quarters of the *Spekers*, and pitched my Tent as near the Vicer's, and the other principal Officers as consisted with due respect in which place I remained seven days, until the Army removed towards *Adrianople*; and not having fully completed my business there, I marched and remained about 12 days together with the Army: in which time I had leisure to make some reflexions on the Order of the *Turkish* Camp.

In the front of the Camp are quartered the *Janizaries*, and all others destin'd for Foot-service, whose Tents encompass their *Agas* or General: In the body of the Camp are erected the stately Pavilions of the Vicer, of his *Kabib* or chief Steward or Counsellor, the *Reis efendi*, or Lord Chancellor, the *Tefendar Pasha*, or Lord Treasurer, and the *Kapiller Kabisfe* or Master of the Ceremonies; which five Pavilions take up a large extent of ground, leaving a spacious Field in the middle, in the centre of which is raised a lofty Canopy, under which Offenders are corrected or executed, and serves to shelter from the Sun or Rain such as attend to the *Diyans*, or other business with the Officers of State. Within the same space of ground also is the *Hafse* or Treasury, in small Closets one piled on the other, in form of a Circle, for guard of which 15 *Speakers* every night keep watch with their Arms in their hands. Near these quarters are the Tents of *Pashas*, *Begs*,

Beghs, Agas, and Persons of Quality, who by their Retinue solely make up a considerable part of the *Turkish* Army. In the Rere are the quarters of the *Spahies*, and others that attend the Horse service as *Segehans, Sarigins*, and others. On the right hand of the Vicer within the Camp are placed the Artillery, and Ammunition, which in the time I was there was in confusion, while the great Cannon remaining in *Buda* and in the City of *Belgrade*, only 40 or 45 small Field-pieces of Brafs (as I reckoned them) each drawn by four Horses, marched with the Vicer, more at that time for state and ostentation, than for real service. The Pavilions of the great Vicer, and other Persons of principal Quality, may rather be called Palaces than Tents, being of a large extent, richly wrought within, adorned beyond their Houses, accommodated with stately Furniture, with all the convenience of the City and Country, and in my opinion far exceed the magnificence of the best of their Buildings; for being but for few years continuance, the maintenance of them is beyond the expense of Marble and Porphyry, or the perpetual Edifices of Italy, durable to many *Olympiads* and *Myriads* of years. With these Houses and moveable Habitations, which with the Poits that support them, are of that great weight and bulk, the *Turkish* Army marches daily, four, five, and sometimes six hours Journey, all which Baggage is carried on Horses, Mules, and Camels. The great Persons are furnished with two sets of Tents, one of which as the Vicer rises, is advanced the *Conack* or days Journey beyond; so that in the morning leaving one Tent, another is found at noon ready furnished and provided at arrival; which is the reason why the *Turkish* Camp abounds with such multitudes of Camels, Mules, and Horses of Burthen, with so many thousand Attendants on the Baggage, which are of a vast expense, and if duly considered, is a matter of the greatest state and magnificence in the *Turkish* Empire.

Though it is reported by those who are Soldiers, and have experienced the Valour of the *Turks* in fight, that their Victories are obtained by multitudes of men, rather than by Art, or Military Discipline; however the Conquests they have made on the parts of *Christendom*, is a demonstration undeniable of some superintending Order in their Army, which recommends the detest of Knowledge in the Mystery of War; and this Regulation (in my opinion) proceeds from nothing more than the strict prohibition of Wine upon pain of death (two Men being executed during the time of my Residence there for bringing a small quantity of it in the Field) for hereby men become sober, diligent, watchful and obedient. In the *Turkish* Camp no brawls, quarrels, nor clamours are heard; no abuses are committed on the people by the march of their Army; all is bought and paid with money, as by Travellers that are Guests at an Inn; there are no complaints by Mothers of the Rape of their Virgin-daughters, no Violences or Robberies offered on the Inhabitants; all which order tends to the success of their Armies, and Enlargement of their Empire. As on the contrary, the sloth of the *Germans* and other Nations in their Councils against the *Turks*, the liberty given to the Christian Soldiers, or rather the difficulty to correct, proceeds from nothing more than the intemperance in Wine, which moves in the Soldier a lust and promptitude to all evils, and is occasion of the horrid outrages

they commit, quarrels among themselves, and disobedience to their Officers, and betrays often times a whole Army to ruin by surprisals; for how can those men be watchful, whose heads are charged with the fumes of Wine, and yet yield opportunity of sad advantages to so weak an Enemy as the *Turks*? *Burbequius* who had been Ambassador from the Emperor to the Grand Signior in two several Embassies, and had known and seen the vigilance of the *Turkish* Camp, attributes much of their success against the *Germans* to the ancient vice of intemperance of his Country; *Neque enim, fides hic, graviter imperio Turca Grævis premitur, quam nobis dominantis vitia, luctu, crapula.* And so sensible are the *Turks* of the abuses and disorders which arise in their Camp by the use of Wine, that they endeavour all that is possible to debar their people from it, and therefore two or three days before the Army arrives at any place, Officers are dispatched before to seal all Taverns, and make proclamation against the sale of Wine: for though it be against their Law to drink Wine, yet Drunkenness is now become so common a Vice amongst them (as we have already declared in the second Book) that scarce one in ten but is addicted to a brutish intemperance therein.

The Camp is always free from ordure and filth; there being holes dugged near every Tent, which are encompassed about with Canvas for the more privacy and accommodation in mens necessary occasions; and whenever these places become noisome and full, they are covered with Earth, and the Canvas removed; so that the whole Camp is clear of all excrements of men, as also kept more free from other stench (which may cause putrefaction) than the most orderly Cities of the World. If the march be in the Summer-time, and the weather hot, the Brafs of Burthen and Baggage begin to travel about seven a clock in the evening, and the *Pashas* and great Vicer presently after mid-night; who are accompanied with so many Lights as equal almost the brightness of the day. Those that carry these Lights are *Arabians* from the parts of *Alleppe* and *Damascus*, Men used to travel on foot, who are a superintendent or chief, called *Maslagibabes*, whose Office it is to govern and to punish these people, and is liable to answer for their disorders: the Lights they carry are not Torches, but a bituminous oily sort of Wood, which they burn in an Iron Grate, carried on a Staff made in the form of Lights we see drawn in ancient Hangings and Pictures which represent Night-pieces of *Roman* Stories.

And since I have discoursed something of the *Turkish* Camp in this return home, it will not be much from my promise to acquaint the Reader with what cheerfulness and alacrity the Army marched this way after their ill success; and also to declare the occasion that put a Hook into the Nostrils of this great Oppressor, and diverted him from the present from the farther spoil of *Christendom*. After the taking of the Caille called *Serrinspur* by the great Vicer, built by Count *Serini* (the which was the first original and occasion of the War) and the defeat of the *Pashaw* of *Buda* near *Lewsa* by Count *Susla* Governor of *Gomorra*; the Vicer made many and various attempts to pass the River *Rasab*, and make some Conquests in the parts of *Croatia* and *Syria*,

Syria, but by reason of the Forts the Christians had made along the Banks of the River, in every adventure lost considerable numbers of Men; at which loss of men and time, and the ill success near *Lewsa*, the Vicer being greatly moved, made another adventure on the 27th of July, 1664, advancing with the grofs of his Army as far as *Kement*, a place between the River *Rasab* and *Terna*; endeavouring there to make his passage with better success; but by the valour of the *Hungarians* and the assistance of the General *Montecauli*, were repulsed with extraordinary slaughter.

On the first of August following the *Turks* made another considerable attempt, and passed over in one place 6000 *Janizaries* and *Albanians*, and in another where the River was fordable and not above ten paces broad, the whole body of the *Turkish* Horse crowded over in vast numbers, which caused the Christians to join their Forces into one Army, and retreat farther into the Country, and put themselves into a posture of giving Battel to the Enemy.

As soon as the *Turkish* Army had thus waded over the water, the night following fell so much Rain, and such a Deluge came pouring down from the Mountains, that the River which was fordable the day before, did now over-swell its own Banks, and not passable without Floats and Bridges. As soon as the Army had thus passed the River, the great Vicer dispatched immediately Messengers to the Grand Signior to acquaint him of his successes and passages, which news he knew would come very grateful; because in all Letters from the Grand Signior he was urged by threats and positive commands to proceed forward in his march, and not to suffer the impediment of a narrow ditch to be an interruption to the whole Ottoman force which was never before restrained by the Ocean. The Grand Signior having received this intelligence, as if the whole Victory and Triumph over the World consisted in the passage over the *Rasab*, was transported with such an extraordinary joy and assurance of Victory, that all *Hungary* and *Germany* were already swallowed in his thoughts; and when by a second Message he received intelligence, that a Fortiori Hope of the Enemy, consisting of 1000 Men, was cut off, the Ottoman Court was so transported with the joy and assurance of Victory, that to anticipate the good news, the Grand Signior commanded that a solemn Festival should be celebrated for the space of seven days and seven nights, called by the *Turks*, *Dumelmis*, in which time the whole nights were spent in Fire-works, shooting great Guns, Volleys of Muskets, found of Drums and Trumpets, Revelling, and what other Solemnities might testify their joy and triumph. But scarce three nights of vain dream had passed, before the Grand Signior awaked by intelligence contrary to what was promised and expected, of the defeat of the best part of his Army, shamefully commanded the Lights to be extinguished; and the remaining four nights appointed for joy, to be turned to melancholy and darkness. And indeed this rain joy was the more shameful and ridiculous, by how much more fatal and destructive the loss was to the *Turks*. For they being now got over the River, and the Christians drawn up in Battalia, a most furious Fight began, which from nine a clock in the morning, until four in the afternoon, continued with variable fortunes; at length the *Turks* assailed by the extraordinary valour

of the Christians, which were now of equal number to them, began to give back and put themselves into a shameful flight, leaving dead upon the place above 5000 men, and the glory of the day to the Christians; the *Turks* who always fly disorderly, knowing not the art of a handsome retreat, crowded in heaps to pass the River, the Horse trampling over the Foot, and the Foot throwing themselves headlong into the Water, without consideration of the depth, or choice of places fordable after the great Rains; such sinking, and catching one another, that could swim, sunk down and perished together; others both Men and Horse through the rapidness of the stream were carried down the River and swallowed up in the deeper places: The water was dyed with Blood, and the whole face of the River was covered with Men, Horses, Garments, all swimming promiscuously together, no difference was here between the valiant and the cowardly, the foolish and the wise, counsel, and chance, all being involved in the same violence of calamity: *Non vos ementi horatus juvabat, adversante unda, nihil premeat ignis, sapientia præstanti, consilia à cæcis differre, omnes pari violentia involvuntur*; so that the waters devoured a far greater number than did the Sword; whilst the great Vicer standing on the other side of the River, was able to afford no kind of help or relief, but as one void of all counsel and reason, knew not where to apply a remedy. This defeat, though in *Christendom* not greatly boasted, yet the destruction of the *Turks*, which was most by water, was partly concealed to them; yet the *Turks* acknowledge the ruin and slaughter to have been of a far greater number than what the Christian Diaries relate, confessing that since the time that the Ottoman Empire arrived at this greatness, no stories make mention of any slaughter or disgrace it had suffered to be equalled to the calamity and dishonour of this. On the *Turks* side were slain *Ismail Pashaw*, lately of *Buda*, and *Chimacem* of *Constantinople*, by a shot from the Enemy in his passage over the River, the *Spahes* *Ras Agasse* or General of the *Spahies*, and several other *Pashas* and Persons of Quality fell that day, 15 pieces of Cannon were taken, with some Tents and other rich Spoils: Of the Christians were slain near 1000; those of Note were Count *Nassau*, Count Charles of *Braconhoff* Captain of the Guards to *Montecauli*, Count *Fueber* General of the Artillery, with many other Gentlemen of the French Nation, who deserve ever to be chronicled for their virtue and valour.

The *Turks* were with this news greatly ashamed, and dejected, having but two days before demonstrated excesses of joy, congratulating the happy news one to the other, tending far abroad after the same manner, denied the Christians living amongst them, with the news, expatriated them with a thousand injuries, applauded their own virtue and valour, and the righteousness of their Cause and Religion. But on a sudden, intelligence coming contrary to their expectations, such a dampness fell upon their spirits, that for some days there was a deep silence of all news at *Constantinople*; they that the day before fought for Christians to communicate to them the Miracles of their Victory, now avoided their company; ashamed of their too forward joy, and the liberty they had taken to contemn and deride the low condition of the *Christian* Camp. And now this

Ill news not being able to be longer concealed. Prayers, and Humiliation were appointed publicly to be made at all the Royal *Majesties* both at *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*, where all the *Eunuchs* and *Pasha's Priests* with their young Scholars were commanded to refozt, fing- ing some dolefull Chapter of the *Alchoran*.

The minds of the Soldiery after this defeat were very much difcomfited, tending more to Sedition than to obedience, every one took licence to speak loudly and open his opinion, that the War was commenced in unjust and unlawful grounds; that Comets lately fell to fall were prodigious foretelling the ill fuccels of the War: that the total eclipse of the Moon, which portends always misfortunes to the *Turks*, should have caused more caution in the Commanders of engaging the Army, until the malignity of that Influence had been overpafsed; and calling to mind the solemn Oath with which the Sultan *Solyman* confirmed his Capitulations with the Emperor, particularly vowing never to pass the *Raab* or Places where the *Turky* received their defeat, without a solid or reasonable ground of War; all concluded that this Invasion was a violation of the Vow, and an injury to the sacred memory of that reverend *Sultan*, and that all endeavours and attempts of this War would be fatal and destructive to the *Mufflimen* or Believers, and the end dishonourable to the Empire. This opinion was rooted with much firmness and superstition in the mind of the vulgar, and the rumours in the Camp (that the *Vifcer* had been cause of the Soldiers flight, by commanding them to retreat after they were engaged, upon a false alarm that the Enemy in great numbers were coming to fall on the quarters where the *Vifcer's* person remained; and that this error was the first original of the slaughter that ensued) augmented their difcontents and animosities against the Government. The Soldiery besides was greatly terrified and possessed with the fear of the Christians, and amazed upon every alarm; the *Asian Spahies* and other Soldiery having Wives and Children, and Possessions to look after, were grown poor, and desired nothing more than in peace and quietness to return to their homes; so that nothing could come more grateful to the Camp, no largesse nor hopes could pacify the minds of the Soldiery more than the promises and expectations of Peace. And this was the true cause that brought on the Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and the *Turk* in such an instant, contrary to the opinion of most in the World; and gave occasion to the *Vifcer* to embrace the Propositions offered by the *Rhiningsen*, then Resident for the Emperor (who was carried about according to the motions of the *Turkish* Camp, to be ready to improve any Offers of Peace that might be offered) the *Vifcer* to shew his real intentions, flattered and flattered this Resident with the Prospect of a Horse richly furnished, a Vest of Sables, and a commodious Tent, whilst the Propositions and Condemnations on the *Turkish* part were dispensed to *Vienna*, which were returned again with an entire assent to most of the Articles; and those wherein there might be any difference, were to be referred until the arrival of the Extraordinary Ambassador, who was supposed might reach the *Ottoman* Court by the end of April. The *Asian Spahies* were overjoyed at the news heard, and immediately obtained licence to depart, and most of the Militia was

dispersed, every one with joy betaking himself to his own home. But this Ambassador mistaking of his time allotted for his arrival, above a month later than he was expected put all things into a strange combustion. I was then in the Camp when it was whispered, that the Treaty was at an end, that the Christians had deluded them, and caused them to disband their Army, that so they might fall upon them with the greater advantage; the misfortune of which (according to the custom of the Comanalty) was charged on the heads of the Government and the too much credulity of the *Vifcer*. But at length on the 28 of May 1665 news coming that the Ambassador from the Emperor was arrived at *Buda*; the *Vifcer* the next day departed from *Belgrade* with his whole Army, which I accompanied as far as *Niffa* about nine days march towards *Adrianople*, and their having put an end to my business, and wearied with the slow pace, and heats, and other inconveniences of an Army, I took my leave of the great *Vifcer*, and proceeded farther by longer journeys to attend the Court at *Adrianople*; and that I may give my Reader an account of these Countries, and the nature of the people that inhabit them, I hope it will not be thought much besides my purpose if I entertain him a little with a Relation of some part of my Journey to *Belgrade*.

On the 29th of April 1665. I departed from *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade*; and on the first of May I lodged at a Village called *Gienoffy*, the first Town I met, inhabited by *Christians*, who are *Christians*, that day being a Festival; the Women upon the arrival of Guests came running from their Houses with Cakes of bread which they called *Togatch*, only laid upon the Coals between two Tiles, which they kneaded and prepared for the stomachs of the Travellers; others brought Milk, Eggs, and Wine to sell, and what else their homely Cottages afforded, which they pressed on us with much importunity, the younger and handsomer challenging a priority in the sale of their Provisions before those who were ancient and more homely: These Country Ladies that day put on their holy Garments, which put me in mind of those dresses I have seen in Pictures of the ancient Shepherdesses in *Arcadia*, being a loose Gown of various colours with hanging Sleeves; their Armes had no Sleeve but that of their Smock, which though it were of Canvas or some very coarse Linnen, was yet wrought with many works of silver colours; their hair was braided, hanging down a length behind, which some had adorned with little shells found upon the Sea shore, tied at the end with fringes of Silk, bobs, and tassels of Silver; their heads were covered with pieces of Silver Coin of different forts strung upon thread, and their Breasts were in the same manner decked; those being most honoured, and therefore most rich, who were best adorned with these Strings of Coin, and Bracelets on their Wrists, with which every one, according to her ability, had decked and made her self fine. Amongst these we passed with plenty of Provision, and a hearty welcome; for these people called *Belgarians* inhabit all that Country to the Coast of the *Hellespont*; Till all that ground, Pasture vast numbers of Cattel, and are industrious and able Husbandmen, by which means, and the liberty they enjoy by the small number of *Turks* which live amongst them, they pass their time with some reasonable

reasonable comfort, and are more commodious in Wealth than they suffer to appear outwardly to the curious eyes of the *Turks*. Their Language is the *Libyan* or *Sclavonian* Tongue, which hath much similitude with the *Russian*; because this people is said to come originally from beyond the River *Volga*, and so by corruption are called *Bulgarians* or *Volgarians*. On the third of May we arrived at *Philippolis*, where we were civilly entertained at the House or Monastery of the Greek Bishop, or Greek Patriarch of that Country. This City runs the River *Hebrus*, having its original from the Mountains *Rhodope*, in sight of which we travelled towards *Sophia*, of which *Ovid* thus speaks,

*Qua patet ambrosium Rhodope glaciali ad He-
lus facit amplexus exigit Hebrus aquas.* (Tum,

The City of *Philippolis* is situate in a large and open Plain, and level, whereon are great numbers of little round Hills, which the Inhabitants will have to be the Graves of the *Roman* Legions slain in those Fields. A certain Greek had once the melancholy dream of much Treason being hid in one of these Hills; his fancy, so often troubled him in his sleep, that it took a strong impression in his mind whilst he was waking, and so far troubled him, that he could take no rest nor contentment until he had cast his mind to the *Nafir-Aga*, who is he who oversees the Works and places of Pleasure belonging to the Grand Signior of that Country. The *Turk*, though he had a great mind to the Treasure, durst not yet open the ground, until he had acquainted the Grand Signior with the mind of the Greek, who upon the first intimation dispatched away Officers (to apt the *Turks* are in matters of Profit to catch even at a shadow) to open the sides of these Hills; the Country Villages were summoned, and whilst they digged very deep, nor well understanding the manner and art of Mining, the Earth broke from the top, and buried seventy persons in the ruins; and so the work ended, and the Greek awaked from his dream. This Town hath one part of it built on the side of a Hill, and others are also near it, which appear like Bulwarks or Fortifications on that side the City; all the rest of the Country thereabouts being a dead Plain or Level. At this place remains no other Antiquity besides the ruins of two ancient Chapels, built of Brick, in the form of a Cross, one of which the *Greeks* hold in great devotion, and report to be the place wherein *St. Paul* preached often to the *Philippians*; and with that opinion they often resort thither, especially on the Days of Devotion, to say their Prayers: The Walls of the City are likewise very ancient, over the Gates of which is writ something in the Greek Character, but I have not observed it, that to me it seemed no longer legible; and so ignorant are the *Greeks* also, even such as were born in that City, and are Priests and Colonies (which are the strictest sort of Religious Men amongst them) who have nothing more to do than to attend to their Office and Studies, that they cannot give any reasonable account of the original of that City, who it was built by, or any thing else of the History of it, and with much admiration they hearken to us, when we tell them any thing what our Books relate concerning it.

From hence I departed towards *Sophia*, passing in this Journey the *Montes Hemii*, called by the

Turks Capi Derwent, which is as much as the Gate of the narrow way; the ascent thereunto is rugged and sharp, commodious for Robbers, who there have their Caves and places of refuge, that they defy every considerable Force that is sent against them. On the top of this Hill is a Village of *Bulgarians*, where the Women used to the diversity of Travellers, are become free in their discourse, and only entertain strangers, whilst their Husbands are in the Field, or with their Cattle in the Woods; by which they are in great danger of being abused, by injury from the *Turks*. Defending the entrance is a very narrow inclosure, on both sides being environed with high Mountains and Woods, which is a shady and melancholy Journey for the space of two hours; to this place the *Heyduts*, or *Heyduts* (as that people call them) frequently resort in great numbers out of *Transylvania*; *Mac-Lanes*, *Hungary*, and other parts, which taking advantage of these close Woods, dislodge Volleys of Shot on the strongest Caravans, and rolling Stones from the Mountains in the narrowest passages, do as much execution as with Cannon's for, as I have understood, in one of these *Derwents* (for there are many of this nature in the Journey to *Belgrade*) Thieves have killed above 300 merchants, who for security united together, and their whole Baggage and Goods became a prey to the Robbers. In these places, thus fortified by Nature, the Inhabitants resisted the force of the *Grecian* Emperors, and killed *Basileus* Earl of *Flanders* after he had subdued the City of *Philippolis*. Amongst these *Bulgarians* is a sort of people which they call *Pashines*, who had in former times strange confused notions of Christianity, pretending to follow the Doctrine of *St. Paul*, used Fire in the Sacrament of Baptism, and preferred this Apostile before his Master Christ; but there being some Roman Priests in those parts, that observing the ignorance of these poor people, and their willingness to be instructed, took the advantage; and reduced them all to the Roman Faith, to which now they are strict and superstitious adherers.

Through those narrow *Derwents* before spoken of, we arrived after three days of weary Journey at *Sophia*, a place so wholly *Turkish*, that there is nothing in it that appears more antick than the *Turks* themselves; it is situated in a pleasant Plain or broad Valley, between two high Mountains, the highest of them wearing a snowy head in the heat of the Summer Solstice, which is the reason that that City is cool and wholesome, but of a subtle penetrating Air, being supplied with admirable waters of easy digestion, which come pouring down in great abundance from the Mountains, and supply the Town with plentiful streams in all parts of it, and are said to be waters of those Fountains which *Orpheus* delighted in. There are also in these cool Waters, certain Baths naturally hot, to which the *Turks* resort very frequently, being of the same nature and virtue with ours in *England*. From this place we made nine long days Journey to *Belgrade*, in which passage there is nothing more memorable than the desolation of the Country; and being there arrived, we pitched our Tent in the Camp, where after six days we marched back with the Army, to whom nothing could come more joyfull than their return home, and the conclusion of the War; by which may be observed in some manner, how far the nature of the *Turks* is degenerated from the ancient warlike disposition of the *Saracens*.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Turks Armata, or Naval Forces.

HAVING particularly run over the Force of this formidable Enemy and Gouge of Christianity by Land, we are now to take a view according to the true method of this Discourse, of the strength of their Fleets and Maritime Forces; which though to a Nation situated on the Continent, are not so necessary or prevalent to defend themselves from their Neighbours, or transport their Power and Conquests into other Dominions, as they are to a People whose Habitation is encompassed by the Sea; yet certainly a Prince can never be said to be truly Puissant, who is not Master in both Elements: for not to expatiate on the common Theme of the Riches and Power which arise from Navigation, it is sufficient, considering how often the mighty force of the Ottoman Empire hath been foiled and baffled by the small Republick of Venice, for want of true knowledge or success, or application of their minds to Maritime Exercise, to demonstrate of what efficacy in most dangers is a well provided and regulated Fleet.

The Turks are now very much weakened in their Naval Forces, since the War against Candy, and are so discouraged in their hopes of success at Sea, that Ships and Galeasses, called by them *Mabumes*, are wholly in disuse amongst them; whether it be that they are weary of the charge to govern them, or that they despair of being able to meet the Venetians in open Sea (for which those Vessels of Battery are once in use) they are fallen into a fancy of light Gallies, a sign that they intend to trust more of their safety to their Oars than their Arms; of which in the year 1661. (after the loss of 28 well-provided Gallies wrech'd with their Men in the Black Sea) the Vicer *Kapurlu* built thirty others for reparation of that loss, but of that green and unfashioned Timber, that the first Voyage many of them became unseaworthy for the Leaks; and the rest, at the return of the Fleet in the month of October following, were laid up amongst the old and worn Vessels.

It may seem a difficult matter to assign the true reason why and by what means the Turkey come to be so decayed in their Naval Forces, who abound with so many conveniences for it, and with all sorts of materials fit for Navigation, as Cordage, Pitch, Tar, and Timber, which arise and grow in their own Dominions, and are easily brought to the Imperial City with little or no danger of their Enemies. For Timber, the vast Woods along the Coast of the Black Sea, and parts of Asia, at the bottom of the Gulph of Nicomedia supply them; Pitch, Tar, and Tallow are brought to them from *Grand Cairo* and Bisket in plenty in all parts of the Turkey Dominions. Their Ports are several of them convenient for building both Ships and Gallies; the Arsenal at *Constantinople* hath no less than One hundred thirty seven *Volars*, or Chambers for Building, and so many Vessels may be upon the Stocks at the same time. At *Sinopolis* near *Trevesand* is another Arsenal: at *Midia* and *Achiale*, Cities on the Black Sea, are the

like; and many parts of the *Propontis*, the *Hellipont*, and the *Bosphorus*, are such Ports and Conveniences for Shipping, as if all things had conspired to render *Constantinople* happy, and not only capable of being Mistress of the Earth, but formidable in all parts of the Ocean; and yet the Turkey, for several years, especially since the War with *Candia*, and their defeats at Sea have not been able at most to Equippe a Fleet of above 100 Sail of Gallies, of which 14 are maintained and provided at the charge of the *Beyers* of the *Archipelago*, for which they have certain Isles in that Sea assigned them.

The Turkey do neither want Slaves to bogue at the Oars of the Gallies; for Turkey supplies them with great numbers; besides, divers persons in *Constantinople* make it a Trade to hire out their Slaves for the Summers Voyage for 6000 Aspers running the hazard of the Slaves life, who returning home safe, is consigned to the possession of his Patron; and if want still be of the *Chirma*, as the Turkey call it, or Slaves for the Oar, a collection is made in several Provinces of the lushest and stoutest Clowns, called by the Turks *Acubis*, but by the other Slaves *Chakel*; these are chosen out of certain Villages, one being elected out of every 200 houses, the first of which is 6000 Aspers, for payment whittied the other 19 Families make a proportionable Contribution; upon receipt of their Pay they give in security not to fly, but to serve faithfully for that years Expedition: But these Men unadvised to the service of the Sea, unskillful at the Oar, and Sea sick, are of little validity; and the success of their Voyage may be compared to that in the Fable of the Shepherd, who sold his Possessions on the Land to buy Merchandise for Sea-negotiations. The Soldiers which are destin'd to Sea service are called *Levants*, who come voluntarily and enter themselves in the Registers of the Arsenal, obliging themselves to serve that Summers Expedition for 6000 Aspers, and Bisket for the Voyage; the stoutest and most resolute of these fellows are those called *Cadegili*, who are a certain sort of Mountaineers in the Country of *Anatolia*, near *Troy*, whose Country I once pass'd through, with some apprehension, and more than ordinary vigilance and caution to preserve my life; for being all Robbers and Free booters, we admitted no Treaties or Discourses with them but with our Arms in our hands. Others there are also obliged to Sea service, who are *Zaims* and *Timariots*, and hold their Lands in Sea-Tenure; but being not bound to go in person themselves, they bring or send their Servants (called in Turkey *Bekis*) to supply their place, every one providing one, two, or more, according to the value of his Lands, as we have before declared in the Chapter of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*. Some *Janizaries* are also drawn out for Sea-service, and some *Spahes* of the four inferior Banners, and not to make too bold with the Veterans and new and green Soldiers, lately registered in the Rolls of the *Spahes*.

The Auxiliaries of the Turkey Forces by Sea, are the Pyrates of *Barbary*, from those three Towns of *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Algier*; but these of late years have diffused the custom of coming into the Turkey assistance; yet oftentimes they ply towards the *Archipelago*, and to the *Levants*, and it is to supply themselves with Soldiers, and recruits of people for encrease of their Colonies,

The

The other part of Auxiliary Forces is from the *Beyers* of the *Archipelago*; being 14 in number, every one of which commands a Galley, and for their maintenance have the Contribution of certain Islands in that Sea allotted to them; which are better manned and armed than those of *Constantinople*, but these neither, are not willing too much to expose their Vessels to fight or danger, in regard that being built and maintained at their own charges, and their whole subsistence, they are the more cautious how they venture all their Fortune in the success of a Battle: These *Beyers* also give themselves up much to their delights and pleasure, and employ more thoughts how to please their Appetites, than to acquire glory and fame by the War; what they gain in Summer, when joyed with the grofs of the Turkish Fleet, is the Prize of the Grand Signior; but what chance throws upon them in the Winter, is their own proper and peculiar Fortune.

The Gunners of the Turkish Fleet are wholly ignorant of that Art, for any person who is either English, French, Dutch, or any other Christian Nation, they design to this Office, whether he be skillful or unskillful in the management of Artillery having an opinion that those people are naturally addicted to a certain proneness and aptitude in Gunnerie; in which they find their end as often as they come to skirmish with their Enemy.

The chief Admiral or Generalissimo of the Turkish Armata, is called the *Captain Pashaw*; his Lieutenant-General is called *Yefhana Kiah*; the next Officer is *Yefhan Emir*, or Steward of the Arsenal, who hath the care of providing all necessaries for the Navy; but this place being bought, as almost all other Offices, occasions a necessity in these persons to rob Mails, Anchors, Cables, and other Provisions of the Fleet to satisfy the Debts they contracted for the Purchase of their Places: In the like manner doth every *Rais* or Captain of a Galley keep his hand in exercise, as often as convenient offers; these are all for the most part *Italian* Renegades, or the Race of them born, and educated near the Arsenal. The Officers com-

mand their *Chirma* or Slaves in corrupted *Italian*, which they call *Frank*; and afford them a better allowance of Bisket than is given to the Slaves in the *Venetian Armata*.

The Turkey now despairing of being equal to the Christian Forces by Sea, and to be able to stand with them the shock of a Battle, build light Vessels for robbing, burning, and destroying themselves by flight, and afterwards to secure themselves by flight, and also to transport Soldiers, Ammunition, and Provisions, for succour of *Candia*, and other places of their new Conquests near the Sea-shore.

The Arsenal at Venice is so greatly esteemed by the Turkey, that they seem not to define the conquest of that place for any other reason more than the benefit of the Arsenal; as a person of great quality amongst them said once, that had they made a Conquest of Venice, they would not inhabit there, but leave it to the Venetians, in regard that the City affords not fresh Water, which is necessary for the use of their *Moschi*, and their Walking before Prayer; but that the Arsenal, and a Tribute would satisfy the desires of the Grand Signior.

But the Turkey are not likely to be Masters of this Sea of Neptune, whilst they so unwillingly apply their minds to Maritime Affairs, who being conscious of their former ill success at Sea, and how little use they make of those advantages they have for shipping, acknowledge their Inabilities in Sea Affairs, and say, *That God hath given the Sea to the Christians, but the Land to them*. And no doubt the large Possessions and Riches they enjoy on the staple Element of the Earth, is that which takes off their minds the deep attention to matters of the Sea, which is almost solely managed by Renegades amongst them, who have abandoned their Faith and their Country. And it is happy for Christendom that this faintness remains on the Spirits of the Turkey, an aversion from all Naval Employment, whose numbers and power the Great God of Hosts hath restrained by the bounds of the Ocean, as he hath limited the Ocean by the Sands of the Sea-shore.

THE CONCLUSION.

BY the Discourse made in the three foregoing Books, it will evidently appear what sort of Government is exercised amongst the *Turks*, what their Religion is, and how formidable their Arms, which ought to make the Christian World tremble to see so great a part of it subjected to the *Mahometan* Power, and yet no Mean thought of to unite our Interests, and compose our Differences, which lay us open to the inundation of this flowing Empire: To which I shall add this one thing very observable, That the Grand Signior wages his War by Land without any charge to himself, an advantage not to be paralleld by the Policy of any Government I ever heard or read of before; for his *Spahis*, *Janizaries* are always in Pay, both in War and Peace; his *Zaims* and *Timariots* have their Lands to maintain them; and other *Millicia's* enjoy the fixed Revenue from the respective Countries; and yet notwithstanding through the expence of the Naval Forces, the building Gallies, and the like, matters not provided for those who laid the first foundation of this Government; the Revenue of the Empire hath been bankrupted, and by the corruption of the Officers, &c. ill management, been sold for 3 years to come, until all was redeemed and restored again by the wisdom of that famous *Vizier Kaprinski*, whom we have occasion to often mention in the foregoing Treatise.

the forgoing Treatise.

We cannot now but pity those poor Borderers in Hungary, Styria, Croatia, and other parts subject to the Incursions of this cruel Enemy, since we know in the last War not three English miles from Vienna, many poor people have been surprized and fallen into the hands of the Tartar and Turk, and sold afterwards into perpetual slavery; this consideration ought to move us, who are barricado'd and fortify'd by the Seas from the violence of our Enemies, to bless God we are born in so happy and so secure a Country, subject to no dangers but from our selves, nor other miseries but what arise from

our own freedom and two much felicity: we ought to consider it as a blessing, that we never have felt any sense of the rod of this great Oppressor, and that we have been able to enjoy the good and benefit which hath proceeded from a free and open Trade, and amicable Correspondence and Friendship with this Peoples which have been maintained for the space of eighty years, begun in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH of blessed memory, preserved by the Prudence and admirable Discretion of a series of worthy Ambassadors, and daily improved both in -bainels and reputation by the excellent Conduct and Discretion of that Right Honourfull Company of the Levant Merchants, hath brought a considerable benefit to this Kingdom, and gives employment and livelihood to many thousands of people in England: by which also His Majesty without any expence gains a very considerable increase of His Customs.

The Tonic of this benefit and advantage to my own Country, without any private considerations, I have as a Servant to that Embassie, or the obligations I have to that worthy Count Prince, cause me to move with the greatest modesty and devotion possible, to request and advance the continuance of that Trade: And as some of the several ways, and preferable Rules by which a War may be most advantageously managed against the *Turks*, I, on the contrary, am more inclinable to give my judgment in what manner our Peace and Trade may best be preserved and maintained: knowing that the considerable welfare of our Nation depends upon it, that a few years of Trades interruption in *Turkey* will make all sorts of people sensible of the want of so great a vent of the commodities of our Country. And therefore as I am obliged by prayer for the glory and prosperity of His Majesty our Gracious Sovereign to desire that which conduces to the continuance of the Honour of this Embassie in *Turkey*, and the profitable returns of the *Levant* Company.

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Written by Mr. RICHARD KNOLLES; wherein note that [a.] signifies the first Column of each Page, and [b.] the second.

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there raiseth his forces, ib. b. his quarrel generally favoured of the Soldiers, 524, a. his purpose, ib. a. he goeth against his Brother towards Iconium, ib. a. fighteth a bloody Battel with his Brother Selymus, wherein were forty thousand Turks slain, ib. b. put to the sword, retireth, and so goeth to Amasia, ib. b. more commended by the Soldiers in his overthrow than was his Brother in his Victory, ib. b. flyeth again for his Father's favour, 525, b. despairing thereof flyeth unto Persia, deceiving by the way the Bala of Sebattia and Erzincan, 526, a. at the first well entertained by the Persian King, 527, a. his Followers by the cunning of the scornful Persian dispersed and slain, ib. b. he himself with his Sons imprisoned, ib. b. his miserable estate in Prison, 528, b. with his four Sons at the influence of his Father by the Persian strangled, 529, a. Bajazet Bala sent by Amurath against Multapha the Rebel, forsaken of his Soldiers, yieldeth, 173, a. upon a false promise executed, 173, b. Baldwin County of Edelfa and Brother to Godfrey second King of Jerusalem, 18, a. winneth Caffaria from the Infidels, ib. a. overthroweth the Turks hard by Rama, ib. a. besiegeth Ptolemais, and in retiring thence is mortally wounded, ib. b. besiegeth it again, and bath it by composition yielded unto him, ib. b. after many sharp Assaults winneth Berythus, ib. b. taketh Sidon by Composition, and in going besiegeth Tyre, ib. b. maketh an Expedition into Egypt, and near unto Laris, dieth, 19, a. Baldwin surnamed Brugensis, County of Edelfa, besiegeth Carras, and there taken Prisoner after five years Captivity redeemeth himself, 18, a. after the Death of Baldwin the first, chosen King of Jerusalem, and called Baldwin the second, 19, a. overthroweth the Turks, and winneth the Principality of Antioch to his own Kingdom, 19, b. by Bala the Persian Sultan overthroweth and taken Prisoner, after eighteen Months Captivity for the ransom of 100000 Duckens set at liberty, 20, b. in three notable Battels overthroweth the King of Damasco, 20, b. Dieth, 21, a. Baldwin the third of that name crowned King of Jerusalem, 22, a. hardly distressed by Noradin the Turk, ib. a. he fortifieth Gaza, and taketh Afulon by Composition, 24, b. in a set Battel overthroweth Noradin the Turk, and taketh the Castle of Sueta, 25, b. fallett sick and dyeth, ib. b. Baldwin the fourth of that name seventh King of Jerusalem, 41, b. with a great slaughter overthroweth Saladin invading his Kingdom, ib. b. putteth him with his great Army again to flight, 42, b. reigneth the Government of his Kingdom to Guy Lusignan County of Joppa and Afulon, 43, a. sendeth Ambassadors to the Christian Princes of the West, and immediately after dyeth, 44, b. 444, a. Baldwin the fifth of that name, yet but a Boy, was crowned eighth King of Jerusalem, and within seven Months after dyeth, 44, a. Baldwin County of Flanders and Henault, chosen by the Latines Emperor of Constantinople, and so solemnly crowned, 59, a. subdueth Thracia and besiegeth Hadrianople, ib. b. overthroweth in a Battel by the Scythians, and taken Prisoner, is by the commandment of their barbarous King most cruelly put to death, 60, a. Baldwin the second of that name, fifth and last Emperor of the Latines in Constantinople, 68, a. pawneth his Son unto the Bruges Merchants for money, 70, a. flyeth out of the City of Constantinople, being surprised by Alexius Strategopulus sent from Michael Paleologus the Greek Emperor, 81, a.

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E.

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The Emperor, the French King, and the King of Polonia intangled in their Leagues with the Turk, refuse to give Aid unto the Venetians against him, 572, b.

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An Enterprize of the Christians upon Albania, discovered by the Turks, 923, a.

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Ertogrud with his Brother Dunder, and four hundred Families of the Turks, stay in their return towards Persia, 93, a. by his good service obtaineth of Sultan Aladin a place at Suguta for himself and his Turks to dwell in, ib. b. taketh the Castle of Cara-Chitar from the Christians, ib. b.

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Euremotes his rich Present unto Amurath at the marriage of his Son Bajazer, 133, b.

Eudocia the Emperess contrary to her Oath, desirous to marry, dealeth cunningly with the Patriarch to dispense with her Oath, 5, b. marrieth Diogenes Romanus, a Prisoner condemned to dye, and maketh him Emperour, 6, a. she is deposed by the Traitors John Duca, Hellus, and others, and thrust into a Monastery, 7, b.

Eustace Governour of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, discomfieth the Saracens in a great battel near unto Afsalon, and not long after dieth, 20, a.

F.

Facardin Emir of Sidon abandons his charge, and retires to Florence, 921, a. is received courteously of the Duke, ib. a.

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Ferat Bassa by Amurath chosen General of his Army against the Persians instead of Sinan, 681, a. in the space of fifteen days buildeth a Fort at Reivan, at he was by Amurath commanded, ib. b. breaketh up his Army at Erizum, 682, a. raiseth a new Army, ib. b. fortifieth Lori, 683, a. buildeth a Fort upon the straight of Tomanis, ib. a. repoveth Veis Bassa of Aleppo, 684, a. is himself reviled by the Janizaries and Spahis, ib. b. by them disobeyed and threatened, 685, a. his stout answer to his mutinous Soldiers, ib. b. his Tents overthrowed and he again threatened, ib. b. disgraced, and breaketh up his Army at Arachian, ib. b. grievously complained of to Amurath, 686, b. by Amurath again made General against the Persians, 703, b. cometh to Van, 704, a. putteth Succours into Tauris, 705, a. taketh Geneva, 707, a. sent by Mahomet General of his Army into Hungary, 744, a. disgraced at his first coming to the Army, ib. a. overthrowed in Valachia, 745, a. sent for to Constantinople, and there strangled, 872, b.

Ferdinand King of Bohemia laith claim to the Kingdom of Hungary, 407, b. taketh Buda, ib. b. crowned King of Hungary, 408, b. seeketh for the favour of Solymán, 409, b. is by him rejected and threatened, ib. b. persecuted by the Hungarian fugitives to invade Hungary, 470, b. dissuaded by Lalfus, 471, a. sendeth Lalfus to Solymán, and other Ambassadors to the Queen of Hungary, to demand of her that Kingdom, ib. b. he invades Hungary, 472, a. taketh Peth and Vacia, and besiegeth Buda, ib. a. dieth, 534, b.

Filleck taken by the Christians, 722, b.

Filleck yielded unto the Haidoucks, 661, a.

The Florentines take the Castle of Langos, 908, a.

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Fortigacie Lieutenant to King Mathias entreth Transilvania with an Army, 902, a. expelled by Battori, ib. b. his miserable retreat, 903, a.

The Fort of Cochina yielded to Prince Alexander, 928, a.

Fofcarus a grave Senator, 467, b. unworthily disgraced by the multitude, ib. b.

Fourteen Wagons loaded with the beads of the slain Christians, 715, b.

France the French King the more to trouble the Emperour, solliciteth Solymán to invade his Territories, 469, b.

Francis Acciavol, Duke of Thebes, by the Commandment of Mahomet murdered, 241, a. b.

Frederick the Emperour taketh upon him an Expedition into the Holy Land, 46, b.

Frederick Duke of Suevia, the Emperours Son, in his Fathers stead chosen General of the Christians Army, 47, a. hath Antioch delivered unto him, ib. b. dieth of the Plague, and is buried by his Father in the Cathedral Church at Tyre, ib. b.

Frederick the German Emperour undertaketh an Expedition into the Holy Land, 60, b. crowned King of Jerusalem, which is by him repaired, 70, a.

The Frenchmen and Wallons in mutiny at Pappa, 780, b. compact with the Turks to deliver to them the Town, ib. b. seeking secretly to have fled, are

most of them slain, and the rest that were taken put to most horrible Tortures, 782, b.

A French Ambassador sequestered by the Turks, 901, b.

A French Ambassador men tortured by the Turks, 947, a. he himself imprisoned, ib. b. set at liberty, ib. b.

Final part of the Venetian Territory miserably spoiled by the Turks, 382, b. again spoiled by Scander Bassa and the Turks, 311, b.

The frontiers of the Emperours Territories grievously spoiled by the Turks, 803, a.

The Frugality of the Turks, 481, b.

Fulke County of Turin, Maine, and Anjou, taketh upon him an expedition into the Holy Land, 20, b. 21, a. dieth of a fall off his Horse in hunting, and is buried at Jerusalem, 32, b.

Furber a Lady Glover, the English Ambassadors Wife, 908, a.

Furcarinus in his absence, by the general consent of the Venetian State chosen Admiral, 602, b. encourages the Confederates to give the Turks battel, 603, b. in vain persuadeth the Confederates to take the advantage of the Turks dispersed Fleet, 605, a. earnestly dissuadeth Don John, and the Spaniards from returning without giving the Turks battel, 609, a.

G.

Gabor and the Turk oppress Battori, 911, a.

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The Gallions of Malta defeated by the Turks, 868, a. they set upon the Turks Canavan, ib. a. go to surprise them of Biferia, ib. b. sink a Gallion of Tunes, ib. b.

The Gallies of Florence take a Turkish Ship, ib. b. sink the Town of Biquerre, ib. b. take divers Turkish Pigeons, 899, a. make a second Voyage against the Turks, 903, a. meet with the Turks Fleet, ib. a. assailed by the Turks, ib. a. sink five Turkish Gallies, ib. b. put their Fleet to flight, and take a rich Ship from them, ib. b. make an enterprize upon the Town and Castle of Agilman, 917, b. after a bloody fight take the place, and raise it, 919, a.

The Gallies of Malta and Naples, their Exploits, 903, b. take a Venetian Ship, ib. b. force the Island of Langos, 904, a.

The Gallies of Sicily sail into the Levant, 910, a. assail the Turks Gallies, ib. b.

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Garcias of Toledo Viceroy of Sicily after long delay at last setteth forward with his fleet to relieve the besieged at Malta, 550, b. by Tempest driven into the Island of Agafia, 551, b. arriveth at Malta, and landeth his men, 552, a.

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 Philes a devout man, but no Soldier, undertaketh the defence of the Greek Empire against the Turks, 109, a. in plain battle overthroweth them, 109, b. 110, a.
 Philip the Second of that Name, the French King, in going towards the Holy Land, suffering Shipwreck upon the Coast of Sicilia, 48, a. arriveth at Ptolemais, 48, b. his speech unto Richard King of England, and the other Christian Princes, in his ships, ib. b. he sweareth unto King Richard, not to invade his Territories in France, and so returneth home, 49, b.
 Phocas by killing of Mauritius the Emperor with his Children, possesseth himself of the Greek Empire, 15, b. slain afterwards by them of his own Guard, 16, a.
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 Polinus the French Ambassador with Presents from Francis the French King, meeteth Solyman coming from Buda, 450, a. his request to Solyman, ib. a. returneth into France, ib. a. sent back again to Solyman, by the very solicitation the Venetians to take up arms against Charles the Emperor, ib. a. grieveth, not to find the Turk so ready to send his fleet in the Aid of the King his Master, as he had before hoped, 490, a. is shrewdly spoken up by Solyman Bassa, ib. a. brought to the speech of Solyman himself, 492, a. by him rejected until the next Spring, ib. a. fetteh forward with Barbaruissa and the Turks Fleet, 495, b. by his Letters from Othia comforteth the Popes Legat in Rome, 497, a.
 Poodia and Ruffia invaded by the Turks, 211, a.
 The Pope and the King of Spain fearing left the Venetians should make Peace with the Turk, halften their Confederation with that State, long before by them delayed, 581, a. a perpetual League concludeth betwixt the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Venetians, 582, a. the League proclaimed, ib. b.
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arriveth at Ptolemais, ib. b. causeth all the Turks his Prisoners, in the sight of Saladin's Army to be executed, 50. a. giveth Cyprus to Guy in exchange for the titular Kingdom of Jerusalem, ib. b. with great slaughter overthroweth Saladin in plain battle, ib. b. returning banished, taken Prisoner by Leopold Duke of Austria, 51. b. Rodolph the Emperor prayeth Aid of the German Princes against the Turk, 715. b. his Ambassador findeth out in his House at Constantinople, 716. b. by his Letters to Amurath, ib. b. his Letters to Sinan Bassa, 717. a. presented with the spoil of the Turks overthrow at Albarregals, 723. b. requesteth Aid of the Great Duke of Moscow, King of Poland, and of the Prince of Transilvania, 725. a. holdeth a Pye of the Empire at Ratisbon for the withdrawing of the Turks, 750. a. receiveth Aid from the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Princes of Italy, 792. b. Robert Duke of Normandy by general consent chosen King of Jerusalem, which honour he refuseth, 17. a. Robert Son to Peter, fourth Emperor of the Latines in Constantinople, 68. a. goeth to Rome and in his return dieth in Achaia, 68. a. Rogendorf, his Name terrible unto the Turks, 413. b. with King Ferdinands Army entrench into Hungary, and besiegeth Buda, 473. b. threatneth the Queen, defendeth by the Bishop, 474. a. in vain assaulteth Buda, ib. b. in raising of his siege by Night, receiveth a great overthrow, 478. a. conveyed up the River to Comara, there dieth, 478. b. Ronzorius, sometime a notable Pyrat, entertained by Andronicus the Emperor against the Turks, 104. b. relievethe Philadelphia, 105. a. for lack of pay spoileth the Emperours Territories in Asia, ib. a. suddenly slain, 105. b. Rolletes riseth against his Brother Mulekates King of Tunes, 433. a. flieth to Barbarussa, and by him carried to Constantinople, ib. a. Roverius robbeth Dautius, Bajazet the Great Turk Ambassador to Pope Alexander, 307. b. Roxolana conspireth with Ruffian Bassa against the noble Mustafa, and fainteth herself religious, 512. b. sent for by Solyman, resisteth to come, 513. a. plotteth the confusion of Mustafa, ib. a. inveigeth him into suspicion with his Father, ib. a. she with Ruffian put Solyman in fear of his Life and Empire by his Son Mustafa, ib. a. loveth her younger Son Bajazet better than her eldest Son Selymus, 519. a. comforteth him, going in fear unto his Father, 520. b. Ruffian Bassa, a man of a mischievous Nature, 512. b. furthereth the devices of Roxolana, by the destruction of the noble Mustafa, 514. b. sent by Solyman with an Army into Asia, to have taken or slain Mustafa, 514. a. returneth in haste, and with false suggestions stirreth up Solyman himself against his Son, ib. b. his exceeding Treachery at the coming of Mustafa to his Fathers Camp, 515. a. disaffected by Solyman, flieth to Roxolana at Constantinople, 516. b. by her means restored again unto his former honours, dieth afterwards of a droppie, 517. b. Ruffeworme a great Lord beheaded, 867. a. The Russians and Tartars make Incursions upon the Turks, 908. b.

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first time assaulted by the Turks, 287. b. by composition yielded unto the Turks, 291. a. The Scrivano rebelleth against the Turk in Carmania, and giveth Michemet Bassa a notable overthrow, 792. b. in a great battle overthroweth him again, the next year with an Army of fifty thousand Turks, 797. a. having over-run a great part of the Turks Dominions in Asia, dieth, 804. a. his younger Brother steppeth up in his stead, and in a great battle overthroweth Hassan Bassa, and killeth him, 805. a. Selymus ambitious, and of a turbulent spirit, and therefore of the Janizaries and men of War better beloved than his other Brother, 326. a. aided by Mahometes the Tartar King, riseth against his aged Father, 326. b. coloureth his rebellious purpose with the liberation of Hungary, 327. a. marcheth with his Army towards Hadrianople, 328. a. in a great battle overthroweth and put to flight by his Father Bajazet, at Taurulung, 331. a. by the persuasion of the Basses, by his Father's return home, 335. a. chosen General, by his Father's go against his rebellious Brother Achometes, is by and by after by the Janizaries slayed Emperor, 336. b. causeth his Father to be poisoned, 337. b. putteth three of his Fathers Pages to death for mourning for their Masters, 338. a. boundlessly rewardeth the Soldiers of the Court, 339. a. murdereth five of his Brothers Sons, ib. b. causeth Corcutus his Brother to be strangled, 341. a. Treason intended against him, discovered, 342. a. craveth Aid of Aladulces and the other mountain Princes against the Perians, 345. a. Selymus perplexed, ib. b. receiveth great loss in passing the River Euphrates, 349. a. he and Hyimael compared together, 350. b. Selymus with a great Army entereth into Armenia, and taketh Ciamaflum a City of the Persian King, 352. b. vanquisheth Aladulces the Mountain King, putteth him to death, and converteth his Kingdom into the form of a Province, 354. a. invadeth Hungary, ib. b. sendeth his Ambassadors presents to Campton the Egyptian Sultan, 357. a. encourageth his Soldiers to go against the Mamalukes, 358. a. putteth the Mountain Amanus, and cometh into Comagena, ib. b. in the battle of Singa, overthroweth the Mamalukes, 360. b. in doubt lest Sinan Bassa had been lost, become exceeding melancholy, 364. b. meeteth with Sinan Bassa at Gaza, 365. a. putteth the sandy Deserts, and meeteth with Tomombeus at Rhodanus, 365. a. giveth him battle, and putteth him to flight, 367. a. encourageth his Soldiers to the winning of Caire, 370. a. fighteth a great and mortal battle with the Mamalukes in the City of Caire, 370. b. causeth the City to be set on fire, 371. a. putteth Tomombeus Lord the Mamalukes to flight, and so taketh the City, ib. a. his Ambassadors sent to Tomombeus slain by the Mamalukes, 375. b. Tomombeus slain by the Mamalukes, 375. b. Nilus, 374. a. causeth him being taken, to be tortured and put to death, ib. a. cunningly reduceth the Arabians to his obedience, 375. a. purposing to turn his Forces upon the Christians, is struck in the back with a Canker, 379. a. his death conceded by Ferat Bassa, 381. a. Selymus the Second by the Janizaries saluted Emperor, 389. a. appeaseth the unquiet Janizaries, ib. b. sendeth Cubates his Ambassador to Venice, to demand Cyprus of the Senate, 569. a. rageth to have it denied him, 570. a. he invadeth the Venetians, 572. a. in his rage about to have put to death all the Christians in his Dominions, 600. a. sendeth out Ululazes his Admiral with 200 Gallies against the Christians, 602. a. desire of Peace, concludeth the same with the Vene-

tians, 613. a. by his Bassa's takeeth Guletra from the Spaniards, and the City of Tunes, 620. a. ib. b. Scrinus Governor of Sigeth, 555. b. his comfortable and resolute speech unto his Soldiers, ib. b. burneth the new Town, now now to be longer defended, and retireth into the old, 556. a. his last speech unto his Soldiers, ib. b. slain, and his head sent to County Salina, 557. a. The Servians in mutiny against themselves, are with a great slaughter overthrowen by the Turks, 133. a. Servia becomes tributary unto the Turks, ib. a. wholly yielded unto the Turks, 143. a. Sietigra besieged by Amurath, 216. a. a vain doers times by the Turks assaulted, 218. a. by the working of a Traitor, Amurath hath the strong City yielded up unto him, 220. a. Sigismund King of Hungary, with the Christian Princes his Confederates, with a great Army invadeth the Turks Dominions, 141. b. his proud speech upon the greatness of his Army, ib. b. in a great battle overthroweth by Bajazet at Nicopolis, 142. a. hardly escapeth Transilvania in danger by his own Treachery to have been betrayed unto the Tartars, 755. b. the Conspirators apprehended and executed, 756. a. giveth his Subjects leave to spoil the Turks, ib. a. entereth into a Confederation with the Emperor, ib. b. perswaded Michael the Payoad of Valachia, and Aaron the Palatine of Moldavia, to revolt from the Turk, 757. b. sendeth Aaron to the Palace with his Wife and Son Prisoners to Prague, 745. a. b. marrieth Maria Christina the late Arch-duke Charles's Daughter, 752. a. overthroweth thirty thousand Turks coming as unbidden Guests to his marriage, ib. a. in a great battle overthroweth Sinan Bassa with his Turks, ib. a. receiveth the Zaculians into his Protection, and bath from them great Aid, 753. b. putteth Sinan Bassa to flight, 754. a. by force taketh Tergovita from the Turks, ib. a. taketh alst Bucareta, ib. b. goeth unto the Emperor at Prague, 761. b. besiegeth Temeswar, 764. a. with 18000 men cometh to the Aid of Maximilian the Arch-duke going to have relieved Agria, 767. a. doubting the power of the Turk, resigneth his Principality of Transilvania unto the Emperor, 769. b. repenting himself, returneth again into Transilvania, and taketh upon him the Government, 773. b. by his Ambassadors offered again his Principality unto the Emperor, 776. a. in a great battle overthroweth together with the Moldavian, by Michael the Payoad of Valachia, 784. b. by the favour of the Nobility recovereth his state again in Transilvania, 786. a. in battle overthroweth by Bassa and Michael the Payoad, dieth out of Transilvania, ib. b. by the favour of his Subjects, and countenance of the Polonians, recovereth again his state, 797. b. doubting him to be able to hold it against the Imperials, yieldeth it by composition unto Bassa the Emperours Lieutenant, and goeth himself unto the Emperor, 798. b. Sigismund King of Polonia's Letters unto Amurath, 706. b. Sigismund Ragotie chosen Prince of Transilvania, and resigneth to the Emperor, 880. a. Silistra spoiled by the Valachians, 897. a. Simon County of Montford sent by Philip the French King unto the Holy Land, representeth the fury of the Turks, and so concludeth a Peace with them for ten years, 52. b. Sinan Bassa the Eunuch overthroweth by Achometes, 342. a. restoreth Selymus; battel against Campion, before almost lost, 360. b. by Selymus sent before unto Judea, 362. a. bath Gaza yielded unto him, ib. b. discomfitteth Gazelles, coming to have

have oppressed him at Gaza, 363, b. slain in the Battle at Rhodania, 366, b.
Sinan the Jew his stout Answer to Barbaruffa, 445, a.

Sinan Bassa by Amurath chosen General for the Persian Wars, 671, a. releaseth Teflis, 673, b. loseth seven thousand of his Soldiers, 674, a. divided of his own Soldiers, ib. b. his proud Answer to Amurath, 678, b. displaced and cast into Exile, 679, a. again received into favour, 706, b. overthrown in the Upper Hungary, 708, a. his Letters unto the Emperour, 717, b. sent General of the Turks Army against the Emperour, 720, a. taketh Vespertinum, 721, a. batt. Palotta yielded unto him, ib. a. with an Army of 150000 men cometh again into Hungary, 731, a. with the Duke and S. Martins ib. b. belegeth Rab, ib. b. in assaulting thereof loseth 13000 of his men, 733, b. by corrupting of the Governour, hath the City yielded unto him, 734, a. belegeth Comara, ib. b. raiseth his Siege, and breaketh up his Army, ib. b. craftily seeketh to try the Emperours mind concerning Peace, 742, b. sent for home to the Court, 744, a. by Sultan Mahomet appointed General of the Wars against the Emperour, 752, b. invadeth Valachia, ib. b. in a great Battle overthrow by the Prince of Transylvania, ib. b. in flying in danger to have been drowned, ib. b. with a great Army cometh again into Valachia, 753, b. seeing the Turks were made, and there, shortly after, dieth, 764, a.

Sitig by the Turks besieged, 718, b. notably relieved, 719, b. again besieged and taken by the Turks, 720, b.

Skinder Bassa invadeth Prince Alexander, 932, a. his Kinship taken Prisoner, 932, b. Soldiers Infidelity justly punished, 930, a.

Solyman, Orchanes his Son, by his Father made Governour of Nicomedia, 127, b. 128, a. taketh the Castle of Zembreny in Europe, 129, a. he the first that brought the Turks over into Europe, with purpose to take to conquer and subvert, ib. a. taketh the Castle of Maditus, ib. b. winneth Caplitolis, ib. b. dieth, 130, b.

Solyman the unfortunate, Bajazets eldest Son, by the great Bassa's sin in his Fathers stead at Hadrianople, 153, a. goeth over with a great Army against his Brother Mahomet, 164, b. by him they taketh the Castle of Prusa, ib. a. belegeth his Brother in Amasia, ib. a. returneth into Europe to appease the furies there raised by his Brother Musa, and recovereth Hadrianople, 166, a. in his excess regardeth not the approach of his Brother Musa, ib. b. forsaken of his Soldiers, slayeth, ib. b. taken Prisoner, is by the commandment of his Brother Musa strangled, ib. b.

Solyman the Eunuch Bassa dealeth treacherously with the Kings of Arabia, 451, b.

Solyman hardly persecuted that his Father was dead, 581, a. Isolated Emperour by the Janizaries, ib. b. his Letters to Villerius, Great Master of the Rhodes, 384, a. his Oration to his men of War, declaring his purpose for the besieging of the Rhodes, 385, a. his threatening Letters unto them of the Rhodes, 388, b. cometh himself in Person to the siege, 392, a. his cholerick Oration to his Soldiers, ib. b. displaceth his Admiral, and persuades him like a slave, 396, a. about to have forsaken the siege, ib. b. comforteth his discouraged Soldiers, persuading them with patience to continue the siege, 397, a. his Letters to the Great Master and the Rhodians, sent by their own Ambassadors, 399, b. his speech unto the Great

Master, at his coming to yield up the City, 403, a. he entereth into the Rhodes upon Christmas-day, in the year 1522, 404, a. Solyman appoints the discord of the Christian Princes, and disordered State of Hungary, taketh occasion to invade that Kingdom, ib. b. cometh into Hungary against King Lewis with an Army of two hundred thousand men, 405, a. overthroweth him in battel at Mohatz, ib. b. cometh to Buda, 406, a. Solyman in the quarrel of King John, against King Ferdinand cometh into Hungary with an Army of 150000 men, 410, a. without resistance entereth into Buda, and besiegeth the Castle ib. b. layeth siege to Vienna, 411, a. without ransom releaseth certain Christian Prisoners, 412, a. issueth his great Ordinance upon the Danubius, ib. b. buries 8000 of his Turks in the Mines, 413, a. having lost 80000 of his Turks, raiseth his Siege, and returneth to Buda, 414, a. he releaseth the Kingdom of Hungary unto King John, ib. a. returneth himself to Constantinople, ib. b. maketh great preparation for the subduing of the Territories belonging to the House of Austria, as also for the Conquest of Germany, with the short time he perfecteth unto himself for the performance thereof, ib. b. Solyman with a mighty Army cometh again into Hungary, 416, b. belegeth Guz, ib. b. his proud Letters to Charles the Emperour, 417, a. sheweth to meet him at Vienna, and so turneth out of the way into Carinthia, 418, b. the causes moving him so to do, ib. b. returneth towards Constantinople, 420, a. Solyman, persuaded by Abraham Bassa, rejoiceth to go against the Persians, 426, b. cometh with his Army to Tauris, 437, a. followeth Tamas the Persian King into Sultania, ib. a. his Army strangely distressed by Tempest, ib. b. hath Babylon with the Countries of Melopotamia and Assyria yielded unto him, 438, a. he ravageeth Tauris, ib. b. discouraged by the harm done him by Delymenches, goeth over his Wars in Persia, and returneth to Constantinople, 439, b. he with a wonderful charge prepareth a great Fleet at Suetia against the Portugals in the East-Indies, 451, a. Solyman by the French Ambassador incited to invade Italy with an Army of two hundred thousand men, cometh to Aulona, 452, a. sendeth Lutzis Bassa and Barbaruffa with his Fleet before him into Italy, ib. a. converteth his Forces prepared for Italy, against the Venetians, 453, b. in danger to have been slain in his Tent in the midst of his Army, ib. b. invadeth Corcyra, ib. b. carrieth away above sixteen hundred Prisoners, and hath good Justice upon such Turks as had violated their Faith at Castrum, 454, b. Solyman angry with the secret Confederation between King Ferdinand and King John, 468, b. promiseth to protect the Queen and her Son, 473, a. with a great Army cometh to Buda, 478, b. sendeth for the young King into his Camp, 479, a. courteously receiveth him, ib. a. craftily surpriseth the City of Buda, 479, b. detaineth the Nobility of Hungary, ib. b. diversely persecuted by his Bassa's for the disloyalty of that Kingdom, ib. b. he sacrificeth after the Mahometan manner in Buda, 481, a. pronounceth the doom of Hungary, and converteth it from a Kingdom into a Province of his Empire, ib. a. his proud answer unto King Ferdinands Ambassadors, 482, a. he returneth to Constantinople, ib. b. sendeth his Fleet to Barbaruffa his Admiral, to aid the French King against the Emperour, 496, a. Solyman with a great Army cometh again into Hungary, 497, a. taketh Strigimonium, 498, b. entereth into the City, and there setteth up the Mahometan Superstition, 499, a. winneth Alba-Regalis, 501, b. returneth to Constantinople, ib. b. by the Infatigation of Dragus the

Pyrate,

Pyrate, sendeth into Sinan Bassa with a great Fleet to revenge the wrong done unto him by Austria, 509, a. Solyman anxious of Roxolana, 512, a. manumitteth her, 513, a. marrieth her, ib. a. by her persuaded, repliseth to put to death his eldest Son, the noble Mustafa, ib. b. goeth himself with a great Army into Asia to kill his Son, 514, b. sendeth for Mustapha, who coming, is cruelly strangled in his sight, 515, b. his stout Speech unto the Janizaries up in Arms, for the unworthy death of Mustapha, 516, b. he glad to yield unto the Janizaries, ib. b. Solyman desires, with as little stir as might be, to appease the grudges between his two Sons Selymus and Bajazet, sendeth Partau and Mehmed, two of his Pifer Basses, to bring them to the Provinces by him appointed for them, 522, b. maketh preparation against Bajazet, and sendeth Asia to Selymus, 523, a. for contentation of Selymus, goeth himself in person with his Army over into Asia, 525, a. dissembleth with Bajazet, 526, a. seeketh to slip his flight into Persia, deceived of his purpose, procureth to have him and his four Sons strangled in prison in Persia, 529, a. Solyman by his Ambassador Abraham Storza, cometh his League with Ferdinand the Emperour for eight years, 533, a. his proud Letters unto the Emperour Ferdinand, ib. a. his Presents sent unto the Emperour, 534, b. he maketh preparation against the Knights of Malta, 535, a. b. his Oration unto his Captains for the Invasion of Malta, ib. b. his Fleet arriveth at Malta, 537, a. with flames returneth, 552, b. Solyman passing now the seventh time himself in person to invade Hungary, causeth a Bridge of a mile long with incredible labour to be made over the great River Savus, and the deep Fen towards Sigeth, 555, b. belegeth Sigeth, ib. b. cometh himself with a great power into the Camp, 556, a. winneth the old Town, ib. a. felleth sick and dieth of the bloody Flux at Quinque Ecclesia, ib. b. his Death by Muhamet the Fifth Bassa concealed, and the Siege continued, ib. b. his body with great solemnity by his Son Solymus buried at Constantinople, 559, b.

The Spahies and Janizaries mutiny, 809, b. their proud Speech to Sultan Mahomet, 810, a. their Infidelity justly punished, 807, a.

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To the Continuation of

Mr. K N O L L E S's Turkish History;

Written by Sir PAUL RICAUT, &c.

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